

PROVINCE OF NOVA-SCOTIA:

Be it remembered, That on this Thirteenth day of March, 1865, BEAMISH MURDOCH, of the City of Halifax, Esquire, has deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the Copyright of which he claims in the words following:—
“A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA OR ACADIE, BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE, Q. C.

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Deputy Secretary.

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A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA.

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CHAPTER I.

THE provinces in North America, now held by Great Britain, were originally occupied and settled by the French; while English colonies were established on the Atlantic coast of what is now called the United States, extending from New England to South Carolina, and afterwards to Georgia, embracing under the authority of England the then provinces of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, &c.

The northern territory held by the Kings of France comprised the countries now known as Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the islands Prince Edward and Cape Breton, with part of Newfoundland. This whole extent received the name of New France, the western portion of it, situate near the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes being called Canada, and having a royal governor and an intendant resident at Quebec; while the eastern part, embracing the present provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and a considerable part of the present State of Maine, was called Acadie by the French; but by the English, who made claims to it by discovery, it was named Nova Scotia.

Acadie was then bounded on the North by the gulf of Saint Lawrence, on the East by the Atlantic, on the south by the

river Kennebec, and on the West by the province of Canada, it's northwesternmost boundary being in Gaspé bay. Such was the Acadie (or Nova Scotia) of the seventeenth century. It extended from about 44° to 48° North Latitude, and between 60° and 70° West Longitude. It measured from East to West about 700 miles, and from North to South about 275.

Acadie is much warmer in summer, and much colder in winter than the countries in Europe lying under the same parallels of latitude. The spring season is colder and the autumn more agreeable, than those on the opposite side of the Atlantic. Its climate is favorable to agriculture, its soil generally fertile. The land is well watered by rivers, brooks and lakes. The supply of timber for use and for exportation may be considered as inexhaustible. The fisheries on the coasts are abundant. The harbors are numerous and excellent. Wild animals abound, among which are remarkable, the moose, caribou and red deer. Wild fowl also are plenty. Extensive tracts of alluvial land of great value are found on the Bay of Fundy. These lands have a natural richness that dispenses with all manuring ; all that is wanted to keep them in order is spade work. As to cereals—wheat, rye, oats, buckwheat, maize, all prosper. The potato, the hop, flax and hemp are everywhere prolific. The vegetables of the kitchen garden are successfully raised. Of fruit, there are many wild kinds, and the apple, pear, plum and cherry, seem almost indigenous. The vine thrives ; good grapes are often raised in the open air. It was said by a French writer that Acadie produced readily every thing that grew in old France, except the olive.

In the peninsula or Acadie proper, there is an abundance of mineral wealth. Coal is found in Cumberland and Pictou. Iron ore in Colchester and Annapolis counties. Gypsum in Hants. Marble and limestone in different localities. Free-stone, for building, at Remsheg and Pictou. Granite near Halifax, Shelburne, &c. Brick clay in the counties of Halifax and Annapolis. The amethyst of Parrsborough and its vicinity have been long celebrated, and pearls have been found lately in the Annapolis river. The discovery of gold along the whole Atlantic shore of the peninsula of Nova Scotia, has taken

place chiefly since I began this work in 1860, and it now gives steady remunerative employment to about 800 or 1000 laborers, with every expectation of its expansion.

The wilderness trees of Acadie, most characteristic of its forest scenery, are the pine, hemlock, spruce and hachmatac. The oak, beech, birch and maple, are also abundant. The cedar is also to be found. Of wild flowers, the most peculiar is the Mayflower (*Epigæa repens*), a little hardy plant that flowers early, even before the snow banks have been all melted. It has been long adopted as the emblem of Nova Scotia, as it is hardly to be found elsewhere, and our native people have chosen it as their chief ornament, with the motto,

“We bloom amidst the snows.”

The “*Linnæa Borealis*,” and the “*Sarracenia*,” or Indian Cup, are also remarkable flowers, probably peculiar to this region.

Many learned disquisitions have latterly appeared, intended to prove that this part of the world was visited by the vikings of Norway, long before the discovery of America by Columbus. The voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1492 was followed by that of Sebastian Cabot in 1497 to its Northern shores. John Cabot is said to have sailed from Bristol, and to have actually seen Newfoundland, to which he gave the name of “*Prima Vista*” first seen. The Brétons and Normans are said to have first discovered the Grand Banks and the island of Newfoundland in 1504.—*Voyages du Sieur de Champlain*, Vol. I., p. 11. Paris, 1830. Thomas Aubert, of Dieppe, sailed thither in 1508, and John Denys, of Honfleur, in 1510. (See *Relations des Jesuites*.)

The first voyage to North America, with a view to settlement, was that of the Baron de Lery et de Saint Just, in 1518. It seems that the Baron left a number of live cattle on the Isle of Sable.—(*English and French Commissaries*, p. 104.) In 1534 Verazzani ranged the coast of this continent from Florida to Newfoundland, and Jacques Cartier is said to have visited the coast in the same year. The 20th April, 1534, Jacques Cartier, after having been sworn before Charles de Moüy, Sieur de la Meilleraye, vice admiral of France, sailed from Saint Malo, and arrived at Newfoundland and in the

gulph of Saint Lawrence, to take possession of the soil in the name of the king of France, provided with a commission of captain general of vessels. (Capitaine général des vaisseaux.) He returned in 1535, to continue his discoveries. Leaving Saint Malo on the 19th of May, he arrived at the mouth of the Saguenay on the 1st of September. On the 13th he reached the river Ste Croix, now the Saint Charles, with his three vessels, and on the 2nd October he visited the Indian village of Hochelaga, near Mont Royal, now Montreal. On the 3rd May, 1536, Cartier erected at Quebec, (Stadacona,) with great pomp, a cross 35 feet high. On this was an escutcheon bearing the arms of France, with these words in Roman characters: Franciscus primus, dei gratia, Francorum rex regnat. (Francis the first, by the grace of God, king of the French, reigns.) [See 1 *Champlain*, p. 12. *Memoires et documents de la, Société historique de Montreal*, 1859. 2de livraison, pp. 98, &ca.] Cartier having spent the winters of 1535, 1536, among the Indians of the river Saint Lawrence, returned to France, arriving at Saint Malo on the 6th July, 1536, having, in the course of the two voyages, visited Newfoundland, Gaspé, and Labrador. Great part of his people having died in Canada of scurvy, he (erroneously) blamed the air of that region, and enterprize in that direction ceased for some time.—1 *Champlain*, 13, 14.

The next expedition to New France, of which we find mention, is that of Roberval. Jean François de la Rocque, (or de la Roche,) Sieur de Roberval, a native of Picardie, possessed such an influence in that province, that Francis the First called him the king of Vimeux. Roberval received an order to continue the discoveries begun in New France, and by letters patent of the date 15th January, 1540, he was declared to be Lord of Norembègue, viceroy and lieutenant general in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Terre Neuve, (Newfoundland,) Belleisle, Carpent, Labrador, the Great Bay, and Baccalaos. (The name of Norembègue was given to the lands on the Pentagoët or Penobscot, and near its mouth;) and the king gave 45,000 livres tournois for the expenses of the expedition.—[*Canada par Ferland* 1861. *Quebec, partie 1ere*, p. 38.]

Five vessels formed his squadron, under Cartier as pilot, which sailed from France on the 23rd May, 1540. Cartier wintered again in Canada. Roberval did not sail until April, 1541. He put into St. John's, Newfoundland, and thence proceeded to the Saint Lawrence, where he also spent a winter.

No permanent settlement ensued at this time in Canada. It is stated, however, by French writers, that a settlement was made in Cape Breton in 1541. For about thirty years after this, the passion for discovery in America took other directions. [A commission from Francis the First, dated 17th October, 1540, in favor of Jacques Cartier, for the settlement of Canada, is mentioned in the *reports of the English and French Commissaries*, p. 702. They refer to *Lescarbot*, p. 397.]

In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, brother by the mother's side to Sir Walter Raleigh, obtained a grant from Queen Elizabeth "of all remote, heathen and barbarous lands he should discover and settle." On his first voyage, he lost a vessel, and put back. His second voyage began 11th June, 1583, from Cawsand bay, with five vessels, one of 200 tons, one of 120, two of 40 each, and one of 10 tons. In these, 260 men were embarked. They visited Newfoundland in July, and in August went to the Isle of Sable. One vessel was lost there; and on the 31st August they began their return to England. On the 9th September the little craft of 10 tons disappeared, supposed to have foundered, with Sir H. Gilbert on board. The rest arrived in England. After the loss of Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a similar patent from the queen, and with the assistance of Sir Richard Greenville, and others, he fitted out two ships, commanded respectively by captains Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow. They sailed from the Thames April 24, 1584, and made the American coast, in what is now North Carolina, on the second day of July. Here they traded with the natives, two of whom they brought with them to England, but they made no settlement.

Several subsequent voyages were made by the English, but no settlement was effected until 1606, when captain Smith went to Virginia.—*London Magazine* 1755, p.p. 307, 308. In 1585, 1586 and 1587, colonies are said to have been sent

from England to Virginia, under the guidance of Sir W. Raleigh and Sir R. Greenville. In 1590, George White, who was sent there, found none of the third colony living, and returned to England.

In 1593, Henry May, an Englishman, returning from the East Indies in a French ship, was wrecked on the island of Bermudas. He found swine there, proving that some vessel had been there before. The crew built a boat of cedar, caulked it, and payed the seams with turtle's fat, and sailed in it to Newfoundland, whence they got a passage to England. At this period, the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland was prosecuted by the French of Bretagne, the Basques and the Portuguese.

We now come to the expedition of the marquis de la Roche, the date of which is disputed.

Troilus du Mesgouez, marquis de la Roche, descended from an ancient family in Bretagne, had been attached to the French court from his youth, as a page of queen Catherine de Medicis. Protected by the queen, he received numerous favors from the kings Henry the second, Francis the second, and Charles the ninth; but whether these riches and honors were insufficient to satisfy his ambition, or whether he cherished in his mind, as a more elevated object, the aggrandizement of French power, he solicited a commission, which he obtained in 1578, 3 Jan'y., which authorized him to equip vessels, discover and take possession of new countries not belonging to friendly powers. By this commission he was made governor, lieutenant general and viceroy "in the said new lands, and "countries occupied by barbarous people, which he shall take and conquer."—[*Ferland, cours d'histoire du Canada, Quebec*, 1861. *Part I.*, pp. 58, 59.] De la Roche set sail in a single vessel, accompanied by an able pilot, named Chedotel, a Norman. Besides his crew, he had on board about fifty convicts, obtained from prisons in France. Making the Isle of Sable, he landed the prisoners there, and went to reconnoitre the shores of the main land. After some time spent in exploring, he sailed for France, expecting to touch at the Isle of Sable and take the prisoners on board again; but a storm drove him

to the East, so fiercely, that in twelve days he made the French coast.

The convicts who were left on the island are said to have remained there seven years. Their subsistence is stated to have been procured from the milk of cows they found there, from the beef of these cows, from pork and fish. Some writers conjectured that they were bred from cattle left there by de Lery in 1518. But Charlevoix says that these unfortunate men met with the wrecks of Spanish ships that had been sent to make settlements in Cape Breton, and while they used the wrecks to build huts for themselves, they found sheep and horned cattle on the island, which had escaped from the wrecks and multiplied on the isle ; but they were at last reduced to such fish as they could catch as their sole dependance for food. When their clothes wore out they replaced them with seal skins. At the end of 5 or 7 years, (the term being differently stated by different authors,) king Henry the Fourth having heard of their adventures, compelled Chedotel, the pilot, to go in quest of them. He found but twelve survivors out of the forty-eight, the rest having perished from want and suffering. The king having expressed a wish to see them in their singular dress, and having looked at them in their emaciated condition, gave to each one a present of fifty crowns, and a free pardon for past offences. Chedotel, having appropriated some furs collected by them, they sued him and recovered the value. —*E. and F. Commissaries*, p. 106. I *Charlevoix*, 169. *Lescarbot*, c. 3, p. 18. I *Belknap American Biography*, 40. *Lescarbot*, 406, 407, 408. I *Champlain*, p. 42, who says the parliament of Rouen adjudged Chedotel to bring them back.

In 1588 Jacques Noël and the sieur Chaton, nephews of Jacques Cartier, obtained from Henry the 3rd. an exclusive grant of the commerce of the gulph and river St. Lawrence ; and a M. Ravailon succeeded them in this monopoly in 1591.

In 1599 the sieur Chauvin, of Normandy, capitaine pour le roi en la marine, who was of the reformed religion, (I *Champlain*, 44,) obtained a commission from his majesty, Henry the 4th. He came to Tadoussac to trade with the natives, for furs ; but he did not succeed in founding a settlement. He

had the same title and powers as the marquis de la Roche ; but the enterprize was at his own cost and charges, while the expedition of la Roche had taken place at the expence of the State. Le Sieur du Pont gravé, of Saint Malo, an experienced seaman, was his lieutenant. (1 *Champlain*, 44.) Chauvin thought of nothing but commercial gain, and died without having done anything for colonization, and without having fulfilled his engagements. Chauvin made two voyages. In the first he built a small dwelling, and left sixteen men at Tadousac, who suffered much. The Sieur de Monts went with Chauvin on this voyage, for his pleasure. (1 *Champlain*, 46, 47.)

After the death of Chauvin, the commander de Chattes, (called de Chaste by Champlain), governor of Dieppe, an old man and faithful servant of the king, obtained a commission. Pontgravé was in charge of the expedition as navigator, and M. de Champlain, the founder and historian of Canada, made his first voyage with him in 1603. The commission of de Chattes appointed him lieutenant general of the king, and governor in America, from the 40th to the 52nd degree of North Latitude. De Chattes died before the voyage thus commenced under his auspices was concluded.

After Cartier's visits to Canada, the French continued to trade there for furs, as well as to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, Acadie and Cape Bréton, and they had become well acquainted with many parts of the coasts, among others with Canseau, already celebrated for the fishery. One Savalet (or Savalette), an old mariner, who frequented that port, had made no less than forty-two voyages to those parts previously to 1605.—1 *Belknap, American Biography*, p. 320. Lescarbot's New France, chapter 18. He lived at a port four leagues from Canso, which Lescarbot named after him port Savalet.

Pierre de Guast, sieur de Monts, a native of Saintonge, was gentleman in ordinary of the chamber, and governor of Pons, in Saintonge. He was a Calvinist, and during all the troubles of the league, had rendered important services to the king Henry the Fourth, who reposed entire confidence in him.—[1 *Ferland, Canada*, 62, 64. 1 *Belknap Am. Biography*, 320. 1 *Charlevoix*, 173. 1 *Champlain*, 54.]

Demonts had made a voyage, for his pleasure, with the sieur Chauvin in 1599, but the climate at Tadoussac appeared to him so severe, that he formed the design of settling further South, in some country where the air should be milder and more agreeable. In accordance with this project, by an edict of 8 November, 1603, Demonts was named lieutenant general of the country of Cadie, from the 40th to the 46th degree of North Latitude, "to people, cultivate, and cause to be inhabited, the said lands the most speedily,—to search for mines of "gold, silver, &c., to build forts and towns, grant lands, &c." The king, by letters patent dated 13 December, 1603, granted to DeMonts and his associates, who were merchants of Rouen, Rochelle, and other places, the exclusive trade in furs and other merchandize, from Cape *deRaze* to the 40th degree of North Latitude, comprehending all the coasts of Acadie, land and cape Bréton, bay of Saint Cler, of Chaleur, Isles percées, Gaspay, Chichedec, Mesamichi, Lesquemin, Tadoussac, and the river of Canada, on both shores, and all the bays and rivers on these coasts.—[*Laet. c. 21, p. 58.*]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

(1.)

Ce furent les Brétons et les Normands, qui, en l'an 1504, découvrirent les premiers des chrestiens, le grand Banc des Moluques, et les Isles de Terre Neufve, ainsi qu'il se remarque dans les histoires de Niflat et d'Antoine Maginus.—[*Champlain, b. 1 c. 2. 1 vol. p. 11. Paris, 1830. Voyages du Sieur de Champlain.*] (The Brétons and the Normans were the first Christians who discovered the Grand Bank and the island of Newfoundland.)

(2.)

From *Novus Orbis, &c., of Johannes de Laet, Antwerp. Lugdun, Batav. apud Elzevirios, Ao. 1633.* Written in Latin—(translated) p. 36.

"Furthermore, the island of Sable (so called by the French from its sands,) is situated in 44 degrees N. Lon., about 30 leagues from the island of the Britons, or of St. Lawrence, towards the South. It is about 15 leagues in circuit, much longer than it is broad, the sea surrounding it being shallow and without harbors, and having a bad repute for shipwrecks. In the year 1518 the French, induced

by the supposed convenience of the place, designed, under the auspices of the baron de Lery, to establish a colony here, but arriving late in the year, the total want of corn and fresh water compelled them to abandon the design; but they left behind them cattle and swine, which increased but little there, owing to the scarcity of food, as the greater portion of the island is nothing but pure sand. The Portuguese afterwards made a similar attempt, but with no better results. Finally, after it was long neglected by the Portuguese and other nations, the marquis de la Roche, a Frenchman, attempted again to colonize it in the year 1598. A few individuals were left in the island, who with difficulty supported life there, clothing themselves with the skins of black foxes and seals, and living on fish and wild animals. After five years abode, they were taken off. There is one small pond, but no springs of water, in the island; many thickets of bushes, very few trees; the soil naked, or but slightly covered with grass; and the landing is difficult.

(3.)

From the History of the British Empire in America.

In 1527, Messrs. Thorne & Elliot, of Bristol, made a voyage to Newfoundland. Another voyage was made thither in the Triton & Minion, from Gravesend, in April, 1536, with 130 persons on board. In 1579, a vessel went from England, of 300 tons, to fish on the Great Bank, Whitburn commander; and in 1583 he went thither again. Also in 1611. See post. In 1610, king James 1st, granted part of Newfoundland to 48 persons, at the head of the list is Henry, earl of Northampton. Among those names we find the celebrated Francis Bacon, then Sir Francis Bacon, solicitor general. They were thereby incorporated under the name of "The Treasurer and the Company of Adventurers and Planters of the city of London and Bristol, for the colony or plantation of Newfoundland."

The original grant is given in full in the history of the British Empire in America, p. 133 to 136, and is dated April 27, 1610.

They appear to have sent Whitburn there in 1610, 1611, 1613 and 1614. In 1613 they sent 54 men, 6 women and 2 children, who wintered in Newfoundland.

Sir George Calvert (afterwards Lord Baltimore) had a grant from James the first, of that part of Newfoundland between the bay of Bulls in the East and St. Mary's in the South, called the province of Avalon. In 1621 he sent a colony there, under Capt. Wynn, and a settlement was formed at Ferryland.

(4.)

Letters patent from queen Elizabeth to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, Co. Devon, knight, dated 11 June, 20th of her reign (1578,) to discover countries, "heathen and barbarous, lands, countries and territories," "not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people," "the same to have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns, for ever," "with all commodities, jurisdiction and royalties, both by sea and by land," gives powers of granting land, &c., to be under allegiance to the crown of England, paying one-fifth part of all ores of gold and silver to the Crown, and doing homage, gives power to make war in defence of these acquisitions.—2 Hakluyt's Voyages, p.p. 677, 679.

On his first voyage he lost a vessel, and a gentleman, Miles Morgan, and put back.—*Ibidem*, 682.

His 2nd voyage was begun 11 June, 1583, leaving Causet bay in the two following vessels :—1. The Delight, (alias) the George, 120 tons, admiral, in which the general (Sir H. Gilbert) went, Wm. Winter, captain and part owner, Richard Clearke, master. 2. The bark Rawley, set forth by Sir Walter Rawley. She was vice admiral, M. Butler, captain, and Robert Davis, of Bristol, master. 200 tons. 3. The Golden Hinde, 40 tons, rear admiral. Edward Hayes, captain and owner, and Wm. Cox, of Limehouse, master. 4. The Swallow, 40 tons, Capt. Maurice Browne. 5. The Squirrel, 10 tons, captain William Andrews, Cave, master.

There were 260 men in this squadron, including shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths,—mineral men and refinery, and musicians. After a few days, the Rawley put back to England, owing to a contagious sickness on board. By the 28 June the squadron were in 41 N. L. On 30 July they made land in Lat. 51 N. They visited several places on the coast of Newfoundland. 5 August, Sir H. Gilbert assembled the merchants and masters of vessels at St. John's—read his commission publicly, and took possession of the country to the extent of 200 leagues in every way from that in the name of the queen of England, and he enacted these laws—1. Declaring the Church of England established. 2. Making it treason to interfere with her Majesty's possession of the territory. 3. To punish any who should speak in dishonor of her Majesty, by losing his ears, and his ship and goods be confiscated. They left St. John's Tuesday, 20 August, (47 40 N. Lat.), their general, Sir H. Gilbert, being on board the Squirrel. Next evening they made Cape Race, 46 25 N. Lat., whence they directed their course to the Isle of Sable.

"Sable lieth to the seaward of Cape Britton, about 25 leagues, whither we" "were determined to goe upon intelligence wee had of a Portingall, (during our" "abode in St. John's), who was himself present when the Portingalls (above 30" "years past) did put into the same islande both neat and swine to breede," "which were since exceedingly multiplied." They sent men on shore in the bays near Cape Race to view the soil. "They saw pease in great abundance every" "where. The distance between Cape Race and Cape Britton is 100 leagues, in" "which navigation we spent 8 days, having many times the wind indifferent" "good, yet could we never attain sight of any land all that time, seeing we were" "hindered by the currant. At last we fel into such flats and dangers that hardly" "any of us escaped : where neverthesse we lost our Admiral, with all the men" "and provision, not knowing certainly the place." Two sets of reckonings are given, one giving 117 leagues, the other 121. Tuesday, 27 August, they had soundings, white sand at 35 fathoms, in latitude about 44 N. There the Delight was cast away and lost on the 29 August. 14 of the crew escaped in a pinnace, of whom 12 lived to reach Newfoundland, and were carried to France afterwards. 31 August the remainder of the squadron began their return to England. On the night of Monday, 9 September, 1583, the Squirrel was lost, supposed foundered at sea, with Sir Humphrey Gilbert on board. The Golden Hinde arrived at Falmouth on Sunday, 22 Sept., 1583.—From the narrative of Edward Hayes, master of the Golden Hinde, in 2 *Hackluyt*, p. 679, 697.

(5.)

The Portuguese and French carried on fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland at that time. Sometimes 100 sail of vessels would be employed in it.—2 *Hackluyt*, 685.

They found 36 sail in St. John's harbor 3 August, 1583.—*Ibidem*, 686.

(6.)

The voyage of the marquis de la Roche is stated to have occurred in 1578. In 1588 he was engaged on the Royal side in the wars of the League in Bretagne. He was captured at the town of Sablé by order of the duke of Mercœur, and sent to the castle of Nantes, where he remained a prisoner until 1596, eight years.—*Ferland*, p. 59, 60.

M. Pol. de Courcy, in his biography of the marquis de la Roche, cites a commission of Henry 3, date 1577, and conceives it was under his authority he made the expedition to Sable Island; while Charlevoix and subsequent writers quote a commission from Henry the 4th, of 15 January, 1598, constituting de la Roche lieutenant general for the king, in Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, river of the great bay of Norembègue, &c., and assign 1598 as the date of his voyage.—[*Fr. & English Comm.*, 702. *Lescarbot*, p. 408.]

Aymar de Chaste, knight of Malta, commandeur de Lormetieu, lieutenant du roi in the bailliage de Caux, governor of Dieppe, ambassador in England, grand master of St. Lazare, and abbé of Fécamp, was the third son of François, baron de Chaste, and Paule de Joyeuse. He effected a great service to France in inducing the people of Dieppe, from the 6th of August, to recognize Henry the Fourth. M. de Chaste became vice admiral in France. His tomb is in the church of St. Remi at Dieppe.—*Memoires et documents*, &c. *Montreal*, 1859. 2e. livraison, p. 104. *Ferland's Canada*, part I., p. 63.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY the fourth, (of France,) was disposed in favor of extending French enterprize in North America. His prime minister, Sully, disapproved of this ; thinking the climate of these regions too cold for settlement, and looking to the mines and other natural wealth of the South, as promising better returns to the kingdom. At this period many circumstances combined to encourage the project of colonization in North America. As early as 1504, the inhabitants of Bretagne and Normandie had begun to fish and to trade on the shores of Acadie and the coast and banks of Newfoundland. In 1534, Cartier explored the great river of St. Lawrence. While the French had been accustomed to the climate of North America, the native Indians had become in some measure familiarized with traffic and intercourse with the Europeans. The civil war that had so long distracted France had ended, and the great Henry the fourth was on the throne. He had reconciled the great majority of the Catholics to himself, by adopting their religion. Peace and good order were restored, by the skill and talents of Sully. Warlike enterprizes being thus suspended, the adventurous spirit of Frenchmen naturally turned to pacific and commercial objects. At the same time, the Protestants, being avowedly the weaker party, sought to establish a refuge against possible persecution. Thus we see that the merchants of Rochelle, and de Monts himself, (all Protestants), were eager to form colonies in the New World, free from ecclesiastical domination. It will, however, be seen, that in the progress of the colony at Port Royal, but few Pro-

testants came out as settlers. On the other hand, it happened that the attempts of the Jesuits to found missions in Acadie, entirely failed. The Franciscans, or Recollets were more successful, as they not only supplied the cures of the province, but they also converted the whole Micmac nation to the Christian faith.

It will appear through the course of events in the 17th century, that no religious intolerance showed itself in any part of the province. At the same time a jealousy and distrust generally existed between the French governors and authorities on the one hand, and the priests and friars on the other. The commission of de Monts authorized him to instruct the savages in the knowledge of God, and the light of the faith and Christian religion. The powers of governing and trading granted to him, extended as far North as 54° N. L., but the property in the lands only to 46° N. L. The exclusive right to the fur trade was given to him and acted on, though not included in his commission as lieutenant general.—[2 *Jesuit relations*, p. 2.] M. de Monts was a very honest man. His views were upright. He was zealous for the public good, and he had all the capacity required for success in this undertaking. He was, however, unfortunate, and almost always badly served. The exclusive privilege in the fur trade granted to him, gave rise to envy, which in the event caused his ruin. He had kept up the association formed by his predecessor, de Chaste, and added to it many merchants of the chief ports of France, especially those of Rochelle, a great Protestant community. The original company consisted of merchants of Roüen, and of many men of quality, who joined them.—[1 *Charlevoix*, 172, 174.] The united funds of the company enabled them to fit out four vessels for this expedition. Part were at Dieppe, and part at Havre de Grace. One vessel was intended to prosecute the fur trade at Tadoussac, in Canada. Pontgravé had orders to take another to Canseau, and thence to go along the narrow seas that separate Cape Breton and St. John's island (now Prince Edward Island) from Nova Scotia, and to drive away all those whom he might find interfering with the exclusive privileges of de Monts in the fur trade. The other two

vessels were conducted by de Monts himself to Acadie. One was of 120 tons burthen, and the other of 150. De Monts was accompanied by many gentlemen, priests, ministers, and by one hundred and twenty artizans and soldiers. Laët says he had engaged 120 agriculturists, "centum viginti agricolis conductis," c. 21, p. 58. They were of both religions, Catholic and Protestant. Champlain, ever ready to take part in voyages of discovery, received with joy the invitation to accompany M. de Monts in this expedition. Samuel de Champlain was a gentleman of Saintonge, a sea captain. He had the reputation of being a brave, capable and experienced officer. He had been two years and a half in the West Indies. He had been with Pontgravé at Tadoussac, in 1603, for de Chaste. (Pontgravé was an able navigator, and was also one of the principal merchants of St. Malo. He had made several voyages to Tadoussac, and went to Canada along with Chauvin.) Pontgravé was de Mont's lieutenant the first year, and Poutrincourt afterwards.—*Belknap's Am. B.*, 324. 1 *Charlevoix*, 179. With de Mont's expedition there was a gentleman of Picardie, Jean de Biencourt, baron de Poutrincourt, who was desirous of settling his family in the new world, hoping to find there more peace and tranquillity than in Europe. In this mixture of Catholics and Huguenots, Champlain believed there was a source of great difficulties for the new colony. 1 *Ferland Canada*, 67. *Belknap A, B.*, 324. 1 *Charlevoix*, 179.

De Monts sailed from Havre de Grace on the 7 March, 1604, (Laët says 7 April, 1604), in a vessel commanded by captain Timothy, (of Havre de Grace); and her consort, commanded by captain Morell, of Honfleur, sailed three days after. They met on the voyage with banks of ice, and with contrary winds, and they went to the southward of the Isle of Sable to avoid ice. Champlain says they reached Cape de la Hève in one month. In the harbor they first entered, de Monts found a vessel engaged in the fur trade. In virtue of his exclusive privilege, he confiscated the vessel, and gave to the place the name of the master of the ship he had seized, which was Rossignol. This harbor is now called Liverpool. (Laët says they first landed at Port Mouton—*portus ovium*—p. 58.

Leaving Port Rossignol, they came to another place which they called Port au Mouton, on account of a sheep being drowned there. Here de Monts landed all his people, and they staid in this place a month. M. de Champlain went meanwhile in a shallop to seek a suitable position for a settlement. A party of Indians was also detached with one of the crew, to find one of the vessels commanded by Morell, who was to have met de Monts at Canseau, which port the vessel de Monts was in had missed. Morell's vessel contained provisions, implements and materials of essential importance, and these were landed near Canseau, and were brought to Port au Mouton, with the aid of the Indians, while Morell's vessel proceeded to Tadousac. M. de Monts then followed the coast to the South-west, doubled Cape Sable, and at length anchored in St. Mary's bay. Two or three days after their arrival at St. Mary's bay, one of their priests, called Aubry, (of the city of Paris), got lost in the woods, not being able to find his way back to the ship. He remained there seventeen days, subsisting on a few herbs and wild fruit. At the end of this time he had found his way to the shores of the Bay of Fundy, (la baie Française, so named by de Monts.) One of the shallops of the expedition happened to be near, and Aubry, having hoisted his hat upon a pole, was descried by them and rescued from his melancholy situation; and after a considerable time he recovered from the debility brought on him by the want of food and shelter.—(1 *Ferland*, 67.) He had gone on shore with others, and had got parted from his companions, and lost his way in the woods while seeking his sword, which he had left at a brook. They waited for him several days, firing guns and sounding trumpets to attract his attention, but in vain. A Protestant, who was of the party on shore, was charged with having killed him, because they sometimes held warm arguments together about religion. Concluding that he was dead, they left the bay after sixteen days. In this bay they observed iron ore, and indications of silver. They then entered the Bay of Fundy, which was then called la baie Française. On its eastern shore they discovered a narrow strait, (now called Digby Gut), and passing through this into the spacious bason of Annapolis, they

came to the site of the present town of Annapolis Royal. To this they gave the name of Port Royal.

The river, now called Annapolis river, was named then, or subsequently, by the French, the river Dauphin, and they called the smaller stream the l'Equille, which subsequently was known as Allen's river or creek. (Champlain gives the place the designation of Port Royal, and he mentions a river then called the l'Esquille, after the name of a little fish caught there "de la grandeur d'un esplan." In a German dictionary, *equille* is translated meer nadel, sea needle; and in French dictionaries, esquille is a splinter, or splint.) Poutrincourt was so pleased with this place that he resolved on settling there, and requested a grant of it from de Monts, which he obtained, and afterwards the king confirmed it to him in 1607.—I *Champlain*, 130. From Port Royal, de Monts sailed up the Bay of Fundy to Mines, since called Horton, and observed specimens of copper, probably at Cape d'Or. The adventurers fancied that they had found a mine of this metal. They also got specimens of a shining blue stone, most probably the amethyst. Champdor, the pilot, having cut one of those blue stones out of a rock, broke it in two, giving one part to de Monts and the other to Poutrincourt. These they had set in gold. (On their return to France, Poutrincourt gave his part to the king, and de Monts to the queen. It is said that a goldsmith offered fifteen crowns for Poutrincourt's jewel.) Crossing the bay, they entered the river called by the Indians the Ouigoudi, but by the French the Saint John, they having discovered it on the 24th of June, the festival of Saint John the Baptist. They went up the river until their further progress was prevented by the shallowness of the stream, and they were delighted and astonished at the beauty of the islands and of the scenery—at the fish that swarmed in the waters, and the wild fruits that grew on the river's banks. Coasting southwesterly from the mouth of the St. John, de Monts arrived at an island twenty leagues further, situated in the middle of a river. This island and the river, below whose mouth lies the island surrounded in fact by salt water, was named Sainte Croix. Its position has been the subject of controversy. The bay of Passama-

quoddy, in which it lies, contains several islands, and there are two rivers which fall into it. Champlain, who had left Port Mouton to explore the coast, had been at this place. When de Monts arrived there, he determined to build a fort on the island. Lescarbot gives the following details on the subject : —“ Leaving St. John’s river, they came, following the coast ” “ twenty leagues from that place, to a great river, which is ” “ properly sea, where they fortified themselves in a little ” “ island, seated in the midst of this river, which the said ” “ Champlain had been to discover and view ; and seeing it ” “ strong by nature, and of easy defence and keeping : besides ” “ that the season began to slide away, and therefore it was ” “ behoveful to provide of lodging without running any far- ” “ ther, they resolved to make their abode there. Before we ” “ speak of the ship’s return to France, it is meet to tell you ” “ how hard the isle of Sainte Croix is to be found out, to ” “ them that never were there ; for there are so many isles ” “ and great bays to go by (from St. John’s) before one be at ” “ it, that I wonder how one might ever pierce so far as to ” “ find it. There are three or four mountains imminent above ” “ the others, on the sides ; but on the north side, from ” “ whence the river runneth down, there is but a sharp pointed ” “ one, above two leagues distant. The woods of the main ” “ land are fair and admirable high, and well grown, as in like ” “ manner is the grass. There is right over against the island ” “ fresh water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable : where ” “ divers of M. de Mont’s men did their business and builded ” “ there certain cabbins. As for the nature of the ground, it ” “ is most excellent, and most abundantly fruitful. For the ” “ said mons. de Monts having caused there some piece of ” “ ground to be tilled, and the same sowed with rye ; he was ” “ not able to tarry for the maturity thereof to reap it ; and ” “ notwithstanding the grain fallen hath grown and increased ” “ so wonderfully, that two years afterwards we reaped and ” “ did gather of it as fair, big and weighty as in France, ” “ which the soil hath brought forth without any tillage ; and ” “ yet at this present (1609) it doth continue still to multiply ” “ every year. The said island containeth some half a league ”

“in circuit, and at the end of it, on the sea side, there is a”
“mount or small hill, which is, as it were, a little isle, severed”
“from the other, where M. de Monts his cannon were placed.”
“There is also a little chapel, built after the savage fashion,”
“at the foot of which chapel there is such a store of muscles”
“as is wonderful, which may be gathered at low water, but”
“they are small. Now let us prepare and hoist sails. M. de”
“Poutrincourt made the voyage into these parts, with some”
“men of good sort, not to winter there; but as it were to”
“seek out his seat, and find out a land that might like him.”
“Which he having done, had no need to sojourn there any”
“longer. So then, the ships being ready for the return, he”
“shipped himself and those of his company in one of them.”
“During the foresaid navigation, M. de Monts his people”
“did work about the fort, which he seated at the end of the”
“island, opposite to the place where he had lodged his can-”
“non. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command”
“the river up and down. But there was an inconvenience;”
“the said fort did lie towards the north, and without any”
“shelter, but of the trees that were on the isle shore, which”
“all about he commanded to be kept and not cut down. The”
“most urgent things being done, and hoary snowy father”
“being come, that is to say, Winter, then they were forced to”
“keep within doors, and to live every one at his own home.”
“During which time our men had three special discommodi-”
“ties in this island: want of wood, (for that which was in the”
“said isle was spent in buildings), lack of fresh water, and”
“the continual watch made by night, fearing some surprize”
“from the savages that had lodged themselves at the foot of”
“the said island, or some other enemy. For the malediction”
“and rage of many Christians is such, that one must take”
“heed of them much more than of infidels. When they had”
“need of water or wood, they were constrained to cross over”
“the river, which is thrice as broad of every side as the river”
“of Seine.”—[Lescarbot’s *New France*, c. 6; translated in
Churchill’s collection, vol. 2, p.p. 807, 808.] While the men
were cutting timber for the buildings at St. Croix island,
Champdore, one of the adventurers, accompanied by a min-

eralogist, sailed for St. Mary's bay, and entered it by the passage between Long Island and Digby Neck, called '*le petit passage*,' intending to examine more minutely the iron ores and the indications of silver, noticed in the previous visit to the bay. One result of this voyage was the recovery of the missing Aubry, who had wandered about the shores almost starved, having but berries and roots to subsist on. The fort on the island contained apartments for de Monts, fitted with panel work. The royal standard of France was hoisted on it. There was a storehouse erected and shingled; and a chapel, bower-wise, the roof being supported by the living trees. Dwellings were put up for d'Orville, Champlain, and Champdore, and the other gentlemen of the expedition; and they had a covered gallery for walking in bad weather. Between the fort and the battery were vegetable gardens. The Indians of the coast frequented the settlement, and were apparently pleased and attached to the French, and evinced especial respect for de Monts.

The winter proved severe, and the people suffered so much from the scurvy, (a disease incident to confinement and scarcity of fresh water and fresh provisions), that out of those who wintered there, thirty-six are stated to have died, leaving thirty-six or forty still unwell, but who recovered in the spring. It appears that during the winter the colony was early compelled to subsist on salt meat, and that many of the men, to save themselves the trouble of crossing to the main land for supplies of fresh water, very imprudently drank melted snow.—I *Charlevoix*, 180.

1605. As soon as his men recovered, de Monts resolved to seek a comfortable station in a warmer climate.—*Belknap Am. B.*, 328. Having victualled and armed his pinnace, he sailed along the coast to *Norombega*, a name which had been given by some European adventurers to the bay of Pentagoët or Penobscot. Thence he sailed to Kennebec, Casco, Saco, and finally came to Malebarre, as Cape Cod was then called by the French. In some of the places which he had passed, the land was inviting, and particular notice was taken of the grapes. It may perhaps be doubted if the French account

about grapes is accurate, as they mention them to have been growing on the banks of the Saint John and elsewhere, where if wild grapes exist they must be rare. The savages he met appeared numerous, unfriendly and thievish; and de Monts, having but a small company with him, preferred safety to pleasure, and returned to the island of St. Croix. Here he was soon joined by Pontgravé, who came back from France. They found this place in a very bad condition, and M. de Monts was convinced of the necessity of removing. Pontgravé brought in his ship a reinforcement of forty men, and a quantity of supplies. They crossed the bay to Port Royal, and de Monts concluded to transfer the colonists to that place. The stores remaining at Sainte Croix were brought over, while the buildings were left standing. The care of this transportation was taken by Pontgravé, whom M. de Monts appointed his lieutenant or deputy. De Monts is said [*Ferland part 1, p. 68*] to have gone as far south this spring as 41 degrees north latitude, (near to the present city of New York), and that at the time there was not one European along the coast to Florida; and speaking of Annapolis, Ferland says: "Port Royal, now" "Annapolis, founded in 1605, is the first durable settlement" "formed by the French in North America, and the most" "ancient town in this part of the world after St. Augustin." De Monts appears to have returned to France in the latter part of this year, 1605.—[See de Laët, c. 21, p. 58.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

(2 Churchill's voyages, 796-798. Nova Francia.)

Henry, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre. To our dear and well beloved the lord of Monts, one of the ordinary gentlemen of our chamber, greeting. As our greatest care and labour is, and always hath been, since our coming to this crown, to maintain and conserve it in the ancient dignity, greatness and splendor thereof, to extend and amplify, as much as lawfully may be done, the bounds and limits of the same; we being, of a long time, informed of the situation and condition of the lands and territories of La Cadia, moved above all things,

with a singular zeal, and devout and constant resolution, which we have taken, with the help and assistance of God, author, distributor, and protector of all kingdoms and estates, to cause the people, which do inhabit the country, men (at this present time) barbarous atheists, without faith or religion, to be converted to Christianity, and to the belief and profession of our faith and religion : and to draw them from the ignorance and unbelief wherein they are. Having also of a long time known, by the relation of the sea captains, pilots, merchants and others, who of long time have haunted, frequented, and trafficked with the people that are found in the said places, how fruitful, commodious and profitable may be unto us, to our estates and subjects, the dwelling, possession and habitation of these countries, for the great and apparent profit which may be drawn by the greater frequentation and habitude which may be had with the people that are found there, and the traffick and commerce which may be, by that means, safely treated and negotiated. We then, for these causes, fully trusting on your great wisdom, and in the knowledge and experience that you have of the quality, condition and situation of the said country of La Cadia ; for the divers and sundry navigations, voyages and frequentations that you have made in those parts, and others near and bordering upon it : assuring ourselves that this our resolution and intention, being committed unto you, you will attentively, diligently, and no less courageously and zealously, execute and bring to such perfection as we desire, have expressly appointed and established you, and by these presents, signed by our hands, do commit, ordain, make, constitute and establish you, our lieutenant general, for to represent our person in the countries, territories, coasts and confines of La Cadia. To begin from the 40th degree to 46th ; and in the same distance, or part of it, as far as may be done, to establish, extend, and make to be known, our name, might, and authority. And under the same to subject, submit, and bring to obedience, all the people of the said land and the borderers thereof : and by the means thereof, and all lawful ways, to call, make, instruct, provoke and incite them to the knowledge of God, and to the light of the faith and Christian religion, to establish it there : and in the exercise and profession of the same, keep and conserve the said people, and all other inhabitants in the said places, and there to command in peace, rest and tranquillity, as well by sea as by land : to ordain, decide, and cause to be executed, all that which you shall judge fit and necessary to be done for to maintain, keep and conserve, the said places under our power and authority, by the forms, ways and means prescribed by our laws. And for to have there a care of the same with you, to appoint, establish and constitute all officers, as well in the affairs of war as for justice and policy, for the first time ; and from thenceforward to name and present them unto us ; for to be disposed by us, and to give letters, titles, and such provisoes as shall be necessary : and, according to the occurrences of affairs, yourself, with the advice of wise and capable men, to prescribe under our good pleasure, laws, statutes and ordinances, conformable, as much as may be possible, unto ours, especially in things and matters that are not provided by them ; to treat and contract to the same effect, peace, alliance, and confederacy, good amity, correspondency and communication with the said people and their princes, or others, having power or command over them ; to entertain, keep, and carefully to observe the treaties and alliances wherein you shall covenant with them : upon condition that they themselves perform the same of their part. And for want thereof to make open wars against them, to constrain and bring them to such reason as you shall think needful, for the honour, obe-

dience and service of God, and the establishment, maintenance and conservation of our said authority amongst them ; at least to haunt and frequent by you, and all our subjects with them, in all assurance, liberty, frequentation and communication, there to negotiate and traffick lovingly and peaceably ; to give and grant unto them favours and privileges, charges and honours. Which entire power aforesaid, we will likewise and ordain, that you have over all our said subjects that will go that voyage with you and inhabit there, traffick, negotiate and remain in the said places, to retain, take, reserve and appropriate unto you what you will and shall see to be most commodious for you and proper to your charge, quality and use of the said lands, to distribute such parts and portions thereof, to give and attribute unto them such titles, honors, rights, powers and faculties as you shall see necessary, according to the qualities, conditions and merits of the persons of the same country, or others : chiefly to populate, to manure, and to make the said lands to be inhabited, as speedily, carefully and skilfully as time, places and commodities may permit. To make thereof, or cause to be made to that end, discovery and view along the maritime coasts and other countries of the main land, which you shall order and prescribe in the aforesaid space of the 40th degree to the 46th degree, or otherwise as much and as far as may be, along the said coast, and in the firm land. To make carefully to be sought and marked all sorts of mines of gold and of silver, copper, and other metals and minerals, to make them to be digged, drawn from the earth, purified and refined, for to be converted into use, to dispose according as we have prescribed by edicts and orders, which we have made in this realm of the profit and benefit of them, by you or them whom you shall establish to that effect, reserving unto us only the tenth penny of that which shall issue from them of gold, silver, and copper, leaving unto you that which we might take of the other said metals and minerals, for to aid and ease you in the great expences that the aforesaid charge may bring unto you. Willing, in the meanwhile, that as well for your security and commodity as for the security and commodity of all our subjects, who will go, inhabit and traffick in the said lands ; as generally of all others that will accommodate themselves there under our power and authority, you may cause to be built and frame one or many forts, places, towns, and all other houses, dwellings and habitations, ports, havens, retiring places and lodgings, as you shall know to be fit, profitable and necessary for the performing of the said enterprize. To establish garrisons and soldiers for the keeping of them. To aid and serve you for the effects aforesaid with the vagrant, idle persons and masterless, as well out of towns as of the country ; and with them that be condemned to perpetual banishment, or for three years at least out of our realm ; provided always that it be done by the advice, consent and authority of our officers. Over and besides that which is above mentioned, (and that which is moreover prescribed, commanded and ordained unto you by the conditions and powers which our most dear cousin the lord of Ampuille, admiral of France, hath given unto you for that which concerneth the affairs and the charge of the admiralty, in the exploit, expedition and executing of the things abovesaid), to do generally whatsoever may make for the conquest, peopling, inhabiting and preservation of the said land of La Cadia ; and of the coasts, territories, adjoining, and of their appurtenances and dependencies, under our name and authority, whatsoever ourselves would and might do if we were there present in person, although that the case should require a more special order than we prescribe unto you by these presents : to the contents whereof we command,

ordain, and most expressly do enjoin all our justices, officers and subjects to conform themselves ; and to obey and give attention unto you in all and every the things aforesaid, their circumstances and dependencies. Also to give unto you in the executing of them, all such aid and comfort, help and assistance, as you shall have need of, and whereof they shall be by you required ; and this upon pain of disobedience and rebellion. And, to the end, nobody may pretend cause of ignorance of this our intention, and to busy himself in all, or in any part of the charge, dignity and authority which we give unto you by these presents ; we have of our certain knowledge, full power and regal authority, revoked, suppressed and declared void, and of none effect hereafter, and from this present time, all other powers and commission, letters and expeditions given and delivered to any person soever, for to discover, people and inhabit in the foresaid extention of the said lands, situated from the said 40th degree to the 46th, whatsoever they be. And, furthermore, we command and ordain all our said officers, of what quality and condition soever they be, that after these presents, or the duplicate of them, shall be duly examined by one of our beloved and trusty counsellors, notaries and secretaries, or other notary-royal, they do upon your request, demand and suit, or upon the suit of any of our attornies, cause the same to be read, published and recorded in the records of their jurisdiction, powers and precincts, seeking, as much as shall appertain unto them, to quiet and appease all troubles and hinderances which may contradict the same ; for such is our pleasure.

Given at Fountainbleau, the eighth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1603, and of our reign the 15th.

Signed ' Henry,' and underneath, by the king ' Potier,' and sealed upon single label with yellow wax.

CHAPTER III.

1605. A point of land situated near the head of the basin of Port Royal was selected whereon to place the new settlement. The chief river, (called the river of Port Royal, afterwards the river Dauphin, and now the Annapolis river) was in front, and at some distance in the rear there ran a smaller stream, then called the l'Equille, subsequently the little river, and Allen's creek or river. Buildings for residence and storehouses were erected. The Indians of the country, then called Souriquois, since Micmacs, were friendly, and exchanged furs for European goods, and everything for the time being was prosperous. Towards autumn de Monts sailed for France, leaving Pontgravé, as his lieutenant, with Champlain and Champdore to have charge of any expeditions or explorings by land or water.

The basin of Annapolis is sheltered all round by high ground. It extends in length about eighteen miles, and is three or four miles wide. The water is deep and the bottom good. The entrance from the bay of Fundy is narrow. The scenery of the basin is beautiful, and the site of Port Royal, now Annapolis, is delightful. The river is navigable for small vessels as far as Bridgetown, fifteen miles higher up. The river has its source in the Caribou bog in Aylesford. The climate here is mild, and the summer it is thought sets in earlier than in most parts of Nova-Scotia. Extensive alluvial grounds redeemed from the sea, called (dyked marshes,) with good uplands, and plenty of wood for fencing, fuel and building, unite to make this an agricultural country of great value. The land is well wooded, as

you recede from the cultivated farms. It must have been abounding in game, birds and fish, when the French first came to settle. Charlevoix says, (vol. I., p. 181), "The climate" "there is temperate, the winter less rough than in many" "other places of the coast, the game abundant, the country" "charming, vast meadows environed by large forests, and" "everywhere fertile lands." On the Southeastern shore of the basin there are the Moose river, Bear river, and near Digby the river Raquette. In the basin are Goat island and Bear island. On the south side there is a remarkably pretty inlet called the Joggin. Indeed among the soft and varied landscapes which Nova-Scotia presents in summer, none are more diversified and agreeable than the views on the river and basin of Annapolis.

Pontgravé used every care and was active in making suitable arrangements for the lodging and comfort of those who stayed. With the arrival of winter, the Indians came from distances to Port Royal, bringing the skins of the beaver, the otter and the moose to barter. They also brought with them fresh meat, and feasted merrily. Bread was abundant in the settlement for the colonists and their Indian friends, but their stock of wine was exhausted before the winter came to an end. —[*Lescarbot's New France*, 2 *Churchill's Voyages*.] The disposition shewn by the Micmacs to a friendly intercourse with the French may be attributed to two causes: 1. That the Micmacs, though called savages, were an intelligent, honest, and kind race of men. 2. That for a century before, from 1504 to 1604, there had been dealings and acquaintance between them and fishermen from Bretagne, the Basques and other French, who frequented these coasts. To what extent this existed cannot, perhaps, be now ascertained; but the facts of Rossignol being found here with his vessel trading, and of the many voyages of Savalette to Acadie, lead to the inference that much commerce existed before 1605. One of the greatest annoyances the settlers felt, was their being compelled to grind up their grain in hand mills. The Indians declined to assist in this severe labor, although half the meal ground was offered them as recompense. Six of the settlers died this

winter, and Lescarbot thought this labor of grinding had contributed to kill them. They had not cut trenches to carry off surface water from their dwellings, so that they were damp and unwholesome ; and he also blamed their drinking brook water, instead of the water of some spring, for their ill health ; but as he did not arrive at Port Royal until the next season, he speaks by hearsay and conjecture. 1606. The winter being past, and the sea navigable, monsieur du Pontgravé fitted out the barque which remained with him, in order to make another voyage down the coast to cape Mallebarre, in search of a milder climate for settlement, Port Royal being thought unfit, though sheltered on the North and Northwest by high land. The vessel was twice driven back by contrary winds, and on a third attempt struck on the rocks near the entry of the port. In fine, he gave up the project ; but while he waited for the succor and supplies that M. de Monts, on leaving for France, promised to send out in the following spring, he nevertheless was prudent enough to build another barque and a shallop, intending, if no supplies came, to seek with these vessels for French ships in the Eastern parts, where the French were in the habit of sojourning to dry their fish ; such as Campseau, (Canso), English port, (Louisburg,) Miramichi, bay of Chaleur, &c., and in case of finding them, to ship himself and his people in them, and so to return to France.

M. de Monts, on his return to France, found great discouragements. The heavy expense, and small return of his adventure, set the minds of people at home against it. He persevered, howsoever, in his plans, and in the spring wrote to Poutrincourt, soliciting his continued assistance. Poutrincourt persuaded Marc L'Escarbot, an advocate of Paris, to go with them. The complaints of the French fishermen induced the king to revoke the exclusive privileges of the fur trade which de Monts held. 1 *Charlevoix*, p. 184. Poutrincourt endeavored, but without success, to obtain at Paris some learned priest to go out with him, to assist the only one who remained at Port Royal. On this occasion, de Monts had the aid of two respectable merchants of Rochelle, messieurs Macquin and Georges. With their help, after long delays and difficulties, he

fitted out the Jonas, of 150 tons, captain Foulques, at the port of Rochelle. On the 11th of May, 1606, de Monts, Poutrincourt and Lescarbot being on board, the Jonas left Rochelle harbor, and on Saturday, Whitsun eve, the 13 May, they weighed anchor, and put out to sea. After a long voyage, they sighted St. Pierre island, Newfoundland, and came near enough to Canseau to meet and converse with Frenchmen from St. Malo, in their fishing smacks, and Indians of the coast. Here some of their men landed, intending to go along the shore to Port Royal. July 23 they touched at port Mouton, where seventeen men were landed. They found the cabins that de Monts had made there in 1604 uninjured, and at this place they took in wood and water. On the 25 July they passed near cape Sable, and on the 26th they cast anchor at the mouth of Port Royal, firing two guns as a salute, the ebb tide preventing their going in then. On Thursday, the 27th, they got in with the flood tide. They displayed their white banner, and were saluted from the fort by four guns, and returned it from the ship with three. 1 *Charlevoix* 184. Thus ended a voyage, on which the success of this settlement essentially depended, for the long delay in the arrival of the Jonas, and the scarcity of food, &c., induced Pontgravé to embark all his people, except two men left in the fort; and they had set sail, and were on their way to France, when he met a shallop, by which he learned that the Jonas had been spoken off Canseau, and on this news he went back to Port Royal. There he found that the Jonas had already got in, they having missed meeting each other. It appears that de Mont's ship, coming from the eastward, had gone outside of Brier island; while the vessels of Pontgravé, on leaving the basin of Port Royal, had gone through the *petit passage*, between Long island and the main, and thus they did not fall in with the Jonas.

When de Monts and his friends got to Port Royal, they found there only the two men, named la Taille and Miquelet, who had volunteered to remain in charge of the place and of the stores left behind. Pontgravé had but a barque and a shallop. His design was to run down the Eastern coast with these, in hopes to meet some French ship that should give

them a passage home. On Friday, July 28, 1606, the day after his landing, Poutrincourt set his people to work. Some to till and manure the ground, others to clean the chambers, and every one at some preparatory labor. Meantime some of the men who had landed from the Jonas at Canseau, met with Pontgravé on the coast, and came on with him. Pontgravé, returning with his barque and shallop, got into Port Royal on Monday, 31st July, where he remained until the 8th of August, intending to go to France in the Jonas, as a passenger, and to leave his barque and shallop for the benefit of the colony.

The reunion of the friends was the occasion of a time of festival. Poutrincourt opened a hogshead of his best wine, and all who came were free to partake, until, as Lescarbot says, some of them drunk until their caps turned round. Lescarbot, after describing the obstacles that attended the fitting out the Jonas, and the damages she sustained before sailing from France, says, "Notwithstanding M. de Monts and his associates did bear manfully the loss ; and I must needs be so bold as to tell in this occurrence, that if ever that country be inhabited with Christians and civil people, the first praise thereof must of right be due to the authors of this voyage." On his arrival at Port Royal, he says, "Finally, being in the port, it was unto us a thing marvellous to see the fair distance and the largeness of it, and the mountains and hills that invironed it, and I wondered how so fair a place did remain desert, being all filled with woods, seeing that so many pine away in the world which might make good of this land, if only they had a chief governor to conduct them thither. At the very beginning we were desirous to see the country up the river, where we found meadows almost continually above twelve leagues of ground, among which brooks do run without number, which come from the hills and mountains adjoining. The woods are very thick on the water shores." Reverting to the abundance of brooks, he says, "Yea, even in the passage to come forth from the said fort, for to go to sea, there is a brook that falleth from the high rocks down, and in falling disperseth itself into a small rain, which is very delightful in summer," and he speaks of

caves at the foot, and a rainbow when the sun shines there. (The Jesuit relation, written in 1614, refers to the vast pasturages and meadows in the bay of Chignecto (Cumberland, and on the river of Port Royal and other parts of Acadie.)

1606. Lescarbot says of the marsh meadows, "Some might" "marvel how those meadows are made, seeing that all the" "ground in these places is covered with woods. For satisfac-" "tion whereof, let the curious reader know, that in high spring" "tides, specially in March and September, the flood cover-" "eth those shores, which hindereth the trees there to take" "root. But everywhere, where the water overfloweth not," "there are woods." This alluvial land in different parts of the bay of Fundy has been greatly increased in extent and in value, by dykes built to keep out the sea. The French began this, and it has been carried on to a much greater extent by their English successors. The land thus made available for agriculture, and called dyked marsh, contains a great depth of soil free entirely from stones. It consists of the finer portions of earth washed down by the rains that have fallen during unnumbered centuries from the higher grounds, and it contains also much decayed vegetable matter. It is exceedingly rich and productive, requiring no aid of artificial manure, it being only necessary to till it to check the rapid growth of weeds. Wheat and other grain, as well as grass, are cultivated profitably on these marshes. When the surface has lost its fertility by exhausting crops, its powers of production are renewed by letting in the salt water for two or three seasons, whereby the necessity of digging or ploughing is saved. Marshes of this description are to be found in the counties of Annapolis, Kings, Hants, Colchester and Cumberland, all lying on the bay of Fundy.

CHAPTER IV.

POUTRINCOURT having a fondness and esteem for agriculture, proceeded, in fifteen days after his arrival, to sow a variety of grain and vegetables, and within eight days he had the pleasure of seeing the beginning of their growth, on the 20 August. Lescarbot says, "Poutrincourt caused an enclosure of ground" "to be cultivated, with the aid of our apothecary, Louis" "Hebert, a man who, besides the experience he had in his" "art, took great pleasure in the cultivation of the earth." Hebert was born in Paris, and afterwards went to Quebec, where he obtained ten arpents of land in what is now the *haute ville*, (Upper town). Many of the old families of Canada trace their descent from him.—1 *Ferland's Canada*, p. 180.

On the 25 August, 1606, they began to prepare the ship Jonas and the barque for sea. Notwithstanding all the beauty and fertility of Port Royal, M. de Monts still felt a desire to find a better place at the Southward. He therefore prevailed on Poutrincourt to make another voyage to cape Mallebarre; and so the latter resolved to employ the rest of the summer in this expedition. On the 28 August, the ship and the barque both sailed from Port Royal, each taking a different course. In the ship, de Monts and Pontgravé returned to France. Poutrincourt went in the barque with M. de Champdore for master and guide, taking his course first towards the isle of St. Croix; but from stress of weather, the barque being also leaky, he was forced to put back again twice. Eventually they reached St. Croix, where they found corn growing, and

sent some of it to Port Royal. Lescarbot was requested to stay, to look to the house, and keep the rest of the company in concord. He employed himself there in preparing the ground to make inclosures, and gardens for corn and vegetables. He caused a ditch to be made all round the fort, to carry off the water that had lodged among the fallen trees and roots, and caused dampness. He says they had "store of joiners, carpenters, masons, stone cutters, locksmiths, tailors, sawyers," "mariners, &c." They were called on to work only three hours a day, they bestowed their spare hours on picking up shell fish; but one of M. de Monts' men supplied the table of Lescarbot and his friends with wild geese and other birds in plenty. Bread was abundant, and at first they had wine enough to give three quarts a head per day. This, from their hospitality, became afterwards scarcer, and they were reduced to a pint each daily. The provisions brought out on this second expedition were various and excellent, and they obtained sturgeon, salmon, also moose and caribou meat from the Indians in exchange for bread. The Indians were very friendly and generous, making a free gift to the French of half the venison they brought in, and selling the other half fairly and publickly, taking bread in payment. Some of the masons became bakers, and produced as good bread as that made in Paris, and one of the sawyers set himself, to manufacture charcoal, with success. *Ferland* (part 1. p. 70) says of Lescarbot, "Although a Frenchman, and little of a friend to the Jesuits, he was religious," "and well enough instructed in Christian truths to act as a catechist for the Indians of the environs of Port Royal. He fulfilled the functions of this office with zeal, there being no priests there; for those who had come in 1604 had left Acadie, and M. de Poutrincourt, in the hurry of his departure, had not been able to obtain any to accompany him." "Lescarbot, a man of mind, and endowed with great good sense, aided the success of the settlement by his gaiety and his good advice." Meanwhile Poutrincourt pursued his coasting voyage towards cape Mallebarre, (cape Cod), touching at many harbors in his way. Near the cape, the shoals made the navigation dangerous. The rudder of his vessel was broken,

and it cost him fifteen days delay to repair damages. Signs of hostility and of treachery appearing on the part of the Indians, Poutrincourt ordered all hands to leave the shore and go on board. Five young men, who disobeyed this command, were surprized by the savages, and several of them killed. On the alarm being given, ten men went ashore in the shallop, including Poutrincourt himself, and his son; a son of Pontgravé; Robert Gravé; Daniel Hay, the surgeon; the apothecary and the trumpeter. This party landed in haste, without arms, but the Indians fled. The French found two of their men dead, whom they buried on the spot; a third man died on the shore, and a fourth of his wounds at Port Royal. The fifth was wounded, and survived then, but came to an ignominious end in Canada not long afterwards. The report was that they had fired two muskets at the Indians, because an Indian had stolen a hatchet; and that the surprize and murder were in revenge for their conduct. After the French had returned to their vessel, the Indians came at low water and tore down the cross under which the men were buried, took up one of the bodies, and by their gestures insulted the French, who could not come on shore. They had before yelled and danced in triumph, while the funeral service was performed. When the tide served, the French landed and replaced the cross and the body. After this Poutrincourt tried to pass beyond the cape; but the weather being adverse, he put back, and, with continued disasters, arrived at Port Royal on the 14th day of November, 1606.

M. Poutrincourt was joyfully received; l'Escarbot, who was addicted to poetry, making French verses for the occasion, and placing over the gate of the fort the arms of France, environed with laurel crowns of native growth, with the king's posy or motto, *Duo protegit unus*, and under, the arms of M. de Monts, with this inscription, *Dabit deus his quoque finem*; and those of M. Poutrincourt, with this other inscription, *Invia virtuti nulla est via*; both of these also environed with bays. The public rejoicing being finished, M. de Poutrincourt had a care to see his corn, the greatest part of which he had sowed two leagues from the fort, up the river l'Equille; the rest

near the fort. He found that which was first sown very forward, but not the last, which had been sown the 6th and 10th November, but it continued to grow under the snow. Lescarbot notices the continuance of charcoal burning for the use of the forge, and the use made of the compass as a guide in the woods ; also the making of wood roads. He also describes an arrangement, originated by Champlain, and established at the table of M. Poutrincourt, called *l'ordre de bon temps*, (the order of happy times.) There were fifteen guests, each of whom, in his turn, became steward and caterer of the day. At the dinner, the steward, with napkin on shoulder, staff of office in hand, and the collar of the order round his neck, led the van. The other guests in procession followed, each bearing a dish. After grace in the evening, he resigned the insignia to his successor, and they drank to each other in a cup of wine. It was the steward's duty to look to supplies, and he would go hunt or fish a day or two before his turn came, to add some dainty to the ordinary fare. During this winter they had fowl and game in abundance, supplied by the Indians and by their own exertions. Those feasts were often attended by Indians of all ages and both sexes, sometimes twenty or thirty being present. The sagamore, or chief, Membertou, the greatest sagamore of the land, and other chiefs, when there, were treated as guests and equals. *Ferland, Canada, part I., p. 71*, says, "A good" "and joyous company of gentlemen was united about Pou-" "trincourt, among whom were to be remarked his son," "the young Biencourt, Champlain, Lescarbot, Louis Hébert," "and probably Claude de la Tour, as well as his young son" "Charles Amador de la Tour. Champlain established the" "society *de bon temps*, whose members served as *maîtres*" "d'hôtel, each one his turn, and whose duty it was while they" "filled this office, to watch over the wants and the amuse-" "ments of the company. The fishing and hunting, which" "were extremely abundant, furnished inexhaustible resources" "to this public functionary." Although the settlers were thus cheered up, and the winter was a fine one, yet four deaths from disease occurred among them in February and March, 1607.

1607. The colonists were at work, early in the spring, sowing their little garden plots. In order to avoid the severe fatigue the men had experienced with the hand mills, M. Poutrincourt built a water mill. The millers employed their leisure time in catching herrings and pilchards, which were of great service for food; and two hogsheads of herrings and one of pilchards were salted and sent to France. He also built two barques, and having no pitch, he collected the gum of the fir trees, caused bricks to be made, contrived a furnace, also an alembic made up of several kettles, and distilled this gum into pitch. Through the period which had elapsed since de Monts first landed in Acadie, whatever joys or sorrows the colonists had felt, it would seem that they were destitute of the society of woman, except of such Indian females as they might occasionally see, as no mention is made of any white woman in the accounts left us of their adventures.

The progress of the colony was at this time abruptly interrupted. One morning after prayer had been said, and breakfast distributed as usual there, the Indian chief, Membertou, came to tell them that a vessel was getting up the basin towards the fort. Poutrincourt, in his small barque, with Champdore and Daniel Hay, went to meet her, and saluted her with four discharges of cannon and twelve of his fauconets, which salute was returned. She proved to be a small barque, under the charge of a young man of St. Malo, named Chevalier. On his arrival at the fort, Chevalier delivered letters to M. Poutrincourt, which were publicly read. They were to the effect, "that for to help to save the charges of the voyage," "the ship, being yet the Jonas, should stay at Campseau port," "there to fish for cods, by reason that the merchants associ-" "ate with mons. de Monts, knew not that there was any fish-" "ing further than that place; notwithstanding, if it were" "necessary, he should cause the ship to come to Port Royal." "Moreover that the society was broken, because that, con-" "trary to the king's edict, the Hollanders, conducted by a" "treacherous Frenchman called La Jeunesse, had, the year" "before, taken up the beavers and other furs of the great" "river of Canada, a thing which did turn to the great damage"

“ of the society, which for that cause could no longer furnish ”
“ the charges of the inhabiting in these parts, and therefore ”
“ did send nobody to remain after us.” It was the cause of grief to many of the colonists to leave a place now so promising, with gardens and comforts gathering round them.

About this time, Membertou, who was a very old chief, went, in the beginning of June, at the head of four hundred of his people, to make war on the Armouchiquois tribe at Choüakoet, which was about eight leagues distant from Port Royal, (called by the Indians Shawmakotook, now called Saco. 2 *Belknap Am. B.*, 149.) Membertou remembered Cartier's visit in 1534, being a married man with a family so far back, that is over 70 years previously, and yet he looked like a man not over fifty. He was friendly to the French, and afterwards died a sincere convert to the Christian faith. He had been an Autmoïn, that is, a juggler, prophet or medicine man. He had the talent of telling stories, and amused and interested the French. The chiefs of the Souriquois (Micmacs) are said by Denys to have been great at telling of tales, and laughing. When the pipe went round in company, the practised story teller began. The bowl of the pipe was a lobster's claw, or else was made of a red or green stone. The tube was worked with care, and was decorated with porcupine quills. The tobacco was of a small sized plant, which they raised themselves. Membertou was tall in stature, and had a beard, which the Indians in general have not.

Poutrincourt wished to delay his departure from Acadie until his corn at Port Royal was ripe, accordingly he sent Chevalier across the bay to Ouigoudi, (now St. John's river), where he might buy beaver, and to Sainte Croix. Lescarbot went with him, and describes an encampment or town of Indians on the river. Many of them belonged to Gaspé, whence there was, as they stated, a journey of only six days in their canoes, using lakes and rivers, and carrying their canoes over the portages or intervening necks of land. These Indians had assembled on the St. John, to join Membertou in his war against the Armouchiquois. Lescarbot speaks of steel discovered there among the rocks, by Champdore and himself,

and molten by Poutrincourt, of which a knife was made, that cut like a razor. After paying a visit to the isle of St. Croix, where the former settlement had been made, they returned to Port Royal. Poutrincourt had himself been to Mines, and had got back. In consequence of the unfavorable despatches they had received from the company in France, most of the settlers embarked at Port Royal for Canseau, in two of their small barques on the 30 July. That in which Lescarbot sailed put into Lahève. There he found a mine of "marcasite of copper." They next entered a small but good port, four leagues short of Canseau, where they were received kindly by captain Savalet, of St. Jean de Luz. Lescarbot says, "This good," "honest man told us that the same voyage was the forty-" "second voyage that he had made into these parts, and" "nevertheless, the Newfoundland men do make but one in a" "year. He was marvellously pleased with his fishing, and" "told us moreover, that he took every day fifty crowns worth" "of fish, and that his voyage would be worth a thousand" "pounds. He paid wages to sixteen men, and his vessel was" "of eighty tons, which could carry 100,000 dry fishes." After four days delay, they reached Canseau. Poutrincourt, finding his grain ripe, pulled up specimens of it by the root, to carry to the mother country, to shew the goodness of the soil and climate. Membertou and his men returned victorious, but were grieved at the departure of their French friends, who promised to send successors, and left them ten hogsheads of meal. August 11, 1607, Poutrincourt, with eight men, left Port Royal (uninhabited now) in a shallop for Canseau, and after visiting captain Savalet's vessel, and being kindly entertained, arrived at Canseau about the 26th August. On the 3rd September the colonists sailed from Canseau in the Jonas, for France; on the 26th they sighted the Land's end in Cornwall, and on the 28th they entered Roscoff, in Lower Brétagne. Poutrincourt, having arrived at Paris, exhibited his specimens of corn to the king; he also presented him with five wild geese, which he had bred from the eggs, and they were sent to Fontainebleau. [During this year 1607, the English are said to

have made a settlement at Sagadahock.—I *Williamson's History of Maine*, p. 198.]

1608. De Monts, in March, 1608, sent out several families, but whether they went to Port Royal, or to Canada, Lescarbot does not say: père Charlevoix says they went to the Saint Lawrence, v. 1., p. 88, but he adds that Champdore and others had gone to Port Royal, and found the grain growing there finely, and that they had been received with friendship by Membertou. Lescarbot closes this part of his work by stating M. Poutrincourt's determination to settle Port Royal, and to take his family there. Lescarbot dates his work in 1609. M. de Champlain began his settlement at Quebec in this year, 1608. M. de Monts had now turned his attention and devoted his exertions to Canada. Champlain arrived at Quebec on the 3rd July, 1608, and began at once to erect buildings and clear land. Champlain says he was himself three years and a half in Acadie, part of the time at Ste. Croix, and part at Port Royal, *vol.* 1., p. 61.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

It is not to be supposed that the Indians who frequented the settlement at Port Royal were the ignorant, naked savages some persons may have imagined. The climate of the northern parts of America would never have permitted men to dispense with clothing. There can be little doubt, that when these lands were first visited by Europeans, the generality of the aborigines had supplies of clothing, which the skins of animals taken in the chase, and those of the seal would furnish in plenty. They had acquired the art of dressing these skins, and making them pliable and soft. Independent of the necessities of covering, the natural love of ornament must have tended to care in the beauty of their dress. They have ever displayed skill in making their wigwams or tents of bark—in their canoes of the same material, (the bark of the birch tree), so light for carriage, so beautiful, framed with delicate pieces of elastic wood inside and securely fastened and made water-tight—in their bows and arrows—their fish spear for salmon and for lobsters, and in the peculiar portable cradle for their infants, carried by the mother on her back in their journeys. All these articles were peculiarly and skilfully adapted to the necessities of frequent removal from place to place, as game or fish became scarce. The shoe they wore (moccasin) displays great judgment and inge-

nuity, and when decorated, as is often the case, shows great taste. The snow shoe or raquette is an instance of masterly adaptation to use, and has proved not only valuable but indispensable to winter travelling in these regions. It is not so certain that the basket work and ornamental porcupine quill work were acquired by them before their intercourse with white men ; but it is most probable that they had made such articles for use and show for centuries before, and that the art of dying in many colors was known and practised among them long before the French first settled in Acadie. Although they possessed no written alphabet or letters, yet the structure of their language is so complex, and it is so musical and refined, as to lead to the inference that they had long been a civilized and thinking race of people. Around our larger towns and villages the remnants of Indian tribes, often half casts, may be found in an indolent, miserable and beggarly condition, many of whom are addicted to intemperate drinking habits, and our people are apt to judge of the Micmac race by such unfortunate specimens, and in this way a very low estimate of the Micmac is adopted. A fair and liberal review of the position and conduct of this little nation would lead to more kindly and favorable conclusions. Bad men have in some instances been found among them, but as far as our records can serve, it appears that they have usually been honest, frank, brave and humane, and they exhibited these qualities as well before as since their conversion to the Christian faith.

Their mode of warfare differed from ours, and in some cases their war resulted in cruel and indiscriminate slaughter, without distinction of sex or age ; but on actual investigation of the facts, it will not be found that this sanguinary theory of severity was usually or generally carried into effect. If their hostilities were in some cases cruel, the retaliation by the Europeans was often as bad, if not worse. Very much of the mischief occasioned by Indian wars since the settlement of these countries by the French and English, has been owing to the influence of the Europeans being exerted to stimulate the Indian to destroy their rivals in trade and settlement. (Mr. Catlin's work on the Indians of North America is deserving of praise, and it shows how little the term "savage", which the French applied, is a correct designation.)

Drake's Book of the Indians, book 2, p. 12, quoting from Mourt's relation, in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, VIII, 218, 219., reads thus :—

"As good as his word, Samoset came the next Sunday, and brought with him " five others, tall, proper men. They had every man a deer's skin on him, and " the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like, on one arm. They " had, most of them, long hosen up to their groins, close made ; and above their " groins to their waist, another leather ; they were altogether like the Irish " trowsers. They are of complexion like our English gipsies ; no hair or very " little on their faces ; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut be- " fore, some trussed up before with a feather broadwise, like a fan ; another a " fox tail hanging out." This was in 1620, at the landing of the pilgrims near cape Cod. In the "*History of the British Empire in America*," p. 79, 80, in the description of the Indians of Hudson's bay, is the following : "How far decency " might cause these Indians to cloath themselves does not appear, but it might " be that and the nature of the climate ; for though the boys are permitted to go " almost naked until they are ten years old, or more, the girls wear a frock, " such as will be mentioned hereafter, quite from their infancy. To make their " cloaths of skins, was not only a thing plain and obvious in itself, as well as "

"suitable ; but they are under a necessity of so doing, as those parts supplied "
 "nothing else which would answer the purpose ; and their industry taught them "
 "to make the skins soft and pliable, and to be clear of that stiffness which would "
 "make them in a manner unserviceable. This kind of clothing was in use "
 "amongst all the nations in the earliest times, and they agreed with the Indians "
 "not only in use, but also in the forms they made up the skins in. The Indians "
 "have a large square outer coat, much like a blanket in shape and size, made "
 "either of deer skins, or a parcel of beaver skins sewed together. It hangs "
 "loose from the shoulders, trailing along the ground, and is tied across the "
 "breast with two strings. The part that is behind the neck and on the shoul- "
 "ders lay in rolls ; sometimes they set it up hollow like a cope ; at other times "
 "it lies flat like a cope hanging part down each arm. It is painted on the "
 "leather side of the skin with strokes of red and black, like a border, near "
 "to the edge or outer part of the coat, round the bottom, and some way up "
 "the sides. This outer coat is all chipped or hanging in thongs, those at "
 "the bottom about an inch wide, and three inches long, but those up the "
 "sides and nearer the head, less ; some of which they also paint red. The "
 "best dressed people among the Greeks and Romans, in the earliest times, "
 "were those who wore the skins of beasts which they had taken amongst their "
 "herds, or that they had killed in the chase. They were, a long time, the "
 "Royal mantle of Princes, and the ornament of heroes. The Indians make a "
 "frock of these skins, which they wear under their outer coat. This frock is of "
 "deer or mouse (moose ?) skin, reaching to the knees, with a slit only at the "
 "neck, for the easier getting it on, and a slit a little way up each thigh ; mostly "
 "with sleeves that reach to the wrist, and are joined to the coat by a seam three "
 "inches down the arm. The lower part they paint with two red strokes, and "
 "also clip the bottom to make it hang in small thongs like fringe, some of which "
 "they also paint red ; and at the part where the arms are sewed on or joined, "
 "they usually ornament with fringes made of beads and brass tags, or with work "
 "which is of porcupine quills, after the manner of an embroidery, and is what "
 "they call Nimmy Hogging—"the woman's dress is like the man's, with only "
 "this difference, that the frock hath slits made under the arms, and generally "
 "longer than the frock which the men wear ; under the frock, both sexes have "
 "skins which pass between their legs, and are fastened to a strip of deer's skin, "
 "tied above the hips ; a man when in the tent will strip himself of all his clothes "
 "but this ; the woman never undresses herself farther than her frock. The "
 "stockings are of the same materials as the frocks, shaped according to the leg, "
 "or as a spatterdash, leaving a border where they are sewed up on the side, of "
 "about four fingers in breadth, which they scallop at the edges ; these stockings "
 "reach quite to the thighs, and are made fast to the strip of deer skin round "
 "their waist, gathered below the knee with garters made of porcupine quills "
 "colored and deers' sinews, very neat. These stockings, as well as shoes, they "
 "seldom wear in summer. Their shoes are of deer skin or mouse (moose ?) "
 "skin, stripped of the hair, the sole and upper part the same, without heels, "
 "and gathered round the instep as a purse. The shoes are often worked up the "
 "front with porcupine quills, variously colored," &c. Such was the Indian "
 "dress, but they have in general found it necessary to wear cloth clothing, since the "
 "Europeans have settled on their lands. The Micmac usually wears an English "
 "hat, a frock coat and leggings made up by the squaws. The color is dark blue,

with some red trimmings as borderings. His finer dress is similar, with bead trimmings. He retains his moccasins, and frequently he wears a belt outside his frock, and a pouch of skin to hold his money and tobacco. His gun, his squaw, his little dog and his bark canoe, are his chief worldly properties. If he be a chief or great captain, he will, on ceremonial occasions, when he goes to worship, or to wait upon a provincial governor, take pains to be elegantly attired in scarlet or blue clothes, made up in an antique pattern of a semi-military cut, derived probably from the French style of dress of the 16th and 17th centuries. He is also fond of wearing silver medals, the gifts of governors and bishops to himself or his parents.

While on this subject, I feel compelled to insert some verses anonymously published not long since, on the Indian names of places in Acadie. They appear to me as remarkable for good taste as for metrical sweetness and graceful versification :—

THE INDIAN NAMES OF ACADIA.

The memory of the Red Man,
How can it pass away,
While their names of music linger
On each mount, and stream, and bay ?
While MUSQUODOBIT'S waters
Roll sparkling to the main ;
While falls the laughing sunbeam
On CHEGOGIN'S fields of grain.

While floats our country's banner
O'er CHEBUCTO'S glorious wave ;
And the frowning cliffs of SCATARIE
The trembling surges brave ;
While breezy ASPOTOGON
Lifts high its summit blue,
And sparkles on its winding way
The gentle SISSIBOU.

While ESCASONI'S fountains
Pour down their crystal tide ;
While INGANISH'S mountains
Lift high their forms of pride ;
Or while on MABOU'S river
The boatman plies his oar,
Or the billows burst in thunder
On CHICKABEN'S rock-girt shore.

The memory of the Red Man,
It lingers like a spell
On many a storm-swept headland,
On many a leafy dell ;

Where TUSKET's thousand islets
Like emeralds stud the deep ;
Where BLOMIDON, a sentry grim,
His endless watch doth keep.

It dwells round CATALONE's blue lake,
Mid leafy forests hid—
Round fair DISCOUSE, and the rushing tides
Of the turbid PISQUID.
And it lends, CHEBOGUE, a touching grace,
To thy softly flowing river,
As we sadly think of the gentle race
That has passed away forever.

G

CHAPTER V.

HITHERTO our chief original authority for the events attending on the settlement of Acadie, whether great or small, has been the interesting and not unamusing work of Lescarbot, called *Nova Francia*, as contained in an English translation, in the *2nd volume of Churchill's Collection, London, 1745, in folio*. Lescarbot gives a full account of the productions, climate, aborigines, &c., and will always have an attraction for those who care to know anything of this land. Though evidently written by a cheerful, sanguine person ; yet making allowance for this, and for the passages in which he reports from the observation of others, there is a spirit of truth and a sincerity pervading his work. The same praise for simplicity and truth is due to the Relation of the Jesuits. I have to rely chiefly on the first volume of this work published at Quebec, in 1858, for occurrences in Acadie from 1608 to 1613. The descriptions it offers of the climate and country—of persons and events, are marked by high intelligence, good sense, and obvious integrity.

It appears that, at this time, the aborigines of the peninsula of Acadie were known to the French as the Souriquois, (in the 18th and 19th centuries called Micmacs,) and their total population about the year 1610 was estimated at from 3000 to 3500 souls. The Indians of New Brunswick, (as it is now called), were named the Etemenquois, or Etchemins ; and their number, reckoning as far as Pentagoët, (Penobscot), is set down at 2500, including probably the same people that we call the Malachites, or Meleçites. From Pentagoët to Kinnibequi,

(Kennebec), and further south to Chouacouët, (Saco), there was an Indian population of 3000, and there was yet another tribe called the Montagnets, comprising 1000 souls. In all there were about 10,000 or 12,000 Indians scattered among those innumerable rivers, lakes, bays, woods and shores, and it seems probable that all those of Gaspé, the bay of Chaleur, cape Bréton, and St. John's island, were included to make up the amount of Indian population.

At the close of 1607, as we have seen, all the followers of messieurs de Monts and Poutrincourt had returned to France, and all New France, (Canada and Acadie), was for the time without a French or other European inhabitant. In 1608 M. Champlain, appointed by de Monts as his lieutenant, was sent on further discoveries in the St. Lawrence, and at that time began the settlement of Quebec, a place since so important and celebrated. He built dwellings there and cleared land in 1608. [*Champlain*, v. 1., p. 151.] Poutrincourt (Jean de Poutrincourt) having requested of de Monts, while they were both in Acadie, to have a grant of Port Royal, obtained his consent. upon condition that he should bring out and settle several families there. Poutrincourt returning to France in 1607, petitioned king Henry the fourth to ratify this donation, with which request his majesty complied. The king decided that he would procure the services of the Jesuits in the conversion of the Indians in Acadie, and accordingly applied, through père Coton, to the General of the order. The king offered to allow 2000 *livres* (per annum?) from that time for the expences of the missionaries. [1 *Champlain*, p. 130] Père Pierre Biard, a native of Grenoble, was first selected from a number who offered to go, and he was sent to Bourdeaux from Lyon, where he had been teaching theology. When he got to Bourdeaux, about the end of the year, he found that the people were surprised at his coming, as no news had arrived of the expedition sent in the summer to Canada, but rumors of disaster prevailed, and there was no idea then of sending out vessels.

1609. An inscription of the date 1609 is said to have been found on a stone at the Scotch fort opposite to Goat island, in Annapolis basin. We may conclude that M. Poutrincourt had

been unable, as yet, to follow out his intention of re-settling Port Royal, as we find that he came to Paris in the latter part of the year 1609. The king was surprised and vexed to find he had not gone out to Port Royal the year before,—having been under the impression that he would do so immediately on the ratification of his grant. Poutrincourt satisfied the king, promising to proceed as soon as possible with his settlement, and father Coton offered Poutrincourt the assistance of any of the members of his order. Poutrincourt said that this had better be postponed, until he should go out to Acadie and make arrangements at Port Royal; and that he would send his son back to France, who should carry out any missionaries the king approved of. [1 *Champlain*, 131.] After this, Poutrincourt spent all the winter in making preparations for his voyage. Claude de la Tour is supposed to have come to Acadie about 1606 or 1609, and his descendants averred that he held a commission of governor and obtained large grants of land from Louis 13, but the grants have not been produced.

1610. About the end of February, 1610, M. Poutrincourt set sail, and did not reach Port Royal until the beginning of June, perhaps touching at other places on his way, to trade or for information.

On the 24 June, 1610, St. John's day, about 24 or 25 of the Indians were baptized at Port Royal, by a priest called *messire* Jossé Flesche, surnamed the patriarch, (called Josué Flèche by Champlain, v. 1., p. 131,) all the Indians of the neighborhood being there assembled. [The chief Membertou, of 100 years old, is said to have been then baptized.—*Laët*, p. 59.] M. Poutrincourt sent his son, M. Biencourt, who was about nineteen years old, back to France, to carry the news of the baptism of the Indians, and to bring out succors for the colony, which was insufficiently provided to face the ensuing winter. The means adopted by Biencourt on his arrival in France was a partnership he formed with Thomas Robin, called de Coloignes, a youth, whose father was in business. It was agreed between them that de Coloignes should supply the settlement at Port Royal for five years with all necessaries, and should provide funds for the barter trade with the Indians, and should have

certain specified profits and advantages in return. Coloignes and Biencourt came to Paris in August. and the baptism of the new Indian converts was made known at court. [Henry the 4th was assassinated by Ravallac 14 May, 1610.]

Madame la marquise de Guercheville, the wife of the *sieur de Liencourt*, first esquire of his majesty, and governor of Paris, actuated by religious zeal for the conversion of the Indians, interested herself in forwarding the projected mission of Jesuits to Port Royal. Father Pierre Biard, already mentioned, and father Enemond Masse, (called Raimond Masse, 1 Champlain. 131), (who died at Sylleri in Canada in 1646, 1 Charlevoix, 416), were appointed to go out, and having had a meeting personally with messrs. Robin and Biencourt, an arrangement was made for their being at Dieppe to embark for Acadie on the 24th of October of the same year, 1610: for at that time they were told every thing would be ready, wind and tide serving. In consequence of this the queen, Marie de Medicis, directed five hundred crowns to be paid to the Jesuit missionaries, (Champlain says the 500 crowns were given by king Louis, having been promised by his father),—the marchioness de Vermeuil presented them with suitable dresses and utensils for performing mass,—madame de Sourdis furnished them with linen,—and madame de Guercheville with whatever else they required for the voyage. [1 *Charlevoix*, p. 190. *Relations des Jesuites*, v. 1., p. 27.] On the missionaries proceeding to the *rendezvous* at Dieppe, at the time appointed, they found not only that the vessel was not ready for sea, but that two traders, named du Chesne and du Jardin, huguenots, who had made advances for her outfit and cargo, on behalf of Robin, insisted that no Jesuits should embark in her, professing at the same time their willingness that any other priests might go; and Robin and Biencourt were compelled to act in conformity with their views, being dependant on them for part of their funds. The queen, on hearing of this obstacle, ordered M. de Cigoigne, the governor of Dieppe, to remove it, but in vain. So madame de Guercheville, having ascertained that the advances of the Dieppe traders did not exceed 4000 livres, set herself to work to raise the amount by subscription among the chief princes

and lords of the court, and speedily obtained the requisite amount. Thus armed with the means, with the approval and consent of Robin and Biencourt, she discharged the demands of du Chesne and du Jardin, and thus the vessel was enabled to sail. At the same time she bargained for an interest in the profits of the goods and trade, such share in the profits to belong to the Jesuits' mission, in proportion to the sum thus advanced on behalf of the undertaking.

[In 1610 the English began a settlement in Newfoundland, at Conception bay, and the same year Samuel Argal visited Seal rock, near the mouth of Penobscot bay, in Lat. 43° 44' North. Sir George Somers also landed at Sagadahock in September, 1610, and captain Edmund Harlow visited Monhegan, and carried off two natives. 1 *Williamson's History of Maine*, p. 207. The French king is said to have appointed the count de Bourbon, governor of Canada, in this year, 1610.]

CHAPTER VI.

1611. The pecuniary difficulty having been removed, Biercourt sailed with the two Jesuits on board, on the 26 January, 1611. On this voyage, which was of four months' duration, they met M. Champlain, who was on his way to Quebec, among the ice, about the end of April. It was fresh water ice, which had been over a hundred leagues to sea from the St. Lawrence. In some instances they saw icebergs floating, of the height of thirty or forty fathoms, say from 180 to 240 feet high, "as big as several castles joined together, or as the" "church of Notre Dame of Paris, with part of the isle, houses" "and palaces." At length they made the land at Canseau, and after following the coast, and stopping at several places, they arrived at Port Royal on Whitsunday, the 22 June, 1611. The missionaries, by their devout and humble conduct on the voyage, obtained the favor and esteem of the captain of the vessel, Jean d'Aune, and of the pilot, David de Bruges, both of the reformed religion. [1 *Champlain*, 133.] The vessel was small, not over 60 tons, and the crew and passengers amounted to 36 in number. (Laët gives a more unfavorable account of the conduct of the Jesuits, p. 59.) Poutrincourt had with him at Port Royal twenty-three persons, without sufficient means to subsist them, and he had been forced to depend on aid from the Indians to support them for some weeks. His joy was therefore greater at the arrival of succor, on account of its being so long delayed. He had now, however, fifty-nine mouths at his daily table, besides the chief, Membertou, and the chief's daughter and train. This little vessel was not over-

stocked with provisions, being fitted out more in the manner of a fishing vessel than any other. He therefore deemed it necessary to go in this, his own vessel, to the opposite coast for further supplies, and father Biard went with him. They went to a harbor called *La pierre blanche*, (the white stone), lying twenty-two leagues due West from Port Royal. There they found four French vessels, 1. one belonging to M. de Monts. 2. a vessel of Rochelle. 3. a St. Malo vessel, belonging to du Pontgravé, commanded by a relative of his, captain Lasalle. 4. a barque also from St. Malo. Poutrincourt called them one by one before him, and made them recognize his son, Biencourt, as vice admiral; and he then requested them each to aid him with supplies, promising to repay them in France, to which they consented. On this occasion Biard reconciled some differences that existed between M. de Poutrincourt and the young Pontgravé, who was in refuge in that place among the Indians.

Poutrincourt left Port Royal for France to obtain further aid, in July, 1611, about the middle of the month, and got home about the middle of August, leaving his son Biencourt in command. Twenty-two persons in all, counting the two Jesuits, remained at Port Royal at his departure. The missionaries were very anxious to learn the Indian language, and set about it earnestly. In August, Biencourt heard that a vessel from Honfleur was at *Port aux Coquilles*, twenty-one leagues West from Port Royal, and taking father Biard and a small party with him, he went thither, and also to Ste. Croix, six leagues further. While they were away, Membertou, who had been the first Indian convert baptized in Acadie, and who had on that occasion received the name of Henry, in honor probably of Henry the fourth, became ill of a dysentery, and was brought in that condition from St. Mary's bay to Port Royal, to seek advice and care. Father Masse nursed him tenderly, but after Biard's return his case appeared fatal, and the Indian expressed his wish to be buried with his forefathers. Biard and Biencourt had a dispute on this subject; the former thinking that if the body of the chief were not interred in the Christian burial ground, his tribe might be led to doubt the

reality of his conversion, and that this idea would prove an obstacle to their own: while Biencourt, who had promised the old man previously to fulfil his desire, said that the Indian burial place could be consecrated. Finally, the affair was settled by Membertou's agreeing that father Biard should bury him with the Christians.—In October and November Biencourt made a trip to the river St. John, and then to Kennebec and the isle of Ste. Croix. During the last no one was left at Port Royal, except father Enemond Masse, and a young man from Paris, named Valentine Pageau. The snow began this season on the 26th November, and with the snow came short allowance to the colonists. The weekly food for each individual consisted of about ten ounces of bread, half a pound of lard, three dishfuls of peas or beans, and one dishful of prunes. During this time of scarcity, their Indian friends, (with the exception of the family of Membertou), did not burden the fort with their attendance. Sometimes, but rarely, the Membertou's called with a present of game, and thus made a real festival for the French. On the third sunday after Christmas, father Biard having preached a sermon from the text, "*Vinum non habent*," out of the gospel for the day, and made a practical application of it to their distresses,—after service, suggested to M. Biencourt to give his people the little wine he had left, saying that he had an inward feeling that relief was nigh. Biencourt complied with this proposal, and in reality a vessel arrived eight days after.

M. Poutrincourt having returned to France in August, 1611, applied to madame de Guercheville, who advanced a thousand crowns for the purchase of a cargo, securing to herself a further interest along with Robin and the Biencourts in the returns to be made from the colony. Poutrincourt having strictly reserved Port Royal to himself in the articles of agreement, assuming to have property in the rest of the province;—madame de Guercheville made enquiry and found that all the province, except Port Royal, belonged to M. de Monts. She then procured from de Monts a release of his rights, and from Louis 13, a grant of the province to herself, excepting Port Royal, which belonged to Poutrincourt. M. de Poutrincourt

put the control of the vessel and cargo in the hands of Simon Imbert. Imbert was a servant of M. Poutrincourt, and had previously been the keeper of a tavern at Paris, and he now wished to place the sea between himself and certain creditors. The master of the vessel was called Nicholas L'Abbé, of Dieppe, a man of good sense and character. This vessel left Dieppe on the 31st December, 1611, and arrived safe at Port Royal on the 23d January, 1612. Her coming was of course grateful to the hungry settlers.

Soon after, dissensions arose between Biencourt and the Jesuits. Gilbert du Thet, a member of that order, came out passenger in L'Abbé's vessel, and in presence of Biencourt and Biard expressed his surprise that Imbert, having charge of the embarkation, had brought no charter party or manifest, nor any statement of the disbursement of the money advanced by the marchioness, and alleged the sale of corn by Imbert at Dieppe. Imbert, being told of this, accused the Jesuits of contrivance with the marchioness to expel the Biencourts from their seigneurie and possessions, but was obliged subsequently to retract his assertions, and the disputes were finally pacified. About this time, father Masse went to St. John's river, to take up his abode with Louis Membertou and his family in the Indian way of life, in order to extend his knowledge of the Micmac language. Masse being at one time sick and in a separate cabin, (or wigwam as we call it), Membertou found him one day suffering great pain, and said, "Hear me, father:" "you are going to die. I foresee it. Write then to Biencourt" "and your brother, that you died of sickness, and that we" "have not killed you." "I shall take good care not to do so," said father Enemond, "for it may be that after I have writ—" "ten the letter you would kill me and carry back the letter" "of innocence that you did not kill me." The Indian acknowledged the propriety of his reply, and laughed, saying. "Well" "then, pray to Jesus that you may not die, to the end that I" "may not be accused of putting you to death." "So I shall" "do," said Enemond; "have no fear, I shall not die."

In the latter part of August, in this year, 1612, M. de Biencourt went to Mines and Chinictou, (now called Horton and

Cumberland), in a small shallop, having in her only eight days' provisions. Father Biard accompanied him. At Chinictou he saw very fine meadows reaching as far as he could see, (natural salt march.) He states the Indians there to be altogether sixty or eighty souls, and that they are less of wanderers than other savages; as he conjectures, from their retired situation and the abundance of game there; and he considered the land would be very fertile, if cultivated. On their return they were twice in great danger from tempests, and afterwards for want of food. The winter of 1612-1613 was passed by the little colony with scanty store of provision. The Jesuits themselves built a shallop, by aid of which, Biard, one Jean Baptiste Charpentier, and a servant of the priests, sailed up the river in quest of roots and acorns, and afterwards used her to fish for herrings and a smaller fish caught there. Biencourt's vessels, being three good shallops, which he had in the beginning of the year, had been all ruined before this.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

We find that at this time *piracy* was at a great height on the Atlantic. The famous Peter Easton in 1612 commanded ten pirate ships, and in June of that year took one hundred men from the fishing vessels about Newfoundland.—[1 *Williamson. History of Maine, p. 210, note.*] Captain Richard Whitburn, of Exmouth, in Devonshire, in 1579, was employed by Mr. John Cotton, in a ship of 300 tons burden, to fish on the Great bank lying to the eastward of Newfoundland. In 1583 he again went to Newfoundland, in command of a vessel of 220 tons, fitted out by Mr. Crook, and was present on the 5 August, 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert took formal possession of the country. (See *ante* 1583.) *Whitburn was also in Newfoundland in 1614 and 1615.* In 1611 captain Whitburn went to Newfoundland, and there met with "the famous pyrate Peter Easton, who then" "commanded ten sail of stout ships." He applied to captain Whitburn, to "endeavor the procurement of a pardon for him in England, for his many pyracies. In expectation of this, he hovered for some time on the coast of Barbary; but his patience being at last tired out, by slow James and his peaceable court, sailed through the straits of Gibraltar, and was taken into the service of" "the duke of Savoy."—*History of the British empire in America, p. 136.*

CHAPTER VII.

1613. The poverty of the colony at Port Royal, exposing it to the possible contempt of the uninformed Indians,—the want of concord between young Biencourt, (the acting governor), and the Jesuit missionaries, and possibly her title to Acadie recently acquired by the cession of de Monts and the grant of Louis 13, apparently contributed to induce the marchioness de Guercheville to form the project of a new settlement and mission. Gilbert du Thet, the Jesuit, had returned to France, and probably concurred in this plan. Poutrincourt, who had remained in France in 1612, had got into a misunderstanding with the marchioness, [1 *Charlevoix*, 205], and although Champlain urged her to unite her interests with de Monts in the new colony of Quebec, and proposed that she should advance 3600 livres in that quarter; her distrust of de Monts, grounded solely on his being a huguenot, caused her to refuse, although Champlain himself guaranteed the uprightness and sincerity of his friend.

The marchioness obtained the sanction and aid of the queen mother, Marie de Medicis, for her enterprize, and fitted out a vessel of 100 tons at Honfleur. [1 *Champlain*, 137.] She gave the command of this expedition to M. de Saussaye, who was to govern in Acadie in her name. The master of the ship was Charles Flory de Hableville, a brave and judicious man. La Saussaye took with him about thirty persons, who were to winter in the country. Two Jesuits, Gilbert du Thet and père Quantin (or Quentin), were on board, intended to replace the other two, Biard and Masse, if they should have perished,

or otherwise to return to France. The whole party, crew and passengers, amounted to forty-eight persons. The queen supplied four tents and some ammunition. The vessel was very fully provided with one year's allowance for the settlers, and besides this live horses and goats were sent in her. Thus liberally furnished, she set sail from Honfleur on the 12 March, 1613, and made land at cape La hève in Acadie on the 16 May, 1613. At La hève they said mass, and planted a cross, with the arms of the marchioness affixed to it, as a mark of their taking possession, and thence they sailed to Port Royal.

There they found but five persons, viz., Biard and Masse, their servant, the apothecary Hébert, and one more; Biencourt and his people being scattered in different directions. To Hébert, as representing the absent governor, they presented the queen's letter, authorizing the departure of Biard and Masse, [1. *Champlain*, 137], and taking these two Jesuits with them, they departed after five days' detention, caused by a contrary wind. Sailing with a north-west breeze, they made for Pentagoët, intending to go to a place in that vicinity called Kadesquit, where the new settlement was proposed; but when they came south east of the isle of Menano, (*Grand Manan*), the weather became so thick that they had to lie to for two days and nights, and they drove up and down until clear weather showed them the island of *Monts deserts*, called Pemetiq by the Indians,—and they made a harbor on the east side of the island, which they named port Saint Sauveur. Having found a very good site for settlement in Pentagoët, or Penobscot bay, in the neighborhood of Mount-desert island, with a secure and convenient harbor, where vessels may lie as safe as in a pond, and the largest ship may approach the shore within a cables' length, they gave up the first design of going to Kadesquit, and began their labors here,—erecting buildings and tilling the ground. It appears, however, that there was a want of concord among them. This settlement was in about 44° 30' N. L., and at or near the mouth of the river Penobscot: (Douglas calls it Sagadahock.) All the people of the colony, being about 25 or 30 in number, and the crew of the ship, 35 in number, who had engaged to remain three months with

them, set to work at buildings and clearing ground. There was a gentleman, lieutenant of *de la Saussaye*, named *Lamotte le Vilin*.

The English had been about seven years engaged in settling in Virginia, and they were in the habit at this period of coming annually to catch fish, as far north as Pemquit, which is about twenty-five leagues south of Penobscot. A squadron of ten or eleven of these Virginian fishing craft, convoyed by an armed vessel under the command of captain Samuel Argal, came north in 1613. Some of the Indians of the coast, unaware of any hostility existing between the English and French, informed Argal that the Normans, (for the Indians called the French so then), were near *Monts deserts*, with a vessel. Acting on this information, Argal attacked with musquetry the French vessel which Lamotte Vilin commanded. Champlain says the English had sixty soldiers and fourteen pieces of artillery. During the battle, Gilbert du Thet took the place of the absent gunner, and was himself mortally wounded by the second discharge of the English muskets. Captain Flory was wounded in the foot, and three others also wounded. After this the French vessel surrendered. Besides the wounded, two Frenchmen were drowned, one a youth of Dieppe, called le Moine, and another of Beauvois, called Neveu; whose bodies were found nine days after and properly interred. Lametz and four others escaped. [1 *Champlain*, 139.] After the capture of the French vessel, the English came ashore, and captain Argal requested to see de la Saussaye, stating that the territory they were in belonged to Virginia,—and that they, the English, had attacked them in consequence of their unauthorized intrusion there. He desired to see the commissions of the French, saying that if they were regular he would be favorably disposed towards them, on account of the friendship of the two crowns. Argal, it is stated, privately opened de la Saussaye's chest, and abstracted thence his commission and royal letters. Next day La Saussaye came back, and when required by Argal to show his commission, looked for it in his chest, where it was no longer to be found. Argal then accused him of being a freebooter

and pirate, and then gave up the French ship and settlement to pillage by his men. The pilot of the vessel (called by Charlevoix, Lamets, and in the narrative of the Jesuits named *Le Bailleur* of Rouen) took refuge in the woods. The English surgeon, himself a Catholic, took every care of the wounded French, who, at the request of Biard, were carried on shore, where *du Thet* died. Biard and Masse waited on captain Argal, on board his ship, and, after long argument and persuasion, induced him to adopt a friendly line of conduct to his prisoners. The Jesuits' history describes Argal as "wise" "and crafty, but yet a gentleman of noble courage," and he is there stated also to have had a "noble heart." The Indians generously offered to maintain the French, if they remained, through the whole winter. Captain Argal, however, and his lieutenant, William Turnel, entered into a discussion with *de la Saussaye* as to the return of the French. It was decided at length that part of the French should take a shallop they had there, and that the rest, especially the mechanics, should go with Argal to Jamestown, Virginia—remain there one year with free exercise of religion, and, if they would go back to France, then be sent home. Fifteen of the settlers remained with Argal to go in his ship to Jamestown, and fifteen went off in the shallop with the seamen of the French vessel. Among the party who went in Argal's ship were *de la Motte*, captain Flory and father Biard, also the two Jesuits who had recently come from France. (*Q. Du Thet* having been killed.) *De la Saussaye* and father Masse went with the party in the shallop. Their number was increased by the accession of the pilot, who had hid in the woods, and now disguised as an Indian was fortunate enough to find the shallop going off. Thence they went to *Grand Manan*, Long island, cap *Fourchu*, (*Yarmouth*), and when off port au Mouton they were apprized of two French ships of *St. Malo*, (*Malouins*), being on the coast; one at *Sezambre*, (*Sambro*), the other at *Passepec*, (*Prospect*.) One of them was of fifty tons, belonging to *Pontgravé*, and already mentioned; the other of one hundred tons, commanded by captain *Vible Bullot*. Each of those vessels took half of the shallop's party on board to carry them home. During this

coasting they fished successfully, found a store of salt left by Biencourt on Long island, and received food and even bread as presents from the Indians they met with. Those who went in the small vessel (Pontgravé's) were exposed to much suffering by hunger and bad weather. Masse was in the larger craft, called the Sauveur, and the pilot Alain Yeon and the seamen showed them kindness, and they fared the best. Both vessels arrived at St. Malo, at the same time; where the bishop, governor, magistrates, merchants and people generally, gave them a kind and generous reception. The other party of fifteen French, when they got to Virginia, were treated harshly as pirates by the local authorities. Argal in vain urged the promises he had given them, until he felt bound in honor to produce de la Saussaye's commission and papers, and to state how he had got them; after which they were promised that faith should be kept with them.

The Virginia government decided to send Argal back with his three vessels, (his own and the two small prizes,) to destroy all the French settlements and forts in Acadie, all which to 46 degrees north latitude they claimed; and that he was to find means to send back to France the settlers he had brought with him into Virginia, and any other in Acadie who should surrender without resistance. Captain Argal therefore sailed northward with the three vessels, but for some reason he did not take with him all the French he had brought to Virginia. In his own ship were captain Flory and four others. In that commanded by lieutenant Turnel were Biard, the two other Jesuits and a boy. He first visited St. Sauveur, where he burned the buildings of the French, and pulled down a cross which they had erected as a mark of possession of the country, putting up one in its place, claiming the land as English. One of the English was hanged at St. Sauveur, for mutiny. Argal next visited the isle of St. Croix, where he found a quantity of salt and removed it. At this place he also burned the buildings, and erased all marks of French dominion, in compliance with the orders he had received. Compelling an Indian to act as pilot, he then went to Port Royal, which he found deserted, —no person being in the fort and shoes and different goods

being scattered about it, the French of the colony being at this time dispersed in the woods. Biard, who himself wrote the narrative, says, that a Frenchman at Port Royal represented him, Biard, to captain Argal as a Spaniard, and a dangerous person who had committed many offences, and procured five or six other French to sign a paper to that effect; and Argal was pressed to put him on shore, where he probably would have perished; but he was too generous to follow such counsels, and those false charges proved unavailing, although they made an unfavorable impression on the mind of Turnel. M. Biencourt returning to Port Royal from a distance, had a conference with captain Argal in a meadow, a few of their followers being present. [2 *Belknap, Am. Biography*, 53. 54.] After an ineffectual assertion of rights equally claimed by both, Biencourt proposed division of trade; but it does not appear that any arrangement was concluded. A native Indian came up while they were engaged in this discussion, and expressed his wonder that men who seemed of one race or nation should make war on each other.

Argal destroyed the fort and all monuments and marks of French power at Port Royal. He even caused the names of De Monts, and other captains, and the *fleurs de lys*, to be effaced with pick and chisel from a massive stone on which they had been engraved; but he is said to have spared the mill and the barns up the river. Charlevoix states that before this time a sum of upwards of one hundred thousand crowns had been expended at Port Royal. A storm befel them on their return. Argal got back to Virginia in safety, but one of his vessels with six English on board was lost, and the prize commanded by Turnel, in which the Jesuits were, was compelled to seek shelter in the Azores,—whence the priests got to England and thence across the channel to their homes in France. [See 1, *Champlain* 145-146.]

Argal was a kinsman of Sir Thomas Smith, one of the founders of the Virginia company, and he had the favor and protection of the earl of Warwick, one of the chief rulers in king James's court. In 1617, Argal was made deputy governor of Virginia under Lord Delaware, but was removed from

this office in 1619. In 1620 he commanded a ship of war in an expedition against the Algerines, and in 1623 was knighted by king James. It was under the government of Sir Thomas Dale in Virginia, that Argal was sent to Acadie; although Sir William Keith in his history of Virginia, pp. 132-4, makes the date of the affair 1618, five years later.

After this destruction of his settlement, M. de Poutrincourt gave up all thoughts of American interests, and re-entered the royal service, in which he distinguished himself, and died on what is termed the bed of honor, having been killed at *St. Méry sur Seine*, which he took for the king. Poutrincourt fell in the moment of victory. He is stated to have been a sincere Catholic. [1 *Charlevoix*, p. 214, citing Jean de Laët.] The New York Historical Magazine for February, 1859, pp. 49 50, says, "Poutrincourt, the founder of Port Royal, now Anna-" "polis in Nova Scotia, on his return to France was ordered" "by king Henry the Fourth" (Henry IV was assassinated in 1610) "to reduce the cities of Méry sur Seine and chateau" "Thierry. He was killed at the former place, and the fol-" "lowing epitaph is inscribed on his tomb at St. Just in" "Champagne, as the marquis of Biencourt informs us:"

Aeternæ memoriæ herois magni Potrincurtii, qui pacatis olim Galliæ bellis, in quibus præcipuam militiæ laudem consequutus est, factioneque magna Enrici magni virtute repressa, opus Christianum instaurandæ Franciæ Novæ aggressus, dum illic monstra varia debellare conatus, occasione novi tumultus Gallici a proposito avocatus, et Mericum oppidum in Tricassi agro ad deditionem cogere a principe jussus; voti compos, militari gloriæ æmulatione multis vulneribus confossus, catapultâ pectori admotâ nefariè a Pisandro interficitur, mense Decembr, MDCXV. ætatis anno LVIII.

Ejusdem herois magni epitaphium in Novæ Franciæ oris vulgatum et marmoribus atque arboribus incisum :

Chara deo soboles, neophyti mei
Novæ Franciæ incolæ,
Christicolæ
quos ego,

Ille ego sum magnus Sagamo vester
 Potrincurtius
 Super æthera natus
 In quo olim spes vestræ
 Vos si fefellit invidia
 lugete,
 Virtus mea me perdidit, vobis
 gloriam meam alteri dare
 nequivi.
 Iterum lugete. H. D. C.

To the eternal memory of the great hero Poutrincourt, who, after the former wars of France were terminated by peace, in which he had obtained high military repute, and a great faction being put down by the courage of Henry the great, undertook the Christian work of establishing New France. While he was endeavoring there to overcome different monsters, being recalled from his undertaking on occasion of a new insurrection in France, and being ordered by his prince to compel the surrender of the town of St. Méry, in the Tricassian district, while successful in his attempt, was, through his emulation of military renown, covered with wounds, and slain by Pisander, who wickedly moved a catapult and struck him on the breast, in the month of December, 1615, in the 58th year of his age.

Epitaph of the same great hero, published on the coasts of New France, and cut into the marble and the trees there :

Ye progeny dear to God,
 inhabitants of New France,
 worshippers of Christ,
 whom I,—
 I am he your great Sachem,
 Poutrincourt,
 Born above the sky,
 In whom was once your hope.
 If envy deceived you,
 bemoan me.

My courage destroyed me.
 My glory is with you. I could not
 give it to another.
 Again bewail me. H. D. C.

In 1613, 1614 and 1615 attempts at settlement in Newfoundland were made by the English. In 1613, 54 men, 6 women, and 3 children, wintered there.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

(I.)

From "*Johannes de Laet, novus orbis. Lugdun, Batav. apud Elzevirios, 1633,*"
 "c. 14. *Cadia, sive Acadia.*"—Extract translated from the Latin of
 the original.

Cadia, a part of the continent, is of triangular form. The base, which is the longest, looks to the South, and between the harbor of Campseau and cape Fourchu, (*promontorium Furcatum*), stretches from East to West. The other two sides, after different windings and turnings, gradually approach each other until they nearly meet between the upper end of the French bay, (*bay of Fundy*), on the West, and the straits of St. Lunarius, (*near bay Verte*), on the East : which two bays, divided by a small space of land, make this province a peninsula. The eastern side we have already mentioned : at the angle of the base (*of the triangle*) lies Camseau, a celebrated harbor, enclosed in a manner by two islands, somewhat difficult of access owing to rocks and shoals which the sea breaks over (*in rough weather.*) It is distant from the island of St. Lawrence (*cape Bréton*), about eight miles ; from the Equator, $45^{\circ} 20$.

From this harbor westwardly to the harbor of Savalette is reckoned six miles ;—from Savalette to the islands which are numerous along this shore divided by narrow channels, four miles ;—thence to Green island six or seven. Here is a small river which takes its name from Green island. From that to the bay of all islands six miles. In all this space the shore is beset with rocks, which extend a mile to sea, and the water is agitated, (*supra modum fervet.*) Fourteen miles from this bay is the harbor of St. Helena, in Latitude $44^{\circ} 40$. A small island is adjacent, with a narrow channel, that can be passed over at low tide. From this to Sesambre island is eight miles, a most extensive bay lying between, which, on account of the salubrity of the air, is called by the French Baye Saine, (*now Chebucto bay.*) From Sesambre (*Sambro*) to the river of St. Margaret, (*St. Margaret's bay*), which is distant from the equator $44^{\circ} 25$, and discharges itself into the sea opposite the martyr's islands, is seven miles. Eight miles from this, cape de la Hève makes into the sea, near which lies the port of the same name $44^{\circ} 05$

N. Lat., with safe anchorage. A small island is near, long but narrow, clothed with trees, to the East of which the bay runs into the continent, embracing some smaller woody islands in its bosom.—Next lies the harbor of Rossignol (*Liverpool*) almost shut in by an island. A small river flows into it from the N. W., which measures about 25 miles from its source. Hence to port Mouton (*portus Ovium*) in 44° N. Lat. it is reckoned seven miles. It is of a circular form, having a small island at the mouth, forming two channels,—the northern one of two fathoms, the southern three or four. The harbor itself seven or eight deep. Six small islands are scattered in it. It receives two small streams. Hence to port Negro, so called from cape Negro, is ten miles. Opposite the cape are rocks which have a resemblance, when seen at a distance, to a negro's head.

The shores so far are low, full of dwarf woods and bushes, and the countless islands and rocks along the coast are full of all kinds of wild beasts.

Not far from this lies a sandy bay, a very convenient harbor, and two miles West a promontory of sand, which is to be carefully avoided on account of the shoals and rocks which extend beyond a mile into the sea, (*cape Sable*.) Hence to the isle of Cormorants, (*corvorum marinorum*, sea crows), so called from their abundance, is one league distance, and a bay of two or three miles extent, called "*La Baye Courante*:" from which to the last promontory of this shore, called "*forked*" (*cap Fourchu*), is two miles. Here are many islands extending into the sea, four or five miles distant from the main land, and many rocks with breaking seas. Some of these islands, on account of the multitude of birds, are called "*Isles aux Tanguaux*;" others are called "Seal islands," from the animal so called, in 40° 30 North Latitude.

Chapter 15. Description of the shore of Acadie, which runs northward, and concerning Port Royal.

Near cape Fourchu there is a harbor, which takes its name from the cape, (*Yarmouth harbor*), in its entrance deep enough for passage of vessels, and a good station for shipping, but in its interior dry at low water, except in the channel of a small river, which, coming down through excellent meadows, terminates here. From this place the shores incline gently towards the north for nine or ten miles. In this distance there are no harbors for large vessels, but some coves and shores with islets, rocks and shoals, as far as Long island, stretching out from the Southwest to the North, to the French bay's mouth. Long island is six miles long, by near one mile wide. It is covered with wood, and is difficult of approach owing to rocks and shoals. The seas much disturbed here, (*æstus his admodum fervet*), especially in the channel dividing Long island from the main land, (*petit passage*), which is called *le passage courant*, by the French. Between this island and the main land is a bay very safe for shipping, three miles wide at the entrance, now called St. Mary's bay. In entering it, on the right hand is the harbor of St. Margaret in 44 30 n. latitude, in its entrance only 18 feet deep, within three fathoms, surrounded by a smooth and fertile plain looking to the East, (*possibly Weymouth, otherwise Sissibou is here meant*), on the left side there is a small bay, (*perhaps Sandy Cove*), near which some affirm that veins of silver were found. A little further up is the river Brulay, and there is another stream at the head of St. Mary's bay, between which and Port Royal there is but a small space of land. Both these rivers are celebrated for iron mines, and their banks are rich in pastures. The soil is there of a red color, almost of the color of blood. From Long island the shore recedes in a northerly direction as far as Port Royal, situate in 45

degrees north latitude, a harbor inferior to no other, whether its amplitude or excellence be considered. Its entrance measures 80 paces. The harbor itself is two miles long and one mile wide. It will hold a thousand vessels, and is exceedingly safe against all winds. Three rivers flow into it; one of which, of some amplitude is called the l'Equille, from the plenty of a small kind of fish caught there, coming down from the East through a long extent of ground. From the mouth itself of the bay, which is a quarter of a mile wide, and which is divided into two mouths by an island covered with trees and very agreeable, small vessels can go up sixteen miles, where the channel is yet 60 paces wide and 18 feet deep, with beech and ash trees on both banks. Another (*river*) called St. Anthony, on the right hand in going up, is smaller and closed by an island. The shores of it are covered with thick woods, which hinder intercourse between this and St. Mary's bay. (*This is probably Bear river, called also Imbert.*) The third (*river*) on the same side, which is inaccessible to vessels, owing to shoals and rocks is called ruisseau de la Roche. (*or Rock brook, perhaps Moose river.*)

The French settled here in 1605, as we shall state by and by.—From Port Royal the coast trends more northerly to Cape Poutrincourt n. lat. 45 40, where the sea forms a bay of 20 miles extent, much longer than it is wide, which receives a small river and some brooks. From cape Poutrincourt to the left of the bay last mentioned, a port called *port aux mines*, (*ab aeris metallis dictum,*) called so on account of copper mines, which are twice a day covered with the tides. And here the mainland by a long and narrow path extends between two bays and a cape called the cape of the two bays. The further bay called *baye de Gennes*, (*Chignecto bay?*) receives the sea through a mouth five miles wide, and has a large extent within. Two rivers flow into it, one from the East and another from the North, and reaches near the strait of St. Lunarius, the isthmus part of the peninsula.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE materials hitherto accessible for the history of Acadie for the period of several years after Argal's expedition in 1613 are very scanty indeed, leaving almost a perfect blank in the narrative of about ten years. We have just seen that Poutrincourt died in battle in 1615. His son Biencourt seems to have remained in Acadie, and it is said that he was resident at Port Royal in 1617, and that a small French colony still subsisted there. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, 211.] We are told in *Ferland's Canada*, part 1., p. 204, that two associations of merchants were organized 1619 to bring into use the resources of Acadie. One company obtained permission to carry on there the shore fishery, (*la pêche sédentaire*), and the other the privilege of buying furs and trading with the savages. In order to supply the religious wants of the persons in their employment, the associates sent to their establishments three Recollets, who also undertook the care of some old inhabitants of Port Royal, who had remained in the country with M. de Biencourt. In 1623 one of these fathers, returning from the mission at Miscou (on the gulph of St. Lawrence) to their chief residence situated on the river St. John, died of hunger and fatigue in the midst of the woods, a martyr to his charity and zeal. These Recollets belonged to the province of Aquitaine. That the English conceived they had some claim probably from prior discovery, to the lands of Acadie, is testified by the proceedings of Argal under the orders of the government of Virginia. The harsh course he pursued, and the making war on the French, while the two crowns were in

amity, without previous notice, were acts unfortunately too common in that age. The nations of Europe assumed a title to all lands in the new world, of which they could obtain forcible possession. It was thought a sufficient pretext, that the native races, whom they termed savages, were not Christians, to justify any course of dispossession. The terms in which the commissions are granted to adventurers shew, that the doctrine was held that heathens and infidels could be lawfully and justly subdued, and their lands occupied without asking their consent, and it was not until William Penn professed a different sentiment that any doubt seems to have been entertained upon this subject. It is also remarkable that all the French of the seventeenth century, and great part of the eighteenth, seem invariably to apply the term *sauvages* (savages) to the Indians of North America, as well to the converted tribes as to the others. The English have generally used the term "Indians" in preference.

In accordance with this English claim, a charter was granted to the New England company, dated 3 November, 1620, which included all the territory from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude. Sir George Calvert, lord Baltimore, procured a grant of that part of Newfoundland that lies between the bay of Bulls in the East and cape St. Mary's in the South, which was called the province of Avalon, and made a settlement at Ferryland. Lord Baltimore made his residence there, but afterwards left this for his new possessions in Maryland. [*Hist. British Empire in North America*, pp. 138, 139.]

Sir William Alexander was born in 1580, in Clackmannanshire. He was made gentleman usher to prince Charles in 1613, viscount Stirling in 1630, and earl of Stirling in 1633. He died in 1640, and his grandson succeeded him, who in his turn was succeeded by an uncle named Henry. On the 10-20 September, 1641, king James the first of England (James the 6th of Scotland), granted all Nova Scotia (including what is now New Brunswick) to Sir William Alexander. This grant gives the name of Nova Scotia to the territory, and a copy of it in the original Latin is in the memorials of the English and French commissaries. It was probably

issued under the great seal of *Scotland*. This grant was confirmed by another patent from Charles the first of England, dated 12 July, 1625. In 1635 a grant was made to lord Stirling of a district between Pemaquid and St. Croix, and also of Long island, opposite to Connecticut. (1621.) This last grant was made by the Plymouth council. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and captain John Mason, who were both active and interested in the English colonization, and were anxious to secure Acadie from the French, obtained a conveyance from the council of the New England company to Sir William Alexander of the territory included afterwards in his crown patent. [1 *Williamson's, Maine*. 562. 223.] (1622.) Sir William Alexander sent out a ship with some settlers. *Laët* 62. They wintered at St. John's Newfoundland, and putting to sea again in 1623, they coasted along the shores of the peninsula of Acadie; and, according to the French authorities, they returned to England without having succeeded in forming any settlement; but the English commissaries alleged in the boundary discussion at Paris in 1751, that in consequence of the grants he received in 1621 and 1625,—Sir William Alexander took possession of the country, made a settlement at Port Royal, and built a fort there. They also state that he gave leave to Claude de la Tour and his eldest son Charles, to improve lands and build within the territory for their own advantage; in consequence whereof they made a settlement and built a strong fort upon the river St. John, called fort de la Tour. Charlevoix, says that Sir William Alexander, in the year after his first grant, (1622) sent out an officer to Acadie, to select a place for settlement; but that this envoy having left Europe too late in the season, was obliged to spend the winter in the port of St. John, in Newfoundland. (1623.) From that place he went to Acadie, entered *port au mouton*, which he re-named St. Luke's bay, and went to another harbor two leagues off, which he called *le Foli port*, or the black port, *port noir*, now known as port Joli; and remaining no longer there, he returned to Newfoundland and thence to England. That after that the earl of Stirling took no steps to turn his domains in Acadie to any account. The French commissaries

allege that Sir William Alexander's people did not go beyond cape Negro on their coasting voyage. Champlain states in 1631, that the English had ten or twelve years before taken possession of the most noted places, and had even seized on Port Royal, where they occupied the place at the time. The English commissaries draw the inference that this occupation occurred in 1621, the date of Sir William Alexander's grant, and they add, "It is also remarkable that there remain" "at this very day (1753) the ruins of a fort built at that time," "at the entrance into the bason, which preserve the name" "of the Scotch fort." The whole water from the entrance at St. George's channel (Digby gut) up to the fort and town of Port Royal, (Annapolis Royal), which is about eighteen miles long, is usually called the Bason; but this name has been sometimes given to that portion of it which lies between Goat island and the fort, which the French writers call 2 leagues (five miles) in length. *Haliburton*, vol. 1., p. 45, says that the Scotch settlement was on the West side of the Bason, opposite Goat island, on the Granville shore—that the remains of it were still visible, (1827), and bore the traditional name of the Scotch fort. On the other side it has been urged that the French, and the Indians who were attached to them, having possession of the country, the colonists sent out by Sir William Alexander returned without having made an attempt at settlement. [*Douglas*, v. 1., p. 305. 1 *Haliburton*, 41, 42. 1 *Ferland*, *Canada*, 245.] Champlain, v. 2., p. 92, speaks of Biencourt as still living in August, 1624, and that during eighteen years he had resided in Acadie with the Indians. After the death of his father, the young Biencourt took the name of Poutrincourt, which became his as the head of the family. He continued, however, to be called sometimes Biencourt and sometimes Poutrincourt. Ferland says it is very probable that Biencourt died in 1623, for a letter written from the port of Lomeron, in Acadie, and bearing the date of 25 July, 1627, informs us that he died four years before. This letter was addressed to the king by Charles Amador de la Tour, then commandant in Acadie. [Monhegan is said to have been settled by the English in 1622, and Saco in 1623.]

1 *Williamson, Maine*, 226.] (1625.) Besides grants of Acadie, Sir William Alexander obtained patents for parts of Canada, for Anticosti, Martha's Vineyard, *California*, Nantucket, &c. About this time (1625) the fort or settlement at Quebec, founded in 1608 by Champlain, having received accessions of inhabitants, began to assume the name and character of a town or city; and in the same year (1625) Boston, in New England, was founded. [*Douglas*.] (1626.) The order of baronets of Nova Scotia was established on the principle that they should assist the plantation of the province at their own charges. This I infer was founded as an institution connected with the kingdom of Scotland. King Charles the first, by his letter of 19 July, 1625, to the privy council of *Scotland*, conferred on each knight baronet of Nova Scotia, a space of land three miles wide and six miles long, in New Scotland. Some of the knights had their manors assigned them, I believe, in the genial and fertile soil of Anticosti. How far it was consistent to make such grants after the whole country had been patented to Sir William Alexander, may be questioned; but it is possible that he had surrendered part of his grant of 1621 on receiving the grant of confirmation in 1625. The complete number of the knights was to be 150. The insignia of the order to be the arms of Nova Scotia, Argent, "the ancient" "arms of our said ancient kingdom of Scotland," on a blue cross, commonly called a saltier azure, to be supported by the unicorn on the right side, and a savage man on the left; and for the crest, a laurel branch and a thistle proceeding out of an armed hand, and a naked (sword?) conjoined, with this motto: *Munit hæc et altera vincit*. 25 July, 1626. Charles R.— "Lieutenants and Barronets and every one of them and their "heires male to weare and carrie about their neckes in all "time coming ane orange tannie silk ribban, whereon shall "heing pendant in a scutcheon argent a saltaire azure thereon, "ane inescutcheon of the armes of Scotland, with ane Imperial crowne above the scutcheon, and encircled with this "motto: "Fax mentis honestæ gloria." Many of these particulars respecting the order are taken from a modern work respecting the claims of the pretended earl of Stirling. This

order is attached to certain ancient Scottish families, the eldest son taking the rank, but it does not entitle him to the designation 'sir.' These baronets have held no connection with the province. Some years since an application on their behalf to the crown for lands in this country was made, without success, grounded on the ancient gifts of land in their patents of creation.

King James the first died 27 March, 1625, and his son and successor, Charles the first, married the princess Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry the fourth, and sister of Louis the thirteenth. It was said to have been stipulated in the treaty of this marriage, that England should cede Acadie to France. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, 231. *Douglas*.] (1627.) In 1627 Charles the first made war against France. The duke of Buckingham attempted, with one hundred ships, and seven thousand soldiers, to conquer the isle of Rhé, on the coast of France, but was defeated. (1628.) In 1628 he sent a fleet to relieve Rochelle, in which the protestants were at that time besieged, but the blockade was complete both by land and sea, and the fleet was unable to accomplish anything for the benefit of the town. A second expedition failed the same season, and the town surrendered to the French king. (1629.) In April, 1629, king Charles made peace with France. This treaty was negotiated by the intervention of the republic of Venice, and the articles were concluded at Suza, in Piedmont. No restitution of prizes was to be made on either side, except what might be taken two months after signature. By this exception, Charles was obliged to restore the provinces of Canada and Acadie, in North America, which a party of his subjects had reduced several months after the conclusion of the peace; but some disputes arising, these restitutions were not completed until a new treaty had been concluded in 1632. [6 *Cooté's history of England*, 151.

(1627.) Under the auspices of cardinal Richelieu a new and powerful association was formed, called the company of New France. It consisted of one hundred associates, of whom Roquemont, Houel, Lataignant, Dablon, Duchesne and Castillon, are named in the act, dated Paris, 29 April, 1627,

which constituted the company : and which is signed by Armand, cardinal de Richelieu, De Roquemont, Houel for himself and for Duchesne and Lataignant, Dablon, Syndic of Dieppe, and Castillon. They were to send out and settle 200 or 300 men, of all trades, in 1628, and within 15 years, say by end of December, 1643, to augment the number to 4000 souls. They were to be French catholic settlers only, and in each place where they formed a settlement, the company were to provide and maintain at least three ecclesiastics. Quebec and all New France, (in which Acadie is included), Florida, Newfoundland, &c., were granted to them for simple homage ; all mines to belong to the company, who were to have power to erect duchies, marquises, &c., with the king's confirmation. The king was to give the company two ships of war. In the acts of acceptance of 29 April and 4 May, 1627, and 6 August, 1628, the persons named are Armand, cardinal de Richelieu, grand master, chief and superintendant general of the navigation and commerce of France. Claude de Roquemont, esquire, sieur de Brison, noble homme master Louis Houel, sieur du Petit Pré, counsellor of the king and controller general of salt works in Brouage, noble homme David Duchesne, counsellor, echevin of the town of Hâvre de grace, noble homme Gabriel de Lataignant, major of the town of Calais, noble homme Simon Dablon, syndic of the town of Dieppe, honorable homme Jacques Castillon, citizen (bourgeois) of Paris. The confirmatory patent is dated at the camp before Rochelle, 6 May, 1628, (18th year of his reign), by Louis 13, counter-signed 'Portier.' Edits, &c., Quebec, 1803, pp. 1-16. This company continued to exist until May, 1664, when Louis 14, revoked their title and created the West India company. The first vessels sent out by the company of New France in 1628 were captured by the English.

(1628.) David, Lewis, and Thomas Kirk, (called by the French writers Kertk), were born at Dieppe. Their father was a Scotchman, and their mother a Frenchwoman. They were calvinists, and went to England. They had the reputation of being bold and skilful navigators. Sir David Kirk the eldest brother, with the help of his brothers and some

relatives he had in England, equipped several vessels at a great expense. With these he captured in 1627 about eighteen French ships, (wherein were found 135 pieces of ordnance, designed for the relief of Port Royal and Quebec), under the command of M. de Lockman, and took prisoner M. de la Tour, (Claude de la Tour), the father of M. Charles Amador de la Tour, and took him, with the prizes, to England. Louis and Thomas Kirk accompanied Sir David Kirk in this and in subsequent expeditions. His squadron was, at first, composed of only three vessels, but was afterwards increased to five, and as some writers say to eighteen. His ships were well supplied with provisions and ammunition of war, but were deficient in men. He acted under a commission from the king of England. Besides his two brothers, another French calvinist, named James Michel, was with him. (Michel died in 1629, after the surrender of Quebec. 2 *Champlain*, 313.) In 1628, Kirk, with his squadron, made himself master of Port Royal, entered the river St. Lawrence with part of his forces, captured La Tour, senior (Claude), who was going to Quebec, in a vessel of the new company, commanded by one Norot. [2 *Champlain*, p. 191.] Kirk then seized the settlement of Miscou, pillaged that of cape Torment of cattle, and, approaching Quebec, summoned the sieur Champlain, who commanded there, to surrender the place; but finding him resolved to defend it, he abandoned this first attempt. Kirk sent a summons to Champlain, which he signed '*David Quer.*' It is dated from on board the '*la Vicaille*,' 18 July, 1628. It states that he had a commission from the king of Great Britain to take possession of Canada and Acadie; that he had set out with eighteen vessels, and had taken Miscou and Tadoussac, in which last he then was, and had captured all the pinnaces and shallops at both places; had taken also a vessel of the new company, commanded by Norot, in which was M. de la Tour, and had seized all the cattle at cape Tourmente. [2 *Champlain*, 190-193.] This letter or summons was received at Quebec on the 10 July, 1628 at which time there was but fifty pounds of gunpowder at Quebec.

1629. Pentagoët and Sainte Croix appear to have been captured by the English in 1628 or 1629, as well as Port Royal, but they were all restored to France in 1632. In the summer of 1629 David, Louis and Thomas Kirk came again to Canada to capture Quebec. David remained at Tadoussac. Louis and Thomas summoned Quebec, and messieurs Champlain and du Port capitulated 19 July, 1629. The treaty was ratified by David Kertk, at Tadoussac, 19 August, 1629. Louis Kertk certifies, 21 July, 1629, that he found at Quebec, in the fort and settlement, "4 espoirs (small cannon) de fonte verte et "une moyenne avec leur boites. 2 breteuils de fer de 800 livres "chacun, 7 pierriers avec leur boiste, double, 45 balles de fer "pour les espoirs et 6 balles pour les dites breteuils, 40 livres "de pouldre à canon, 30 livres de mèche, 14 mousquets, un "mousquet à croc, 2 grands arquebuzes à rouet de 6 à 7 pieds, "2 autres mèches de mesme longueur, 10 hallebardes, 12 "picques, 3 à 6 milliers de plomb, 50 corcelets sans brassarts, "avec leur bourguinotes, 2 armes de gendarmes à l'espreuve "du pistolet, deux petarts de fonte verte, une vieille tente de "guerre, et plusieurs ustancille, de mesnage et outils des "ouvriers, qui esteoint en ce dit lieu de Québec, où commandoit "le sieur de Champlain en l'absence de monsieur le cardinal "de Richelieu pour le service du roy de France et de Navarre." Although the settlers had increased in numbers, the vessels which should have brought provisions to Quebec were captured by the English, and the consequent want of provisions contributed to its surrender. In the same year, 1629, a Scotch gentleman, called James Stuart, brought out some vessels and built a fort in cape Breton, at the port *des baleines*, (St. Anne?) Capt. Daniel, of Dieppe, arrived there in August, and captured the place, leaving a garrison of 40 men to protect it. 2 *Champlain*, 334. He carried off 42 English, whom he left at Falmouth, and took 18 or 20, with James Stuart, to France. It appears by a warrant of king Charles the first, dated 17 Nov., 1629, that Sir William Alexander had settled a colony in Nova Scotia, where his son William was then residing. As to Kirk, see 2 *Champlain*, 334, 1 *Douglas*, 306, 1 *Charlevoix*, 256, 266, *E. & F. Comm.*, 115, 256, 454, 570, 1 *Ferland*, 227, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

Claude Turgis de Saint Etienne, sieur de la Tour, of the province of Champagne, quitted Paris, taking with him his son Charles Amador, then fourteen years old, to settle in Acadie, near Poutrincourt, who was then engaged in founding Port Royal. Some reverses of fortune are supposed to have led him to this course, and indeed a person hostile to the family alleged, long after, that Claude had been working as a mason in Paris. When the French establishments were destroyed by Argal in 1613, Charles de la Tour, the son, attached himself to Biencourt, who, with several other Frenchmen, took refuge in the midst of the Souriquois, (Micmacs.) Clothed like Indians, those two friends lived like them by hunting and fishing, while they waited for succor from the mother country. With the aid sent them from France, they were enabled to maintain themselves in the country, and to preserve several posts. Charles de la Tour was at first ensign, then lieutenant of Biencourt, who, when dying, bequeathed to him his rights in Port Royal, and named him his successor in command. (1623.) During the four years following, he lived in oblivion, in fort Saint Louis, at cape Sable. The harbor on which it was situated was called port Lomeron, or port Latour. About this time, (1627,) the English of Kinibeki, (Kennebec), and Chouacouët, (Saco), formed a design of chasing the French out of Acadie, in order to deprive them of any participation in the fisheries or the fur trade. This project may perhaps have been connected with Sir William Alexander's plans of colonization. It was, however, simultaneous with the war commen-

ced by Charles the first at the isle of Rhé, and the first naval achievements of Kirk and his brothers. On this occasion Charles de la Tour addressed a letter to king Louis 13, in which he asked to be appointed commandant in all the coasts of Acadie. He expressed his hope to defend himself, with his little band of Frenchmen, and the warriors to be furnished by a hundred Souriquois (Micmac) families, who were sincerely attached to him. This letter was entrusted to Claude de la Tour, who was to plead his son's cause before the king. Unhappily, the blow prepared by the English against Acadie took effect before the arrival of help from France. (1628.) Kirk leaving Europe in 1628 with a considerable fleet, took possession of Port Royal in the name of Sir William Alexander, and is supposed to have left some Scotch families there.. Hurrying on to capture Quebec on his own account, he did not stay to attempt the reduction of the other posts in Acadie.

Claude de la Tour who was returning from France on board of a vessel belonging to Roquemont, in order to re-join his son in Acadie, was taken prisoner by Kirk and carried to England. Latour, the father, was a huguenot. Meeting in London with friends among those of his own creed, he was seduced from the loyalty he owed to his native sovereign. While in England he was married to a lady of high station. The dignity of Baronets of Nova Scotia was conferred on both the Latours, father and son. On the roll of these baronets is found "1629, Nov. 30, "Sir Claude St. Etienne, seigneur de la Tour." "1630, Sir "Charles St. Etienne, seigneur de St. Deniscourt." The last is termed Seigneur de Denniscourt et Baigneux in *Hazard's Collection*, p. 298. Letters patent from Sir William Alexander dated 30th April, 1630, a translation of which is in Hazard's collection, state that, "out of the respect and amitie which" "he beareth unto Sir Claude de Saint Estienne, knight, lord" "of La Tour and of Vuarre, and unto Charles de Saint" "Estienne, esq., lord of Saint Denicourt, his sonne,"—"the" "said Sir Claude de St. Etienne being present accepting, and" "by these presents stipulating for his said sonne Charles" "being absent, and for their heyres, and as well for the merit" "of their persons, and for their assistance to the better dis-"

“covery of the said country, and upon other considerations,” he Sir William Alexander gives to the said knight Latour and unto his said son and unto ‘their heyres’ &c., “all the country” “coasts and islands, from the cape and river of Ingogon, near” “unto the cloven cape, (cap Fourchu?) in the said New Scot-” “land, called the coast and country of Accadye, following the” “coast and island of the said countrey towards the East unto” “the Port de la Tour, formerly named L’Omeroy, and further” “beyond the said port following along the said coast unto” “Mirliguesche, (Lunenburg?) near unto and beyond the port” “and cape of La hève, drawing forward fifteen leagues, within” “the said lands towards the north,”—with power to build towns, forts, &c.,—“erected and entitled by two baronies,” “namely, the Barrony of Sainct Etienne, and the Barrony of” “de la Tour, which may be limited and bounded equally” “between the said knight de la Tour, and his said sonne if” “they shall see cause, upon condition that the said knight de” “la Tour, and his said sonne, as he hath promised, and for” “his said sonne by these presents doth promise to be good” “and faithful vassals of the Sovereign lord the king of Scot-” “land, and their heires and successors, and to give unto him” “all obedience and assistance to the reducing of the people” “of the country, &c.” Charlevoix v. 2, p. 92, says that about this time the English had got possession of the forts in Acadie, except fort Louis at cape Sable only, then commanded by Charles de la Tour.

He says Claude de la Tour, while in London, married a maid of honor of the Queen of England, Henrietta Maria. Ferland conjectures that the lady may have been a near relation of Sir Wm. Alexander. He (Charlevoix) also says that Latour was made a Knight of the Garter. As his name is not to be found in Rapin, or in Napier’s history of these knights, I conclude it to be an error originating in his being made a baronet of Nova Scotia. He says Latour engaged to deliver to the English king the fort which his son held for France in Acadie; and that with that object two men of war were fitted out for him, and that he embarked with his new spouse accordingly. That having arrived at cape Sable, he landed and went alone to hold an

interview with his son. That he made a magnificent statement of his credit at the court of London, and the advantages derivable from it. He told his son that he should be made a knight also, and be confirmed in his office as governor of the place, under the English king, if he would declare for that side.

Charles at once told his father, that he was mistaken in supposing him capable of giving up the place to the enemies of the state. That he would preserve it for the king his master, while he had a breath of life. That he esteemed highly the dignities offered him by the English king, but should not buy them at the price of treason. That the prince he served was able to requite him; and if not, that fidelity was its own best recompense.—— The father, receiving this answer, so different from his expectation, retired on board his vessel, whence he wrote next day to his son in the most affectionate and earnest language, but with no better success than he had in oral application. He next tried the effect of menaces, but without avail. This was followed by acts of hostility on the part of the English; but young Latour defended his post with such intrepidity and success, that the English commanding officer, who had not counted upon meeting any resistance, at the end of two days, having lost several of his best soldiers in the attack, informed Latour, senior, that he should abandon the siege. [Ferland states that the English landed part of their forces on two successive days, and had to retire with loss. He also varies from the account given by Charlevoix, as he states that Claude de la Tour, on the failure of the English to reduce the fort, retired to Port Royal with one hundred Scotch colonists.] The elder Latour was much embarrassed; he could not venture to return to England, much less to France; and the only course remaining was to appeal to his son's clemency. He revealed his feelings to his lady, telling her he had reckoned on assuring her happiness in the new world; but fortune had overturned his schemes, he did not wish to compel her to live there in a state of misery, and that he should give her free permission to return to her family. The wife replied, that she had not married him to abandon him. That wherever he should take her, and in

whatever condition he might be placed, she would always be his faithful companion ; and that all her happiness would consist in softening his grief, Latour, senior, charmed and affected by her great generosity, made an application to his son to permit him to reside in Acadie. The young man replied, that he did not wish to expose his father to lose his head on the block, by going back to England ; that he would willingly give him an asylum, but that he could not allow either him or his wife to come into the fort. Finally he gave his word that he would not suffer them to want for any thing. The terms seemed a little hard, but the father had no alternative : so, with the leave of the English commander, Latour senior and his wife disembarked with all their effects, two valets and two femmes de chambre ; and the men of war both returned to England. Latour caused a suitable dwelling house for his father and wife, to be erected at some distance from the fort, on a fertile piece of land, agreeably situated, and took care of their maintenance. M. Denys relates that he found them there in 1635, and that they were well off. (1 Charlevoix, Nouvelle France 192-195.) Ferland's narrative however, makes Claude Latour go off with the Scotch colonists to Port Royal, on the failure of the English to take fort Louis ; and afterwards Charles Latour, on his being appointed lieutenant general in Acadie, write to invite his father from Port Royal, on which he came back with his wife to cape Sable.

We find by Champlain's account (2 Champlain, 347.) that the directors (of the company of New France,) equipped two vessels for Cape Breton and to succor those who were settled there, and two others which were fitted out at Bordeaux, to go and make a settlement in Acadie. M. Tufet fitted out those of Bourdeaux in 1630 laden with requisite stores for forming a settlement on the coast of Acadie, in which he embarked workmen and artisans, with three friars of the order of *pères Recollets*, the whole under the conduct of captain Marot of St. Jean de Luz. They encountered adverse weather, and the voyage was three months long. They got at length to cape Sable. There they found the son of La Tour who had some other French volunteers with him. Marot gave Charles La Tour a letter from M.

Tufet, which enjoined him to remain stedfast in the king's service, and not to adhere to the English, or submit to their wishes, as many worthless Frenchmen had done, who had ruined their honor and reputation in having acted against his majesty's service; that such conduct was not expected from him who had until now acted firmly. That in this view, provisions, refreshments, arms and men had been sent to assist him, and to build a dwelling in such place as he should judge most convenient, with other remarks of a similar tendency. La Tour was glad to see what he could hardly have hoped for. He nevertheless had withstood the persuasions of his father who was along with the English, as he preferred to die before descending to treachery and betraying his king. The English were discontented with this as La Tour, the father, had assured them his son would join him in doing them every service. Charles La Tour and captain Marot were of opinion that La Tour, the father, who was at Port Royal with the English should be advised of all that had occurred, and be urged to leave the English and come back, with the view of learning from him the condition of the English and acting accordingly. One Lestan was sent with a letter from La Tour to his father: on reading which, he set out to go to his son, having neither the means nor expectations of making a great fortune among the English, in whose opinion he had been much reduced. Arriving at cape Sable, he informed them that it was the intention of the English to take their fort. He also reported that of seventy Scotch who had wintered at Port Royal, thirty had died. (This was attributable to the discomforts and want of care in their accommodation.) The La Tours father and son, captain Marot, and the Recollets (friars) consulted on their situation, and decided to form a settlement at the river St. John, 14 leagues distant from Port Royal. Tufet's smaller vessel was employed to go there, with men and materials. Claude La Tour was to take the command at St. John, and his son Charles to remain in command at cape Sable. The presence of Claude de la Tour is said by Ferland (v. I., p. 249), to have been a protection to the Scotch families in Port Royal, and that when he left it they were beleaguered in

their fort by the Indians ; and, receiving no succor, they all fell victims to the scurvy, or the savages, except one family, which escaped by the assistance of Frenchmen, and eventually joined the colony of the *commandeur* de Razilly. [In 1635, La Mothe Cadillac saw at Port Royal two men of this family, who had become Catholics and married French wives. Their mother had retired to Boston, where she was then still living, aged 90.] It is said that Claude La Tour had, in 1627, obtained from the French king a grant " of the river St. " " John, and five leagues above and five below, and ten leagues " " into the country." This is mentioned in Hutchinson's Massachusetts, p. 127, on the authority of a list of grants given by M. D'Entrémont to governor Pownal.

It appears that Charles Amador de la Tour had been married about 1625 or earlier. In the census of Acadie, made in 1686, there is mention made of a lady named Jeanne de la Tour, aged 60, the wife of a gentleman called Martin d'Aprendistigué, of 70, resident on St. John river. In *Ferland*, 1 v., p. 497, *note*, is this : " Jeanne de la Tour, born of the first marriage of " " Charles Amador de la Tour, married le sieur Martin " " d'Arpentigny and Asprentigny, sieur de Martignon, who, " " after the restitution of Acadie to France, obtained posses- " " sion of fort Latour, on the river St. John." Assuming the accuracy of these authorities, madame de Martignon was born in 1626. (1630), 4 September, Charles the first created sir William Alexander, viscount Stirling, and lord Alexander, of Tullibodie. [Trial of lord Stirling, appendix, xlv.]

1631. King Louis 13, granted a commission, dated 11 February, 1631, constituting Charles de St. Etienne, sieur de la Tour, to command in the quality of the king's lieutenant general, including by name, Acadie, Fort Louis, port Latour and dependencies. [Mss. from archives of the marine at Paris. Copies of the mss. were obtained from Canada by the Record Commissioners of Nova Scotia, and will be referred to herein as *Paris mss.*] In April, 1631, the company of New France equipped at Bourdeaux a vessel commanded by Laurent Ferchaud, with necessary succors for the fort and settlement of St. Louis, at cape Sable. Latour was confirmed in his command

there by order of the company, and the vessel brought back, the sieur de Krainguille, the lieutenant of Latour, who reported that the Scotch were unwilling to quit Port Royal, and had brought families and cattle there. Two vessels were sent out by them (the company) to carry supplies to the settlement at St. Anne's, in cape Bréton, and to trade and fish at Miscou and Tadoussac ; one commanded by Hubert Anselme, went to Miscou ; a second, under captain Daniel, went to St. Anne. There the commandant, named Gaude, had basely murdered his lieutenant Martel. 2 *Champlain*, 366, &c.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

(1.)

Letter from king Charles the first to Sir William Alexander, then Viscount Stirling :—

Whereas there is a final agreement made betwixt us and our good brother, the French king, and that among other particularities for perfecting thereof, we have condescended that Port Royal shall be put into the state it was before the beginning of the late war, that no partie may have any advantage there during the continuance of the same, and without any derogation to any preceding right or title, by virtue of any thing done, either then, or to be done, by the doing of that which we command at this time ; it is our will and pleasure and we command you hereby, that with all possible dilligence, you give order to Sir George Home, knight, or any other having charge from you there, to demolish the Fort that was buildd by your son there, and to remove all the people, goods, ordnance, ammuni-tion, cattle and other things, belonging unto that colonie, leaving the bounds thereof altogether waste and unpeopled, as it was at the time your son landed first to plant there, by virtue of our commission. And this you fail not to do, as you will be answerable unto us.

Greenwich, 10 July, 1631.

(2.)

(*Champlain*, book 2, chapter 1.)

Cape *de la Hève*, is a place where there is a bay, where are several islands covered with fir trees, and the main land with oaks, elms and birches. It is on the shore of Acadie in 44° 5' lat. (n.) and 16° 5' declination of the magnet, distant from Cape Breton (n.e.) 65 leagues. Seven leagues from this, is another

The author is bound to express his thanks for aid in collecting materials for this work, to THOMAS B. AKINS, Esq., Record Commissioner; to the Hon. JOSEPH HOWE, late Provincial Secretary; H. C. D. TWINING, Esq., Clerk of the Assembly; W. A. HENDRY, Esq.; Dr. J. B. GILPIN; Rev. GEORGE PATTERSON; N. RUDOLPH, Esq.; the late EDWARD WALLACE, Esq.; Mr. WM. STEVENS of Barrington Street, and W. S. MORE, Esq., and other friends.

MARCH 13, 1865.

PROSPECTUS.

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A CAKE.



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JAS. H. THORNE,
Deputy Secretary.

called *le Port au mouton*, where are two small rivers in 44° — minutes latitude. The land is very stony, covered with underwood and bushes. There is a quantity of rabbits and much game on account of the ponds there. Going along the coast there is also a harbor very good for vessels, and the head of it a little river which runs from a distance inland, which I named the port of cape *Nègre*, on account of a rock which at a distance resembles one, which is raised above the water near a cape that we passed the same day, four leagues from it and ten to *port au mouton*. This cape is very dangerous on account of the rocks around it. The coasts thus far are very low, covered with the same kind of wood as cape *de la Hève*, and the islands all full of game. Going further on we passed a night in Sable bay where vessels can lie at anchor without any fear of danger. Cape Sable, distant two full leagues from Sable bay, is also very dangerous for certain rocks and reefs lying out a mile almost to sea. Thence one goes on the *isle aux cormorants*, a league distant, so called on account of the infinite number there of these birds, with whose eggs we filled a cask, (*barrique*) and from this island making westwardly about six leagues, crossing a bay which runs in two or three leagues to the northward, we meet several islands, two or three leagues to sea, which may contain some two others three leagues and others less according to my judgment. They are mostly very dangerous for large vessels to come close to, on account of the great tides and rocks level with the water. These islands are filled with pine trees, firs, birches, and aspens. A little further on are four others. In one there is so great a quantity of birds called *tanguaux*, that they may be easily knocked down with a stick. In another there are seals. In two others there is such an abundance of birds of different kinds, that without having seen them could not be imagined, such as cormorants, ducks of three kinds, geese, *marmettes*, bustards, *perroquets de mer*, snipes, vultures, and other birds of prey, *mauwes*, sea larks of two or three kinds, herons, *goillants*, curlews, sea gulls, divers, kites, *appoils*, crows, cranes, and other sorts, which make their nests there. I gave them the name of the Seal islands, (*isles aux loup marins*.) They are in $43^{\circ} 30'$ (n.) latitude, distant from the main land or cape Sable four or five leagues. Thence we go on to a cape which I called the *port Fourchu*, (Forked harbor) inasmuch as its figure is so, being five or six leagues distant from Seal islands. This harbor (Yarmouth?) is very good for vessels in its entrance but further up it is almost all dry at low tide with the exception of the course of a small river, all surrounded by meadows which renders the place very agreeable. The codfishery is good about this harbor. Running ten or twelve leagues northward you find no harbor for vessels, but many coves and fine bays, with land very suitable for culture. The woods are fine, but pines and firs are scarce. This shore is very safe, without islands, rocks, or sand banks, so that in my opinion vessels may go there in confidence. (This seems to be the N. E. Shore of St. Mary's bay.) Being a quarter of a league from the shore, I was at an island called Long Island, which lies N. N. E., and S. S. W., which makes the passage to enter the great French Bay, so named by the *sieur de Monts* (bay of Fundy.) This island is six leagues long and is in some places near one league wide, and in others only a quarter of a league. It is filled with quantities of woods, such as pines and birches. All its shore is bordered with very dangerous rocks, and there is no place suitable for vessels, but at the end of the island some little retreats for shallows, and three or four rocky islets, where the savages catch plenty of seals. The tides run strongly there, and chiefly at the little passage of the island, which is very dangerous for

vessels that choose to risk its passage. From Long island passage, two leagues N. E., there is a cove where vessels may anchor in safety, which is about a quarter of a league in circuit. The bottom is mud, the land is bordered with high rocks. In this place there is a mine of very good silver, according to a report of a miner called master Simon, who was with me. Some leagues further on is also a little river, named *du Boulai*, where the sea runs half a league inland, at the entrance of which vessels of 100 tons may freely approach. A quarter of a league from this there is a good harbor for vessels, where we found an iron mine, which the miner judged would produce 50 per cent. Going three leagues further to the N. E. there is another very good iron mine, near which is a river environed by fine and agreeable meadows. The soil around is red as blood. Some leagues further on there is yet another river, which is dry at low tide, except its course, which is very small, which goes near Port Royal. At the upper end (*fond*) of this bay, there is a channel which is dry at low water, around which are a number of meadows and lands good for cultivation, always filled with a quantity of fine trees of all the kinds I have mentioned above. This bay may have from Long island to its head (*fond*) about six leagues. All the shore of the mines is pretty high land, separated into capes, which appear round, projecting a little into the sea. On the other side of the bay to the South-east, the lands are low and good, where there is a very good harbor, and at its entrance a bar (or sand bank) which must be passed, which has at low water one fathom and a half, which being passed, there is three fathoms with a good bottom. (Weymouth?) Between the two points of the harbor there is an islet of pebbles, covered over at full tide. This harbor runs half a league inland. The tide falls there three fathoms, and there is abundance of shell fish, such as muscles, *coques et bregaux*. The soil is one of the best I have seen, and I named the place *le port Sainte Marguerite*. All this south east coast is lower than that of the mines, which are only one league and a half from the coast of port Ste. Marguerite, the width of the bay, which is three leagues wide at its entrance. I took the height (of the sun) at this place, and found it 45 degrees and a half (should it be 44° 30'?) and a little over of (N.) Latitude, and 17° 16' declination of the compass. This bay was named *la baie Sainte Marie*, (St. Mary's bay.)

CHAPTER 2.

From Long island passage, sailing to the north east (*mettant le cap au nord est*) six leagues, there is a cove where vessels can anchor in 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 fathoms of water. The bottom is sand. It is but a road. Continuing with the same wind two leagues further, you enter one of the finest harbors to be found on these coasts, where a great number of vessels could lie in safety. The entrance is 825 paces wide, and its depth two fathoms. It is two leagues long and one wide. I named it *Port Royal*. Three rivers fall into it, one on the East, (*tirant à l'Est*), called the river *de l'Esquille*, which is a little fish of the size of '*un esplan*,' which are caught there in quantity; also they catch plenty of herring, and several other kinds of fish, which are there in abundance in their seasons. This river is near a quarter of a league wide at its entrance, where there is an island (Goat island) which is about half a league in circumference, filled with wood like the rest of the soil, as pines, firs, *pruches*, birches, aspens, and some oaks which are in small numbers among the other trees. There are two entrances to the said river, one

on the North and the other on the South of the island. That on the north is the best, where vessels can lie at anchor under shelter of the island in 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 fathoms of water; but care must be taken of some shoals attached to the island and the main, which are very dangerous, if the channel be not noticed. I went fourteen or fifteen leagues up, as far as the tide rises, and about as far as boats can ascend. At this place the stream is sixty paces wide, and is about nine feet deep. The soil of this river is full of plenty of oaks, ash trees, and other wood. From the entrance of the river as far as this place, there are a number of meadows, but they are overflowed in high tides, there being very many small brooks (creeks) which cross from place to place, whereby shallops and boats may reach the full sea. Within the port there is another island near two leagues distant from the first, where there is another small river which goes some distance inland, and which I named the river of Saint Anthony. Its entrance is distant from the upper end of St. Mary's bay about four leagues across the woods. As to the other river, it is only a brook filled with rocks, up which you cannot go for the want of depth of water. This place lies in 45° (N.) Latitude, and the declination of the needle is $17^{\circ} 2'$. [He then describes a cape he calls the "cape of two bays," and part of Mines, and mentions Tregaté et Misamichy in the gulf of St. Lawrence, (Tracadie and Miramichi), speaks of copper and iron mines; mentions the river of St. John, which he named so, because he arrived there on St. John's day. The Indians call it Ouygoudy. He describes the harbor, the meadows, woods, vines, &c., above the falls, and says it is 65 leagues from St. John river to Tadoussac.]

Champlain, vol. I., p. 123. Book I, chapter 8.

From leaving *cape de La Hève* until you reach *Sesambre*, (Sambro), which is an island so called by some Mallouins, fifteen leagues distant from La Hève, there are to be found on the way a quantity of islands, which we have named "the Martyrs," on account of some Frenchmen formerly killed by the Indians. These islands are in general *cul de sacs* and bays, in one of which there is a river called Sainte Margueritte, seven leagues distant from Sesambre, which is in $44^{\circ} 25'$ (N.) Latitude. The islands and shores are full of pines, firs, birches, and other inferior timber, (meschants bois.) The catch of fish there is abundant, and so is the quantity of birds. From Sesambre we passed a very safe bay, (Chebucto?) (*une baie fort Saine*), containing seven or eight leagues, where there are no islands in the route except at the head of it, where there is a small river, and we came to a port eight leagues distant from Sesambre, (steering N. E., $\frac{1}{4}$ E.,) good for vessels from 100 to 120 tons. At its entrance is an island, which, at low water, is fordable to the main land. We named this place the port of *Sainte Héleine*, in $44^{\circ} 40'$ (N.) Latitude. [He then mentions "*la baie de toutes isles*;" (bay of Islands), Green island river; port Savalette, called after a Basque shipmaster; and Canseau. Mentions abundance of raspberries on the islands between port Savalette and Canseau.]

CHAPTER X.

1632. By the treaty of *Saint Germain en Laye*, signed 29, March, 1632, Acadie and Cape Bréton were restored by Charles the first to the French king Louis 13. Commenting on this event, Charlevoix (*v. I., p. 273*) says, "The establishment we " "had then in this island" (Cape Bréton) "was of little impor- " "tance. Nevertheless this post,—the fort of Quebec, sur- " "rounded by some inferior dwellings and sheds,—two or " "three cabins in the island of Montreal—perhaps as many at " "Tadoussac and other places on the river St. Lawrence, for " "the convenience of fishery and trading,—the beginning of a " "settlement at Three Rivers,—and the ruins of Port Royal, " "—in these consisted New France, and all the fruit of the " "discoveries of Verazani, Jacques Cartier, Roberval, and " "Champlain, of the great expences of the marquis de la " "Roche and M. de Monts, and of the industry of a great " "number of Frenchmen, which might have made there a " "great establishment, if they had been well conducted."

In this arrangement of restitution, it is said that an indemnity in money was promised to Sir David Kirk, the captor of Quebec and Port Royal. Williamson, in his history of Maine, *v. I., p. 247*, says the ministry promised £5000, and that it was never paid. Another authority speaks of 5000 livres to be paid by the French king. Isaac de Razili, a knight of Malta, *commandeur* of the isle Bouchard, and commodore of Brétagne, was selected to take possession of Acadie from the English. [*Garneau, v. I., p. 167.*] De Razilly entered into an agreement to proceed to Acadie in a vessel to be furnished by the

crown. He was to receive 10,000 livres ; and, without further charge to the king, to take possession of Port Royal on behalf of the company of New France. This agreement is dated 27, March, 1632, two days previous to the date of the treaty between the two crowns. A commission from the king to him, dated 10 May, 1632, authorized him to cause the Scotch and other subjects of Great Britain to withdraw from the country. The company of New France gave him a grant at Sainte Croix of 12 leagues by 20 in extent, comprising the river and bay. Cardinal Richelieu had fitted out a squadron of six vessels of war and four pinnaces, in order to take possession of New France, and de Razilly, a man of judgment and energy, had charge of conducting it to Quebec. On the news of this intended expedition reaching London, the king of England was thereby induced to agree to the terms of restitution already mentioned. The family of de Razilly was allied to that of Richelieu, and its members were often employed by the cardinal-minister. Claude de Razilly, son of Francis, *seigneur de Razilly, des Eaux mesles et Cuon, en Anjou*, was a captain in the French royal navy, and became subsequently *commandant* in the isle d'Oleron, *chef d'Escadre*, and finally vice admiral, Isaac de Razilly, knight commander of St. John of Jerusalem, [1 *Ferland, Canada*. p. 261.] He was also a captain in the navy, and distinguished himself under the orders of admiral de St. Luc, at Rochelle, in 1621. He was made *chef d'Escadre* in Brétagne in 1629.

The Recollets, (friars), of the province of Aquitaine, who had been driven from Acadie five years before by the English, were invited by de Razilly to return to their old mission, which they did in 1633. When de Razilly came out to Acadie it is to be presumed that he took formal possession of the country, but we have no details on this subject. He had, it is supposed, under him as lieutenants or commandants, 1. Charles de Menou, *seigneur d'Aulnay de Charnisay*, who was his relation ; and, 2. Charles Amador de la Tour, who, having declined the temptations of land and rank offered on behalf of Sir William Alexander, had preserved only his fief of cape Sable.

We find that about this period the French, no longer assail-

ed, appear to have suddenly become the assailants. Thus in 1631 the French sent a vessel to Penobscot, where the people of New Plymouth had set up a trading house in 1627; and in 1632 another French vessel went there and pillaged the trading house of effects to the value of £500. That on another occasion they visited the same place, having "a false Scot" as he is called, on board, and, after taking arms, left a message for the chiefs of the establishment who were absent, "that the visit had been made by gentlemen of the isle of Rhé," and in the same year, 1632, a French man of war, sent by the commander of a French fort at Lahève, called Rossillon, (Razilly), went to Penobscot, (Pentagoët), and took possession of the trading house and all the goods. Two of the English were killed. The French gave bills for the goods, and sent away the men. The commander notified the governor of Plymouth that he had orders to displace the English as far as Pemaquid. The French fortified the place at Penobscot, (Pentagoët), beat off an attack, and held it until 1654, (or 1664.) [1 *Hutchinson's Massachusetts*, pp. 28, 29, 30, 46, 128. As the French claimed at this time as far as the river Kennebec, as part of Acadie, it is probable that de Razilly would not hesitate to adopt force in regaining possession; and if the dates are correct, then de Razilly had gone to Lahève to form a settlement and erect a fort in 1632, in the first year of his residence.

In 1634, the company of New France granted (15 January), to Claude de Razilly, brother of the *commandeur*, the fort and settlement of Port Royal in Acadie, the isle of Sable, and the fort and settlement of Lahève. [*Paris mss. & 1 Ferland*, 251.] Isaac de Razilly, who commanded in chief, as lieutenant general for the king, fixed his residence at Lahève, established a company to carry on the fisheries, brought out settlers, and gave them lands in that region. At the time of his death, which appears to have occurred in 1636, he is said to have already settled forty families of cultivators there. In 1635, a crew of Connecticut mariners, who had been wrecked on the isle of Sable, were treated with great humanity by de Razilly, who then resided at Lahève, and who got them conveyance to their homes. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, p.

263.] It was about this time that captain Girling, with the Hope of Ipswich, a ship of some force, and another vessel, attacked the French at Penobscot, but without success. D'aulnay, who commanded there, having received the wrecked Englishmen sent by Razilly from Lahève, said he would keep them there, unless Girling departed, and thus induced Girling to remove his vessels. The French held Penobscot until 1664. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, 263, 264.] Razilly is said to have appointed d'Aulnay his commandant in the west of Acadie, and Latour in the east. [1 *Hutchinson, Mass.*, 128.] Nicolas Denys, who was afterwards in 1654 made governor in the gulph of St. Lawrence and the islands from cape Canseau to cape Rosiers, came here in the suite of the *commandeur* de Razilly, with his brother Denys de Vitré. Nicolas Denys was a man of enterprize. In partnership with de Razilly and a merchant of Auray, in Brétagne, he established a shore fishery at port Rossignol, now Liverpool, Nova Scotia.

15 January, 1635. The company of New France made a grant to Charles de Saint Etienne, sieur de la Tour, lieutenant general for the king on the coasts of Acadie, in New France, stating that they had been apprized of his zeal for the catholic, apostolic and Roman religion, and for the service of his majesty. They accordingly grant to him "the fort and habitation of Latour, situate on the river of St. John, in New France, between the 45th and 46th degrees of latitude," "with the lands next adjacent thereto in the extent of five" "leagues below along the said river, by ten leagues in depth" "inland, the whole according to the bounds which shall be" "assigned." This grant was in full property, justice and seigneurie, held of Quebec, &c. The tenure is perpetual, in nearly the same terms as the grant of Ste. Croix in 1632 to de Razilly. It contains a clause against alienation for ten years, unless with consent of the company. After that period it may be conveyed to any persons capable, and professing the catholic, apostolic and Roman faith. It would seem that Charles Latour at this time was considered as reconciled to Rome.

The Jesuits are said to have established a mission at Ste. Anne, cape Breton, and another at St. Charles, Miscou, in

1634. [1 *Ferland*, p. 267.] De Razilly built a fort at Lahève, on a hillock of land of three or four acres, surrounded by two rivers and the *fond du port de la Hève*, (head of the harbor.)

25 January, 1636, a grant was made to ——— of the habitation called "*le vieux logis*," the old dwelling, at Pentacouët, to the extent of ten leagues in width by ten leagues deep, inland. [This grant is mentioned in the *arrêt du conseil d'état*, in 1703, *Paris mss.*, but the grantee is not named; but in an abstract. or *mémoire*, he is said to be Claude de St. Etienne, the father of Claude de la Tour. Possibly Claude de Razilly was the grantee. As Pentagoët was in the possession of d'Aulnay after Isaac de Razilly was dead and the English were expelled, one might suppose it had been granted to Razilly. It has occurred to me that there might have been conflicting claims between d'Aulnay and the Latours as to the ownership of Pentagoët, and this would account for their original quarrel, and for Latour's asking aid from Boston to remove d'Aulnay from that place.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

1. Treaty of *St. Germain en Laye*, 29 March, 1632, Article 3. De la part de sa majesté de la Grande Bretagne, le dit sieur ambassadeur en vertu du pouvoir qu'il a, lequel sera inseré à la fin de ces presentes, a promis et promet pour et au nom de sa dite majesté de rendre et restituer tous les lieux occupées en la Nouvelle France, la Cadie, et Canada, par les sujets de sa majesté de la Grande Bretagne, ceux faire retirer des dits lieux; Et pour cet effet, le dit sieur ambassadeur delivra, lors de la passation et signature des presentes, aux commissaires du roi très chretien, en bonne forme, le pouvoir qu'il a de sa majeste de la Grande Bretagne pour la restitution des dits lieux—ensemble les commandemens de sa dite majesté a tous ceux, qui commandent dans le Port Royal, Fort de Quebec, et cap Breton, pour être les dites places et fort rendus et remis es mains de ceux qu'il plaira à sa Majesté Chretienne ordonner, &c. Article 3. The said Mr. ambassador on the part of his Majesty of Great Britain, by virtue of the power, which he has, which shall be inserted at the end of these presents, has promised and does promise for and in the name of his said Majesty to give up and restore all the places in New France, La Cadie and Canada, occupied by the subjects of his Majesty of Great Britain, and to make them withdraw from the said places;

and for this purpose, the said Mr. Ambassador shall deliver, on the passing and signing of these presents, to the commissaries of the most Christian king, in good form, the power which he has from his majesty of Great Britain for the restitution of the said places, together with the orders of his said majesty to all those who command in Port Royal, the fort of Quebec and cape Breton, for the giving up and surrendering of the said places and fort in the hands of those whom it shall please his christian majesty to appoint, &c.

2. Acadie, Samedi, 27 Mars, 1632. Convention avec le Sieur de Razilly pour aller recevoir la restitution des mains des Anglois, et en mettre en possession la compagnie de la nouvelle France, acte passé au chateau de St. Germain en Laye. Messire Isaac de Razilly, commandeur de l'ordre de St. Jean, de Jérusalem, chargé d'aller recevoir la restitution qui n'a pas encore faite du pays de la nouvelle France, dit Canada, nommément le Port Royal, côte de l'Acadie, usurpé par les Anglois et Ecosais depuis le traité de Suze, et où le Roi veut établir la compagnie, formée par son ordre. Le cardinal fera delivrer dans le 20 du mois d'Avril prochain au port de Morbihan, le vaisseau nommé l'Esperance en dieu, franc, cinglant, prêt à recevoir sa charge, armé de ses canons, pierriers, poudre et boulets, et le somme de dix milles livres comptant, au moyen de quoi, sans qu'il en coute autre chose au Roi, le sieur de Razilly mettra en possession du dit Port Royal la dite compagnie de la Nouvelle France, équipera avec la dite vaisseau une patache du port au moins de cent tonneaux armée à ses frais, et fera aussi à ses frais toute la dépense, tant de la solde, que victuailles des hommes de l'équipage des dits vaisseaux, sur lesquels il passera trois capucins et le nombre d'hommes que lui et la dite compagnie de la Nouvelle France jugeront à propos, avec les victuailles et les munitions que la dite compagnie estimera nécessaires, à condition qu'il renverra cette année le dit vaisseau de l'Espérance en Dieu, dans le port de Brest avec les autres vaisseaux du Roi. Car ainsi promettant et s'obligeant et renoncant, &c.

Acadie, Saturday, 27 March, 1632. Agreement with M. de Razilly, to go and receive restitution at the hands of the English, and put the company of New France in possession of it. Act passed at the castle of St. Germain en Laye. Messire Isaac de Razilly, commander of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, employed to go and to receive the restitution, which has not yet been made of the country of New France, called Canada, particularly Port Royal, coast of Acadie, usurped by the English and Scotch since the treaty of Suza, and where the king wishes to establish the company, formed by his order. The Cardinal shall cause to be delivered on the 20th of the month of April next, at the port of Morbihan, the vessel called the "L'esperance en dieu" (the hope in God,) free and in sailing order, ready to receive her cargo, armed with her guns, swivels, powder and shot, and the sum of 10,000 livres in ready money; by means whereof, without its costing the king any thing further, the sieur de Razilly shall put the said company of New France in possession of Port Royal, shall equip with the said vessel a pinnace of the burthen of at least 100 tons, armed at his own expense, and shall defray at his own expense, all the expense as well of the pay as of the provisions for the men forming the crews of the said vessel, on which (vessels) he shall carry out three capuchins and such a number of men as he and the said company of New France shall judge to be proper, with the provisions and ammunition which the said company shall esteem necessary: on condition that he shall send back this year the said vessel the "L'esperance en dieu" to the port of Brest, with the other vessels of the king. For thus promising, binding himself, renouncing, &c.

3. Commission du Sr. de Razilly, 10 Mai, 1632. Sur ce qu'il a été accordé entre les commissaires députés par Louis XIII. et le sieur Wake, ambassadeur de son très cher et très ami bon frère et beau frère, cousin et ancien allié le roi de la très grande Bretagne, que les places de Quebec, Port Royal et cap Breton, pris par les Anglais et Ecossais sur les sujets de Roi Louis XIII. depuis le traité de paix fait entre lui et le roi d'Angleterre le 24. Avril 1629, seroient restituées, commet le Sr. de Razilly, pour faire retirer les Ecossais et autres sujets de la Grande Bretagne. Donné à St. Germain en Laye, l'an 1632, de son règne le 23. Scellé de cire jaune. Par le Roi, Bouthillier.

Commission of le Sr. de Razilly, 10 May, 1632. It having been agreed on between the commissaries (or commissioners) deputed by Louis 13, and Mr. Wake, ambassador of his very dear and very friend, brother and brother-in-law, cousin and ancient ally, the king of the very great Britain, that the places of Quebec, Port Royal and cape Breton, taken by the English and Scotch from the subjects of king Louis 13, since the treaty of peace made between him and the king of England the 24th April 1629, shall be restored, commissions le Sr. de Razilly to make the Scotch and other subjects of Great Britain withdraw. Given at St. Germain en Laye, the year 1632, of his reign the 23d. (Sealed with yellow wax.) By the king. Bouthillier.

4. La Sr. de Razilly qu'en outre de sa commission Mgr. Bouthillier lui on a delivré une autre de pareille teneur, le nom en blanc, en cas qu'il ne pût aller lui même executer ce qui lui est ordonné. Il fera alors remplir le blanc du nom d'une personne agréable à sa Majeste et capable. Fait à Paris, le 12 me de Mai 1632. Signé,—le commandeur de Razilly.

Monseigneur Bouthillier had delivered to M. de Razilly, besides his commission, another of like tenor, the name left blank. In case he cannot go himself to execute what he is ordered, he will then fill up the blank with the name of a person agreeable to his Majesty and capable. Done at Paris, the 12th of May, 1632. Signed,—“the commander de Razilly.

5. 22 Août 1632. Mgr. Bouthillier, conseiller, secrétaire d'état et des commandements du Roy a remis au chevalier de Razilly pour prendre possession du Port Royal en Acadie. 1°. Une lettre patente du Roi de la Grande Bretagne en latin du 4, du mois de Juillet 1631, sous le cachet de l'Encosse pour la restitution du Port Royal en l'état qu'il était lors de la prise d'icelui. 2°. Un commandement du dit Roy à ses sujets étant dans le Port Royal pour la démolition et délaisement de la place. 3°. Et une lettre du chevalier Alexandre au capitaine Andros Forroster commandant au dit Port Royal, tendante à même fin.

22d August, 1632. Monseigneur Bouthillier, secretary of state, and of the king's commands, has sent to the chevalier de Razilly, for taking possession of Port Royal, in Acadie. 1st. Letters patent of the king of Great Britain, in Latin, of 4 July, 1631, under the seal of Scotland, for the restitution of Port Royal, in the state it was in at the time of its capture. 2nd. An order of the said king to his subjects being in Port Royal, for the demolition and abandonment of the place. 3rd. And a letter of the chevalier Alexandre to captain Andros Forrester, commander at said Port Royal, tending to the same end.

6. In the report of the English and French commissaries, p. 707, is a grant from the company of New France, dated 19 May, 1632, “to monsieur commandeur de Razilly, lieutenant general for the king in New France.” By this document the company granted to Razilly “the extent of the lands and countries”

“ following, that is to say, the river and bay Sainte Croix, the islands therein ”
“ contained, and the adjacent lands on each side, in New France, to the extent ”
“ of twelve leagues in width, taking the middle point of the isle of St. Croix, ”
“ where the sieur de Monts wintered, and twenty leagues in depth from the ”
“ port *aux Coquilles*, which is one of the islands of the mouth of the river and ”
“ bay of Sainte Croix, each league to be of 4000 livres ” (fathoms) “ long, to ”
“ enjoy the said places by the said sieur Razilly, and his successors having ”
“ cause, in all property, justice and seigneurie for ever, as fully and with the same ”
“ rights as the king has pleased to grant to the said company of New France.”
The tenure is faith and homage only at the fort of St. Louis, at Quebec, or elsewhere, as the company may appoint, with an ounce of gold, and one year’s reserved rent on each change of ownership. The appeals from any judge appointed by the seigneur to be to St. Louis, or elsewhere, &c.

7. 14 June, 1633, viscount Stirling (sir William Alexander) was created, by Charles the first, earl of Stirling, viscount of Canada, &c.

De Montmagny was appointed governor of Canada in 1636.

CHAPTER XI.

1638. After the death of the *commandeur* Isaac de Razilly, which is supposed to have occurred in 1636, his property devolved on his brother Claude de Razilly, captain in the French navy, who subsequently, in 1642, transferred all the estates of his late brother, and those held by himself, in Acadie, to M. d'Aulnay Charnisay. [1 *Charlevoix*, 196, and *Paris mss.*] In 1637, Charles de la Tour and d'Aulnay Charnisay were both holders of large interests in Acadie. The former held fort Louis at cape Sable, fort Latour on the river St. John, &c., while d'Aulnay probably had already bargained for Port Royal, Lahève, and St. Croix, with his connection Claude de Razilly. Both Latour and d'Aulnay were in some measure royal governors. Latour under his commission in 1631, which does not seem to have been revoked, and d'Aulnay as successor to Isaac de Razilly,—who had employed him as commandant in Western Acadie, and Latour in the Eastern parts. Discords now arose between d'Aulnay and Latour. The former seems to have been a connection and dependant of the great cardinal Richelieu, who was then in the zenith of his power and prosperity, and of whom it was said that after his death, (which took place 4 Dec., 1642), the court was as submissive to his wishes as it had been during his life: his relations and creatures enjoying all the dignities and all the favors he had procured for them. *Rocheffoucault mem. cited* 1. *de Larrey, hist.* 16. It will be seen that Latour proved the least successful in these contests, his adversary not only possessing energy and many resources, but being supported by such powerful influences in France.

Their differences having been under the consideration of the French government, a royal letter was addressed to M. d'Aulnay, dated 10 February, 1638, as follows : " Monsieur " d'Aulnay Charnisay. Wishing that there should be a good " understanding between you and the sieur de la Tour, and " that the limits of the places where you have each to com- " mand may not be a subject of controversy between you, I " have thought fit to inform you particularly of my intentions " respecting the extent of those places, which is under the " authority which I have given to my cousin the cardinal " duke of Richelieu, over all the lands lately discovered by " means of navigation, of which he is superintendant. You " shall be my lieutenant general on the coast of Etchemins, " beginning from the middle of the *terra firma* of the French " bay, (probably Chignecto), " thence towards Virginia,—and " governor of Pentagoët, and that the charge of the sieur de " la Tour, my lieutenant general on the coast of Acadie, shall " be from the middle of the French bay to the strait of Can- " seau. So you are not empowered to change any arrange- " ments in the settlement on the river St. John, made by the " said sieur de la Tour, who will direct his economy and his " people according to his judgment : and the said sieur de la " Tour shall not attempt to change any thing in the settle- " ments of Lahève and Port Royal, nor in the ports thereto " belonging. As to the trade of truck or barter, the same " course shall be continued as was in the lifetime of comman- " deur de Razilly. You will redouble your care for the pre- " servation of the places within the bounds of your authority, " and especially to take exact care that no foreigners shall " settle within the countries and coasts of New France, " whereof the kings, my predecessors, have taken possession " in their own names. You shall give me an account, as " soon as possible, of the state of affairs there, and particu- " larly under what pretext, and with what avowed purpose, " and under what commissions, certain foreigners have intro- " duced themselves, and formed settlements on the said " coasts, in order that I may provide for and send you the " necessary orders on this subject by the first vessels that "

"shall go to your quarters. Wherefore I pray God may have"
 "you, monsieur d'Aulnay Charnisay, in his holy keeping."
 "Written at St. Germain en Laye, 10 Feb'y., 1638." Signed
 "Louis," and below "Bouthillier." Directed to "monsieur"
 "d'Aulnay Charnisay, commandant of the forts of Lahève,"
 "Port Royal, Pentagoët, and the coasts of the Etchemins, in"
 "New France." The French original of the foregoing letter
 is printed by the English and French commissaries, in their
 memorials, pp. 711, 712. At this period it would appear that
 Latour was permanently settled at the mouth of the river St.
 John. As it was decided in 1630 to form an establishment
 there, to be under command of Latour the elder, while Charles
 was to command still at cape Sable, while Claude was said
 by Denys to be at the latter place in 1635, we may suppose
 the St. John settlement was now deemed the more important
 one, and that Charles de la Tour made it his principal resi-
 dence. It is said that he raised fortifications there on the west
 side of the harbor, near the part of the city now called Carle-
 ton. This was called fort Latour. Latour's government
 then comprised the peninsula of Acadie. Charles de Menou,
 sieur d'Aulnay Charnisay, was settled at Pentagoët, (at a
 place now known as major Biguyduce point, in Castine),
 and his government comprised the shores of New Brunswick
 and Maine, from Chignecto (in Cumberland) to Pemaquid, on
 the Kennebec. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, 308.] The settlements
 of Port Royal and Lahève, possessed by d'Aulnay, were within
 the government of Latour, while Latour's settlement and fort
 on the St. John came within the limits of d'Aulnay's govern-
 ment.

In this year, 1638, earthquakes were felt throughout New
 England from the 1st to the 21st June. In Canada an earth-
 quake was observed 11th June. At this time Boston was a
 village of about 20 or 30 houses. 1 *Ferland's Canada*, p. 293.

1639. The alleged charter of *novodamus*, in favor of lord
 Stirling, giving the title and estates to his heirs general, (which
 was deemed a forgery by the tribunals), bears date 7 Decem-
 ber, 1639.

1640. Charles de la Tour visited Quebec in 1640, as is

ascertained by his then becoming sponsor for a boy called Charles Amador Martin. Abraham Martin, *dit l'Ecossais*, (called the Scotchman), a pilot of the river St. Lawrence, was owner of the plains of Abraham. He had a son, Eustache, whose baptism is the earliest on the registry at Quebec in 1621. Charles Amador Martin was the only son who survived Abraham, and became remarkable for his happy disposition and for musical talents. He was the second Canadian ordained a priest—was a member of the seminary of Foreign missions at Quebec, and a canon of the cathedral.

1641. The differences between d'Aulnay and Latour continued, and it appears that the former made his cause appear the better one at court, where he succeeded in obtaining the following order, which is printed in French in the memorials of the English and French commissaries, pp. 712, 713 :—

“ 13 February, 1641.”

“ Monsieur d'Aulnay Charnisay.”

“ I send an order to the sieur de la Tour, by an express ”
 “ letter, to embark and come to me as soon as he receives it, ”
 “ which if he should fail to obey, I order you to seize his per- ”
 “ son, and to make a faithful inventory of all that belongs to ”
 “ him, a copy of which you will send here. For this purpose ”
 “ you will employ all the means and forces you can, and you ”
 “ will put the forts that are in his hands in those of persons ”
 “ faithful and well disposed to my service, who may answer ”
 “ for the same. This letter having no further object, I pray ”
 “ God, monsieur d'Aulnay Charnisay, to have you in his holy ”
 “ keeping. Written at St. Germain en Laye, the 13th Feb- ”
 “ ruary, 1641. Signed “ Louis,” lower down “ Bouthillier; ”
 endorsed “ To monsieur d'Aulnay Charnisay.” On the 23rd
 February, 1641, the king in council revoked the commission
 of governor held by Charles de la Tour, dated 11 February,
 1631, on the ground of alleged misconduct; and 28 Feb. 1641,
 an order was made for Latour to come home to France to
 answer for his proceedings. On the 16 August, 1641, Mathieu
 Capon, commis au greffe de la justice et police du pays d'Aca-
 die, (clerk in the office of secretary of justice and police of
 Acadie), by authority of sieur d'Aulnay Charnisay, informs

against Latour, on complaints of inhabitants of Port Royal. Returns of the date 22 August, 1641, testify that Latour had refused to embark in the *St. Francis*, sent out express to bring him home. *Paris mss.* Latour attributed the order for his arrest to false reports against him, and retired to his fort at St. John, resolved to defend himself there with energy. Having been brought up in the country by a huguenot father, and in the midst of the aborigines, he sought for and found friends and support among the Souriquois, (Micmacs), among the protestants of Rochelle, and even among the puritans of New England. [1 *Ferland*, 342.] Latour is said to have had some partnership or interests in trade, by which he was connected with major Gibbons, of Boston, and looking for assistance in that direction in November, 1641, he sent M. Rochette, (or Rochet), a protestant of Rochelle, to the town of Boston, to propose to the English of that province to unite with him in attacking d'Aulnay in his fort at Pentagoët, his chief trading settlement, where he had retired at that time. He also proposed that a free trade should be carried on between New England and Acadie, but as Rochette did not exhibit such credentials as were deemed necessary, the governor and council at Boston declined to enter into any treaty, and Rochette retired. [1 *Hutch.*, 128. 1 *Ferland*, 348.]

1642. An order passed Feb. 21, 1642, directing d'Aulnay to seize Latour's forts, &c. About the same time d'Aulnay obtained a transfer in his favor of all the estates of the former governor the *commandeur* Isaac de Razilly, deceased, within the province of Acadie, by deeds from Claude de Razilly, the brother and heir of Isaac, dated 16 January, 1642, by which all his right in the company of New France, and all the property his brother held in Acadie, were conveyed to d'Aulnay, the latter binding himself to pay 14,000 livres as the price, within seven years. [*Paris mss.*, 1 *Garneau*, 167.] D'Aulnay was in France this year, as we find in the *Paris mss.* that "Charles de Menou, seigneur d'Aulnay Charnizay, governor" "and lieutenant general for the king in all the coasts of" "Acadie, &c., being present at Paris, lodging in the house of" "M. de Charnizay, his father, 16 *rue de Grenelle*, in the house"

"which has for a sign the *fleur de lys*, near the olive tree," makes and constitutes his father "messire René de Menou," "chevalier, seigneur de Charnizay, councillor of the king in" "his state and private councils," attorney for his property, real and personal, &c. &c., before messieurs Platrier and Chappelain, notaries, date 8 March, 1642; and on the 27 July, 1642, the said sieur René substitutes M. Louis Adam, advocate in parliament, as procurator fiscal of the lands of the said sieur d'Aulnay. The chevalier René de Charnizay is said to have been a powerful protector at court for his son.

On the 6 October, 1642, there came to Boston a shallop sent by Latour, with his lieutenant and fourteen men, and letters full of compliments, desiring aid to remove d'Aulnay from Penta-goët, and renewing his former proposal for a free trade. They returned without any assurance of the aid requested; but some merchants of Boston sent a pinnace after them to trade with Latour at the river St. John. On their return they brought letters to the governor at Boston, in which full statements were contained of the controversy between d'Aulnay and Latour. On their way they stopped at Pemaquid, and found d'Aulnay there on a visit. He also wrote by them to the governor at Boston, and sent him a printed copy of an *arrêt* (judgment) he had obtained from France against Latour, and threatened to capture any vessels that should go to Latour. [1 *Hutchinson, Mass.*, 128]

CHAPTER XII.

1643. Hitherto the only hostilities we have noticed in this part of New France had their origin in the jealous rivalry of the two nations, whose old contests in Europe were continued on a smaller scale in America. We have now to observe two distinguished chiefs, of French birth, engage in a relentless, cruel and mischievous conflict for power in a land as yet, except in a few isolated spots, an unreclaimed wilderness. While in Canada, French courage was displayed in defence against the most hostile and dangerous of the savage nations, and occasionally in resistance to the English, the wilds of Acadie witnessed the fratricidal disputes of Frenchman with Frenchman. The circumstances which gave rise to the quarrel of Latour and d'Aulnay, and the causes which embittered their struggle, are not sufficiently explained to us by the records that remain, to enable us safely to measure out to each of these combatants his just allotment of praise or of censure. The loyalty of Charles Latour in 1630, when he resisted the persuasions of a beloved father and the alluring temptations of power and rank, remaining so truly faithful to his nation and its sovereign, give us a high opinion of his original qualities of heart and intellect. His perseverance in adhering to the country in the most discouraging period after Argal's raids and Kirk's invasion—living among the native Indians, and afterwards succeeding in founding forts and settlements,—his services under Razilly after 1632, and indeed all the facts to the time of the discord in 1638 convey impressions in his favor. Then we find him suddenly condemned to arrest and spoliation on some charges made

against him, which we may conclude had small foundation, as no specific offence is once mentioned. The presumption seems strong that the influence of d'Aulnay at court turned the scale against Latour, and not the weight of his offences. The losses and sufferings which Latour afterwards underwent also incline our sympathies in his favor.

[Louis 13 died 14 May, 1643 ; Louis 14 born in 1638, being then 4 years and 8 months old.] But to return to the narrative of events in the province.

1643. Early in the spring of 1643, d'Aulnay, with two ships and four small craft, and with five hundred men, attacked and blockaded Latour's fort and settlement at the river St. John. Latour and his garrison were thus reduced to a very difficult position. To aggravate their distress, a ship, laden with succors, which they had expected, and for want of which they were then suffering, arrived off the harbor. She had 140 emigrants on board, among whom were two friars. Her master and crew belonged to Rochelle. Latour perceived that she could not pass the blockading squadron. He therefore resolved to leave the garrison himself, and entrust the defence of the place to his companions. Accordingly, he and his wife, in the night of June 12, 1643, escaped to the ship and proceeded in her to Boston. [1 *Hutch.*, 129.] They took a pilot out of a Boston vessel they met on the passage. On entering Boston harbor they saw a boat, in which were the lady and family of Mr. Gibbons, who were going by water to his farm. One of the Frenchmen who had been entertained at her house, recognized the lady ; and a boat having been manned, with the intention of inviting her to come on board of the French vessel, she became alarmed and fled to Governor's island. The Frenchmen followed her thither, and at the island they found the governor Winthrop and his family, who were all greatly surprised, and so was the whole English colony when they heard the news. The town of Boston was so alarmed, that they all immediately armed themselves, and three shallops, filled with armed men, were sent to guard the governor home. Had Latour been an enemy, he might not only have secured the governor's person, but also have taken

possession of the castle, which was opposite to the island, there not being a single man there at the time to defend it.

Latour had so far cleared up his conduct at the French court, that he had obtained a permission in writing, under the hands of the vice admiral of France, the great prior, &c., by which this ship was allowed to bring him out supplies. In this document he was called the king's lieutenant general in Acadie. He also produced letters from the agent of the company in France, advising him to look to himself, and to guard against the designs of d'Aulnay.

Governor Winthrop called together such of the magistrates and deputies as were near Boston, and laid before them the request of Latour. The colony had entered into an agreement with the neighboring English provinces, which put it out of their power to grant aid as a government, unless with the advice of the other governments: but as they conceived they were not bound to hinder any individuals who were willing to be hired to aid Latour, from fulfilling such engagement. Latour was very thankful for this decision: but some of the English being displeased at this concession, the governor called a second meeting, where, on a more full debate, the first opinion was adhered to, and a permission given to Latour to trade, and to hire such vessels and men as he stood in need of. The remonstrants stated "that they should expose their" "trade to the ravages of d'Aulnay, and perhaps the whole" "colony to the resentment of the French king, who would" "not be imposed upon by the distinction of permitting and" "commanding force to assist Latour; that they had no sufficient evidence of the justice of his cause, and *in causa*" "*dubia bellum non est suscipiendum*. That Latour was a" "papist, attended by priests, friars, &c., and that they were in" "the case of Jehoshaphat, who joined with Ahab, an idolater," "which act was expressly condemned in scripture." Latour's wife is said to have been considered by the Boston authorities, as justly esteemed, for her sound Protestant sentiments and excellent virtues, while his character was attacked by some as doubtful and hypocritical. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, 311]. Latour was accused of acts of violence, which he rebutted, and shewed

by living witnesses that he had done many acts of kindness to Englishmen, who had been thrown on his compassion by disasters at sea. The rulers of Massachusetts at this time viewed d'Aulnay as an ambitious and dangerous neighbor. This consideration, and the risk of losing the debts which Latour owed to business men in Boston, had weight in producing the decision. Mr. Endicott wrote to governor Winthrop, "19th of" "the 4th month," which date corresponds to the 30 June, (new style), 1643, dissuading him from giving aid to Latour, he says, "His father and himself, as I am informed, have shed the" "blood of some English already, and taken away a pinnace" "and goods from Mr. Allerton," wishes enquiry about this before Latour should be let go, complains of soldiers being let come on shore and being trained, &c. [*Hutchinson's Collections*, 173.] Thomas Gorges, the deputy governor of Maine, wrote on this occasion to governor Winthrop, from his residence at Kittery point, as follows :

Piscataqua, 28 June, 1643.

Right worthy sir. I understand by Mr. Parker you have written me by Mr. Shurt, which, as yet, I have not received. It cannot be unknown to you the fears we are in, since Latour's promise of aid from you. For my part I thought fit to certify so much unto you, for I suppose not only these parts which are naked, but all North East, will find d'Aulnay a scourge. He hath long waited, with the expense of near £800 a month, for an opportunity of taking supplies from his foe ; and should all his hopes be frustrated through your aid, you may conceive where he will seek for satisfaction. If a thorough work could be made, and he be utterly extirpated, I should like it well : otherwise it cannot be thought but that a soldier and a gentleman will seek to revenge himself ; having 500 men, two ships, a galley and pinnaces, well provided. Besides you may please conceive in what manner he now besieges Latour. His ships lie on the South west part of the island, at the entrance of St. John's river, within which is only an entrance for ships, and on the North-east lie his pinnaces. It cannot be conceived but he will fortify the island, which

will debar the entrance of any of your ships, and force them back, shewing the will, having not the power, to hurt him. I suppose I shall sail for England in this ship. I am not yet certain, which makes me forbear to enlarge this time, or to desire your commands thither. Thus in haste I rest, your honoring friend and servant,

THOMAS GORGES.

Winthrop, in his memoirs, states that Latour saluted the castle in going past, and the salute was not returned, as no one was there to do it. That it had been abandoned by order of the last general court, and part of the ramparts had fallen. That Latour might have carried off the cannon from it, and having many men with him, have put Boston to a ransom, and carried off, without resistance, the two vessels that were in the harbor, if he had been actuated by hostile feelings. Latour, while at Boston, lodged with major Gibbons. Ferland informs us (v. 1., p. 348 & s.) that Charles de la Tour was a catholic, although almost all the persons in his employment were protestants. That many of the more zealous preachers in Boston, &c., condemned in their sermons the negotiations held with him. Winthrop, in his reply to Gorges, reasons at some length to justify the course he took in this business. Both letters are in Hutchinson's Collection, p. 115 to 132; and the substance of the debates at Boston on the same subject is in Winthrop's memoirs, in which various occurrences in Jewish history are quoted and discussed as bearing on this affair.

Latour, having official permission, on the 30 June, 1643, chartered of Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins, at £320 for each of the two succeeding months, the ships Seabridge, Philip & Mary, Increase, and Greyhound, furnished with fifty men and thirty-eight pieces of ordnance. He also enlisted ninety-two soldiers, at the charge of forty pounds per month, whom he put on board; the whole being armed, victualled and paid at his own expense. Gibbons was gay, young and wealthy. He was a magistrate in 1650.——To secure the ship-owners and purveyors, Latour mortgaged to them his fort at St. John, his cannon, and all his other property, real and per-

sonal, in Acadie.——All being prepared, the squadron, preceded by Latour's own ship, the *Clement*, sailed from Boston 14 July, 1643, and on arriving at St. John commenced their attack upon d'Aulnay's vessels immediately. D'Aulnay took to flight, and was chased as far as Pentagoët, where he ran his two ships and a small vessel aground. An engagement also occurred at a mill of d'Aulnay's, not far from the fort at Pentagoët, in which thirty New Englandmen took part with Latour's own people, and three Frenchmen were killed on each side. After this the commander of the Massachusetts auxiliaries declined any further operations. Within the time limited by the charter party, the hired vessels from Boston got home to their own port, without the loss of a man; and they brought with them their share of the booty of furs, taken in a vessel of d'Aulnay's captured by the combined forces.——Hutchinson, who is the chief authority for the events of Acadie in 1643, makes Pentagoët (now Penobscot) the place to which d'Aulnay fled from St. John harbor; but Winthrop, whom Ferland follows on this point as being a contemporaneous writer, fixes the place to which he fled and the mill where the combat took place, at Port Royal, which is most probably the true place. Ferland says that d'Aulnay had removed the thirty or forty families which had been at Lahève to Port Royal, and that they were the beginning of the French Acadian race.——D'Aulnay, after this disaster, went to France, announcing his intention to come back the next year with such forces as should command respect.

One cannot help admiring the activity and capacity displayed by Charles de la Tour in this instance. Hemmed in by superior forces, he sees and seizes on a mode of extrication which calls into play his eloquence, reasoning and persuasion. Preserving a calm and dignified attitude, in a foreign town, amid conflicting sentiments and interests, he over-rules the scruples, distrust and caution of the English of Boston, and obtains powerful reinforcement there; and having so far succeeded, his rapid movements, as the soldier and the man of business, enable him to turn his force to account without dangerous delays. But a month had elapsed from his arrival in

Boston with but one vessel, until he leaves it with an armament of five, and a valuable land force besides. His removing his lady from the beleaguered fort, where her presence would probably have been of no avail to the defenders, if not a hindrance, and where she would have been exposed to many dangers, and transferring her to Boston, where she could exercise an influence most favorable to his projects, is also deserving of great commendation.

1644. D'Aulnay returned from France to Acadie in the spring of 1644, and intimated to the governor at Boston that he had received orders from the king of France to live in peace and cultivate a good understanding with the English; that he would willingly obey his sovereign in this respect, as far as the interest of the public service would permit, and that he would soon send persons to him appointed to regulate matters between them. [1 *Ferland*, 352.] Latour also about this time paid another visit to Boston. Endicot was then governor, and lived at Salem. All that Latour obtained was a letter of remonstrance from the authorities there to d'Aulnay, complaining of his having captured Penobscot, (Pentagoët), and taken men and goods (English) at the isle of Sable, and intimating their intention to protect the trade they had with M. de la Tour. [1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 131.]

In the summer of this year, 1644, messrs. Vines, of Saco, Shurt, of Pemaquid, and Warneston (*called Warnerton, Waverton and Wanneston, also in different authors*), going from Saco to collect debts from Latour; and putting into Penobscot on their way, were for some days detained as prisoners, but released for the sake of Mr. Shurt, who was well known to d'Aulnay. Latour afterwards prevailed on Thomas Warneston, who had been an assistant to the governor of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, [1 *Belknap, N. H.*, 52], to attempt, with about twenty of Latour's men, to take Penobscot. [1 *Hutch.*, 131, 132.] They first went to a farm house of d'Aulnay's, about six miles from the fort. They burned the house and killed the cattle. It ended, however, in the assailants being defeated. Warneston was killed, one of his companions wounded, and a French resident killed. This led to menaces on the part of

d'Aulnay to capture all vessels of the English colony found east of Penobscot, but on a remonstrance from the governor at Boston, he withdrew his threats.

Meantime madame de la Tour had gone to Europe to obtain relief and resources for her husband's garrison and settlement at St. John, and had sailed from London in an English vessel which had been chartered to carry her and her supplies direct to St. John, and had left Europe early in the spring. Instead, however, of fulfilling his contract, the master, named Bayley, had made a six months voyage, going up the St. Lawrence, in order to trade with the Indians, in spite of the remonstrances of his fair passenger. In the course of this devious wandering, while off cape Sable, they were met by the vessels of d'Aulnay, and only escaped capture by concealing madame Latour and her people, whom they hid in the hold of the ship. They at length arrived at Boston in September, 1644. Latour himself had only left that place for St. John a few days before. The lady commenced a suit at law against the master of the ship, Bayley, for taking her to Boston, instead of St. John, as agreed upon. At the same time she sued Berkley on the charter party, the deviation having been made for his own trading purposes. The trials lasted four days, and the jury gave her two thousand pounds damages. With the proceeds she chartered three London ships in Boston, and went with them to St. John, carrying thither the provisions and merchandize she had collected. October 4, 1644, d'Aulnay sent a commissioner, monsieur Marie, with ten men, to Boston, with credentials, a commission under the great seal of France, and copies of some late proceedings against Latour, who was therein proscribed as a rebel and traitor, having fled out of France against special order. [1 *Williamson, M.*, 316.] Though M. Marie wore the dress of a layman, he was suspected to be a friar. He appeared well informed, and spoke Latin with great facility. In fact he was supposed to be one of the capuchins settled near M. d'Aulnay, at Pentagoët. Winthrop was no longer governor, but in his place Endicott had been appointed. To him M. Marie exhibited his papers, among which is said to have been an order to arrest both Latour and his wife. The

magistrates of Boston interceded for madame Latour; but Marie charged her with being the first cause of her husband's revolt.

On the 8th of October an agreement was concluded with M. Marie, the Latin original of which is in Hutchinson's Collections, p. 146, and the English version in 1 H. Mass., 132, 133.

1645. Latour being on a cruise in the bay of Fundy, and having left but fifty men in his fort at St. John, d'Aulnay learned the state of the garrison, and proceeded thither early in the spring of 1645. Meeting off the coast with a New England vessel, laden with supplies for Latour, he made a prize of her, turning the crew ashore on a desolate island, without fireworks, gun or compass. There they sheltered themselves in a wigwam, amidst deep snow, and they were even without their usual clothes, a part of which were carried off by the captors. In this act d'Aulnay had no regard to the treaty made on his behalf by M. Marie, which legalized all trade between the French and English. D'Aulnay arriving at St. John, moored his ship near the fort, and fired at it with some effect. Madame LaTour defended it with valor. Twenty of d'Aulnay's men were killed and thirteen wounded in this siege, and his ship was so much shattered and disabled that he was forced to warp her off, under the shelter of a bluff, to save her from sinking. On his return he took off the New Englanders from the island where they had been suffering for ten days, and sent them home in an old shallop, ill provided. On this occurrence, remonstrances passed between d'Aulnay and the authorities at Boston. D'Aulnay declined to ratify the treaty made with his emissary M. Marie. He promised, however, in haughty language, to abstain from actual hostilities against the New England people until the next spring, and demanded their excuse for helping his enemy Latour, and other hostile acts. [1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 134.]

During this year d'Aulnay again visited France, and obtained a letter from the queen regent, dated 27 September, 1645, acknowledging his zeal in opposing Latour in his "bad designs" and intelligence with foreigners, to the injury of the

king's authority in Acadie, and stating that the king had ordered a vessel to be equipped for d'Aulnay, to take him out ; —and a letter of king Louis 14 (then about 7 years old) to the same effect ;—in the last of which Latour is said to have intended to deliver up the fort he commanded to some foreigners. Probably the mortgage on the fort, &c., to his Boston creditors was here alluded to.

When the commissioners of the united colonies of New England met at Boston in September, 1645, they ratified the treaty made 8 October, 1644, with M. Marie, and they sent captain Bridges to d'Aulnay to request him to confirm it by his own signature. He used the messenger courteously, but refused to sign, alleging subsequent differences as his excuse. On this result being known, the general court resolved to send the deputy governor Mr. Dudley, major Denison, and captain Hawthorne, with full powers to treat and determine, and wrote to d'Aulnay informing him of this resolution, and proposing Pentagöet as the place of conference. D'Aulnay replied in pacific language, but stated that he would instead of this send two or three of his people to Boston in August next, (1646), with full powers to negotiate.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII.

(1.)

The agreement between John Endicott, governor of Massachusetts, in New England, and the rest of the magistrates there, and monsieur Marie, commissioner of monsieur d'Aulnay, knt., governor and lieutenant general of his majesty the king of France, in Acadie, a province of New France, made and ratified at Boston, in the Massachusetts aforesaid, October 8, 1644. The lord governor, and all the rest of the magistrates, do promise to the said mr. Marie, that they and all the rest of the English within the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, in New England, shall observe and keep firm peace with monsieur d'Aulnay, governor, &c., and all the French under his command in Acadie, &c. ; and likewise the said M. Marie doth promise, in the behalf of mons. d'Aulnay, that he and all his people shall also keep firm peace with the governor and magistrates aforesaid, and with all the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts aforesaid ; and that it

shall be lawful for all men, both the French and the English, to trade with each other, so that if any occasion of offence shall happen, neither part shall attempt anything against the others in hostile manner, until the wrong be first declared and complained of, and due satisfaction not given. Provided always the governor and magistrates aforesaid be not bound to restrain their merchants from trading with their ships with any persons, whether French or others, wheresoever they dwell. Provided also that a full ratification and conclusion of this agreement be referred to the next meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies of New England, for the continuation or abrogation, and in the meantime to remain firm and inviolable, [*Hutchinson, Mass.*, 132, 133.] This treaty was ratified afterwards by the commissioners of the united colonies, at Boston, 3 Sept., O. S., 1645.

(2.)

In 1645 the rights of the "Compagnie de la Nouvelle France" respecting the fur trade, were defined, agreeably to a bargain they made with the "deputé des habitans de la Nouvelle France," by arrêt of the king, dated 6 March, 1645.—Edits, &c., Quebec, 1803.

CHAPTER XIII.

1646. In August, 1646, messieurs Marie and Louis, together with d'Aulnay's secretary, came in a small pinnace to Boston to discuss grievances with the governor and council of Massachusetts. They were received by major Gibbons with a guard of musketeers; and after several days, during which they dined in public, and were escorted with great ceremony, an amnesty was agreed on. One captain Cromwell had taken in the West Indies a sedan chair, made for the viceroy of Mexico, (Ferland says for the use of the viceroy's sister), which he gave to Mr. Winthrop. This was accepted by the commissioners, and transmitted as a present to d'Aulnay, who had set up claims for damages against the colony. The treaty was renewed, and all things amicably settled between d'Aulnay and the people at Boston. [1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 134, 135.] D'Aulnay, by assuming a high tone, gained his real object, which was to deprive Latour of aid from the Bostonians. Williamson says that M. Marie declined to grant permission to madame Latour to go to St. John during this treaty, but this refusal seems to belong to the former negotiations in 1664. Marie at this time was, as previously, thought to be a friar. He and Louis spent one Sunday in Boston. The governor informed them, that on this day every one was expected either to attend the public worship or to remain quiet at home. He invited them to pass the day at his house; and it was observed that they spent the time from morning to evening in walking in his garden, or turning over the pages of Latin books. [Winthrop's *New England*, quoted by Ferland.] The

latter says that Marie and Louis lodged with major Gibbons, whom he calls the friend of Frenchmen. He also hints that Louis might have been suspected of being a friar on better grounds than Marie had been. About this time an event occurred which appeared to destroy all Latour's prospects, and which drove him from his home an exile and a wanderer. This was the capture of St. John by d'Aulnay. There are difficulties in assigning its true date. Ferland places it in April, 1645, while Williamson mentions April, 1647, which is perhaps more accurate. D'Aulnay, having ascertained from some party, that Latour had quitted his fort at St. John with part of his men, either trading or seeking supplies, came with his vessels and forces and besieged it again. Madame de la Tour was in the fort; and though surprized, and having but a small number of soldiers, she resolved to defend herself to the last extremity;—which she did with so much courage during three days, that she compelled the besiegers to draw off their forces;—but on the fourth day, which was Easter sunday, she was betrayed by a Swiss, who stood sentry, whom d'Aulnay had found means to corrupt. She still did not give up; but when she learned that the enemy was scaling the wall, she came forward to defend it, at the head of her little garrison. D'Aulnay, imagining that the garrison must be stronger than he at first supposed, and fearing the disgrace of a repulse, proposed to the lady that she should capitulate; and she agreed on it, to save the lives of the handful of brave men who had supported her so courageously. D'Aulnay, however, as soon as he entered the fort, was ashamed at his having made terms with a woman, who had nothing but her own courage and so few men to oppose him. He complained that he had been deceived, and thought himself freed from observing the capitulation. He caused madame Latour's people to be hung, except one man, to whom he granted his life, on condition of his being executioner of the rest, and even compelled the lady to be present at this execution, with a rope round her neck. (This account is from Charlevoix, who quotes Denys as his authority, and remarks that the date is not given. I have not seen Denys' work.) The amount of plunder on this occasion

in guns, stores, goods and plate, was estimated at £10,000. [1. *Hutch.*, 153.] Madame de la Tour is said to have died of grief within three weeks after her surrender, leaving a young child, that was sent to France under the care of a *femme de chambre*. [Williamson, *Maine*, v. 1, pp. 320, 321,] The mental and physical energies displayed by this lady on repeated occasions ; while they so often carried her beyond the usual boundaries, which nature and custom seemed to have prescribed for the fair sex, do not seem in her character to indicate anything unfeminine. She was not like the fabled Amazons, fascinated by the savage joys of combat,—or like Joan of Arc, or the maid of Saragossa, infatuated by fanaticism or vengeance. The love of her husband, and a desire to protect him and her family, and even the humbler soldiers and settlers who followed their fortunes, inspired her with resolution and heroic fortitude ; and the same feelings must have rendered the destruction of her home and downfall of her hopes doubly bitter.

Latour, on this disaster happening, was no longer in a condition to resist his adversary. So he retired to Boston, and thence went in the summer to Newfoundland, where sir David Kirk was governor, in hopes of receiving assistance, but did not succeed, although received kindly and courteously. Revisiting Boston, he obtained a vessel and cargo of about £500 value, for a trading voyage on the shores of Acadie. He was accused of acting ungratefully and unfairly upon this voyage, in sending away the English part of the crew, and in not accounting for the goods. [1 *Hutch.*, M, 135.] Major Gibbons is said to have lost £2500, a debt due him by Latour at this time. Williamson says that Latour sailed about the middle of winter for the peninsula of Acadie ; that his vessel was manned by Englishmen and Frenchmen, and the master was neither ; that the goods were for the Indian trade ; that near cape Sable, Latour conspired with the master and five of the French to drive the Englishmen ashore, and went off with the vessel and cargo ; that the English were fifteen days wandering on the coast and suffering greatly, but were eventually relieved by the Micmacs, who fed and took care of them, and lent them a shallop, in which they got back to Boston in the

spring of 1648. These changes had probably but slight foundation in fact, originating probably in the tales told by a few refractory sailors to justify their desertion of duty, and listened to by those who are ready to attribute evil to the victims of misfortune or poverty.

(1648.) Latour, giving up the idea of trading, made sail for Quebec, where he arrived on the evening of the 8th August. Here he was received with honor—salutes being fired on his arrival and on his landing. He was lodged in the fort, and the governor the first day gave him precedence of himself, which he then accepted, but afterwards declined. We are without any information respecting Latour from this time until the year 1651, except that he is said to have gone to Hudson's bay

The character of Charles de la Tour has been rudely handled by several of the New England writers. It appears that Claude de la Tour was a huguenot, and that his son Charles had been brought up in that creed, but had become a catholic about 1632, being then about thirty-eight or forty years of age. His first wife, who displayed so much courage and firmness of character, apparently lived and died a protestant. His applications to the Bostonians for assistance, his trading with New England, and his connection with the huguenots (French protestants) as settlers, soldiers and servants in his establishment, exposed him to suspicion and distrust with the French government, which was managed by cardinal Richelieu, and after 1642 by cardinal Mazarin; and without doubt these transactions were represented to his prejudice at the French court by his adversary d'Aulnay. At the same time his position as a French governor must have restricted him in fulfilling the wishes of his friends in Boston, who possibly looked for more support to English claims and protestant interests in Acadie, than a French gentleman, professing the catholic religion, and responsible to the French crown, could consistently grant. The liberal and enlightened views that induced Latour to promote commerce and settlement, as well as his natural ambition to hold a footing in a land, with which he was so closely connected from its first occupation, (he having been brought to

Port Royal by his father at the age of fourteen), and the necessity he felt of obtaining support from merchants and capitalists, all conspired to draw him into connection with the English of Boston and the huguenots of Rochelle. All his proceedings of this kind were metamorphosed by his jealous and hostile rival into treason, or at least disaffection to the French crown; while at Boston some persons distrusted him, and charged him with hypocrisy and injustice.

As to his change of creed, it should be considered that the example of the great king Henry the fourth was calculated to have a great effect, in that age, to induce Frenchmen to attach themselves to the faith of the great majority of the nation. The character of Charles de la Tour stands in the most distinguished rank in the affair of 1630, when he evinced his entire loyalty and good faith in refusing to surrender his command to the English, although urged by his father.—While the great calamities that befel him, especially the loss of his first wife, command our sympathy,—his perseverance, activity and talents are remarkable in every part of his career. His misfortunes were severe, and in the subsequent events of his life he had fresh pecuniary difficulties, unavoidable in the great attempts at settlement he was engaged in. The over-cautious conduct of the Massachusetts in forming a treaty 8 October, 1644 with d'Aulnay, proved the cause of Latour's ruin, as it cut off his only prospect of aid in his greatest distress. As to the charge of sending the Englishmen ashore, and carrying off the goods in the small vessel,—it seems more like the malice that would pursue the unfortunate, than a well grounded accusation.

1650. Monsieur d'Aulnay died in 1650, [*English & French Commissaries*, p. 118], having enjoyed the advantages of his success for a brief period. He is said to have been twice married, and to have left children by both wives. He is stated to have left seven children, whom his widow took home to France. His sons were all slain in the service of the king of France, the last being a major of the regiment of la Ferté, killed at the siege of Luxembourg; and his inheritance devolved on his daughters. He is said to have spent seventeen years in Acadie, to have built five fortresses, churches, two seminaries,

established a mission, and cleared lands, and to have expended 800,000 livres. Ferland says, "D'Aulnay stopped the progress of colonization in Acadie by the conduct he pursued." "He appears to have been of a hard and haughty character," "while Latour knew how to make friends for himself among" "the Indians of Acadie, the French of Quebec, and the English of Boston." M. Denys says "M. Razilly only wished" "to make known the goodness of the country, and to cause" "it to be peopled. D'Aulnay, on the contrary, was afraid of" "its being inhabited, and so he brought out no settlers. He" "carried off all the inhabitants of Lahève to Port Royal," "holding them in the condition of slaves, and not allowing" "them to make any profit. His conduct was always to ill-" "treat those whom he thought capable of causing the coun-" "try to be peopled."

Some overtures for a commercial treaty having been made by the English of Massachusetts to the French of Canada, in the years 1647, 1648 and 1649. indirectly:—le père Dreuillèthes was sent to negotiate. He had been settled as a missionary near the Kennebec in 1646, and made two journeys to Boston to treat in favor of the Canibas and Abenakis. [*1 Maine Historical Society's Collections, p. 327.*] He left Quebec 1 September, 1650, in company with Noël Négamabat, chief of the christian Algonquins of Sillery, and Jean Guérin, attached to the service of the missionaries. By the river Chaudière the envoys reached the sources of the Kinibequi, which river they descended as far as Narantsouak, (Norridgewock), the first town of the Abenakis. Fifteen leagues further they came to Koussinoc, (Takonnock), a settlement of English traders. The colony of Plymouth had taken possession of the Kinibequi and the neighboring lands, and had authorized a company of merchants to trade there with the Indians. The chief clerk of this settlement was Mr. John Winslow, a man of consideration in New England personally, and for the services of his family. Winslow shewed great good will to the Jesuit ambassador, and conducted him to Boston, where he was received kindly, and lodged with major general Gibbons. His character of envoy from the governor of New France was res-

pected, although a severe law existed in Massachusetts (passed in 1647) against the Jesuit order, who were to be banished if found there, and on return from banishment, to suffer death.—Dreuillettes was conducted by Winslow and Gibbons to Roxbury, where Governor Dudley resided. Major Gibbons was a man of importance in Boston. Although engaged in commerce, he was usually entrusted with the management of military affairs. He held the office of major general of the colony from 1649 to 1654, the year of his death. Père Dreuillettes says of him, "He gave me the key of a room in his" "house, where I could with perfect freedom pray and perform the duties of my religion, and begged me not to take" "another lodging while I remained at Boston." Dreuillettes presented his credentials to the governor, he was afterwards entertained at dinner by the council, and had a formal audience on the 13 December, 1650. He found that the 'united colonies of New England' alone could enter into the arrangements intended. Dreuillettes spent a night in friendly converse with Eliot, the protestant apostle of the Indians; and spending the winter among the Abenakis, returned to Quebec 4 June, 1651. Dreuillettes was again sent to New England in 1651 along with M. Jean Paul Godefroy, to negociate; but the sentiments of the New English were then unfavorable. The object of Canada was a league against the Iroquois, who obstructed trade and murdered the Sakokies (Souriquois or Micmacs?) and Abenakis, allies and friends of England. [1 *Ferland*, 391, 392.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

1. In the month of February, 1647-8, letters patent of the king of France, Louis XIV., (then about 9 years old,) issued in favor of his "dear and well" "beloved Charles de Menou, chevalier d'Aulnay Charnisay, instituted and" "established by the late king of most happy memory, our most honored lord" "and father, (whom God absolve), governor and our lieutenant general in the" "country and coast of l'Acadie, in New France," who had for fourteen years been employed in the conversion of the Indians, the establishing of the Royal

authority there, built a seminary, "carried out capuchins to teach Indian chil-"
 "dren, driven sectarian foreigners from the fort of Pentagoët, of which they had"
 "taken possession, to the prejudice of the rights and authority of our crown,"
 "and by our express command, recovered by force of arms and replaced under"
 "our obedience the fort of the river St. John, which Charles de St. Etienne,"
 "sieur de la Tour had occupied, and by open rebellion was striving to retain"
 "against our will, and in contempt of the decrees of our council, by the help and"
 "favor of foreign sectaries, with whom he was allied for that purpose," going
 on to notice that d'Aulnay had formed a French colony in the country, had built
 four forts there, and put soldiers in them, and sixty pieces of cannon, &c.,—that
 he had thus been at great expense, and had to raise loans from private persons ;
 and it proceeds, by advice of the queen-mother and regent, to appoint d'Aulnay
 Charnisay, governor and lieutenant general of the king in all Acadie from the Saint
 Lawrence to Virginia, with exclusive privileges of the fur trade in these countries,
 and mines and minerals to him and his heirs. [This patent is given in full, in the
 original French, in the memorials of the E. & F. Commissaries, pp. 573, 576,
 copy received from M. Nelson, nephew and executor of Sir Thomas Temple, by
 Francis Nicholson.

2. M. d'Aillebout was appointed governor of Canada in 1647.

CHAPTER XIV.

1651. In the beginning of the year 1651, Latour had apparently surmounted the chief difficulties that had oppressed him. He obtained an acquittal of the charges that had been preferred against him, from the French government, on the 16 February, (1650?) and on the 25th Feb'y., 1651, he received a new commission of governor and lieutenant general of Acadie, by the king's letters patent, with larger powers and privileges than he held before. We have seen that d'Aulnay died in 1650, and it would seem that Claude de la Tour, the father of Charles, died also in 1650 or 1651. Ferland states that Charles went to France on the death of d'Aulnay, and it is also said that Charles was the heir of his father Claude. We have nothing certain, however, on which to rest a conjecture as to the means whereby Charles Latour retrieved his shattered fortunes. In June, 1651, (1650?) the French king issued a commission to sieur de la Fosse, to act as governor and lieutenant general in Acadie, "on account of the death" "of the said sieur d'Aulnay, and of the sieur de Charnisay," "his father, until the children of the said sieur d'Aulnay" "shall be of age."

On the 23 September, 1651, a transaction passed between Latour and the widow of d'Aulnay, by which she restored to him the fort of the river St. John.

1652. Madame d'Aulnay, the widow, having claims inconsistent with the pretensions of Latour to jurisdiction and property in Acadie, entered into a compact with the duke of Vendome, who now held the office of superintendant of navi-

gation and commerce of France. The duke and the widow were to be partners and co-seigneurs of Acadie. One Emanuel le Borgne, a merchant of Rochelle, shipped goods of the value of 65,090 livres for the colony on the duke's account. D'Aulnay, by an account adjusted 9 Nov., 1650, owed this le Borgne 260,000 livres.

1653. In this year, 1653, an event occurred that was suited to terminate discords and to reconcile conflicting interests in this country. This was the marriage of Charles de la Tour with the widow of M. d'Aulnay. The marriage contract is dated 24 February, 1653.

May 4, the sieur de la Tour, as governor and lieutenant general of Acadie, makes a commission, appointing his major, le sieur d'Antremont, to command in his absence. June 13, he grants leave to his said major to withdraw whither he saw fit. August 16, he commissions the said d'Antremont to interrogate the accomplices of the carrying off the pinnace called the St. Gabriel. [*Paris mss.*]

The company of New France in this year granted to Nicolas Denis all the lands and islands situated from cape *de Canceaux* to cape *des Rosiers*. This was confirmed to him by the king's letters patent of 30 January, 1654, and afterwards 9 November, 1667, by a re-grant from the *compagnie des Indes occidentales*, established by edict in May, 1664. England had, in 1651, entered into a war with Holland. This led to jealousies between the English of New England and the Dutch of Manha-does, (now New York.) Rumors of Indian hostility grew up, and also jealousy of the French of Acadie, so that in 1653 the general court (general assembly) of Massachusetts prohibited the transportation of provisions, either to the French or Dutch, under penalty of forfeiting both vessel and cargo. Latour remonstrated, and the prohibition was so far relaxed in his favor, that a small vessel was permitted to be freighted with flour, and other provisions, for his relief. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, 359, 360. 1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 179.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV.

(1)

Latour's new patent is dated 25 Feb'y., 1651. It is printed in the original French in the memorials of E. & F. Commissaries, pp. 576, 579. It recites that he had been appointed and established governor of Acadie by Louis 13, and had for forty-two years there 'devoted and usefully employed all his cares, as well' 'for the conversion of the savages of the said country to the faith and Christian' 'religion, as in the establishment of our authority in the whole extent of the said' 'country; having constructed two forts, and contributed to the extent of his' 'power to the instruction of the children of these savages, and by his courage' 'and valor driven the foreign sectaries from said forts of which they had taken' 'possession to the prejudice of the rights and authority of our crown; which he' 'would have continued to do, if he had not been hindered by Charles de Menou,' 'sieur d'Aulnay Charnisay, who favored his enemies in the accusations and pre-' 'tences which they had not been able to verify, and of which the said de Saint' 'Etienne has been absolved on the 15th of February last.' The commission proceeds to confirm him in his government over Acadie, with power to appoint officers,—to make laws and ordinances,—make peace and war. It confirms to him all lands before granted to him. Gives him powers over mines and minerals, reserving only to the crown *the tenth denier* of gold, silver and copper only. Grants to Latour the exclusive right to trade for furs with the Indians in Acadie, and the right to confiscate to his own use all vessels, merchandize, &c. of those who infringe this privilege, and to arrest such offenders, &c. This commission is much like that given de Monts.

(2.)

18 February, 1652. M. César, the duke of Vendome, grand master and super-tendant of the navigation and commerce of France, entered into a contract of association with *dame* Jeanne Motin, widow of Charles de Menou, seigneur d'Aulnay. The duke and the widow were to be co-seigneurs of the lands and countries of Acadie, &c., she acting also as *tutrice* of the minor children of the defunct sieur d'Aulnay. The king confirmed this agreement by a document dated December, 1652, in which it is stated "that certain individuals, among whom are Charles" "de Turgis de Saint Etienne de la Tour, Simon and Nicholas Denis, brothers," "and Maillet, have usurped upon our dear and well beloved dame Jeanne Motin," "widow of Charles Menou, who when living was seigneur d'Aulnay, (to whom" "and his children, by our letters patent of the month of February, in the year" "1647, we gave the perpetual government and the property of the whole extent" "of the countries, coasts of Acadie, and islands adjacent of New France, in" "North America,") different forts and considerable places in the said country. It states that she, the widow, feared losing the whole, and had recourse to the duke on account of his rank, &c. That she has agreed, in consideration of the expence the duke must incur in recovering her forts, &c.; that he and his heirs and assigns shall be co-seigneurs of Acadie, with her and her children. The king confirms this arrangement, and accepts the duke and his heirs as co-seigneurs of Acadie accordingly.

In connection with this agreement of copartnership, we find an invoice of goods, stated at 65,090 livres, shipped for Acadie, at Rochelle, by LeBorgne, 25 March, 1654, on board of the Chateaufort, Paul Bertran, master, on account and by order of his highness M. the duke of Vendome. There is also a commission from the widow d'Aulnay, dated 21 April, 1653, empowering Jean Lorent de la Pradelle to examine the state of her stores. The amount due Emmanuel LeBorgne, merchant of Rochelle, by M. d'Aulnay, was settled 9 November, 1650, at 260,000 livres; and an account adjusted between him and the widow d'Aulnay 30 August, 1653, states the balance at 239,412 livres. The transaction of 9 Nov., 1650, was confirmed by an arrêt (judgment) of the parliament of Paris, 27 July, 1658. LeBorgne alleged that d'Aulnay had built (?) the fort of St. John. In 1700, the then duke of Vendome claimed to be joint seigneur and owner of Acadie, in right of the late duke César. It does not appear that the duke had paid anything under his agreement, and his claims were dismissed by the *arrêt du conseil* of 1703.

(3.)

Marriage contract between LaTour and madame d'Aulnay, 1653. A copy of the marriage settlement in French was published in the 3rd volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society at Quebec, from a paper communicated by A. W. Cochran, esq., 7 December, 1831. The original Mr. Cochran stated to be in the possession of Benoni Dentremont, of Pubnico, N. S., and sent to Canada to be decyphered and translated. Mr. Cochran was son of the Rev. Wm. Cochran, of Windsor college, in Nova Scotia,—was born in N. S., but settled in Canada.

ARTICLES OF MARRIAGE agreed on between monsieur Charles de St. Etienne, seigneur de la Tour, knight of the king's orders, and his lieutenant general in Acadie, a country of New France, of the one part, and the lady Jeane Motin, widow of the late monsieur Charles de Menou, knight, seigneur d'Aulnay, in his lifetime also lieutenant general for the king, in all the said country of Acadie, of the other part: Firstly, the said seigneur chevalier de la Tour shall take for his wife and lawful spouse, madame d'Aulnay, with all her rights and effects, which rights the said seigneur, the future husband, consents shall be separated from their future community, among messieurs, the minor children of the said lady his future wife, the seminary, and the said lady, as was the case before the intended marriage, until the entire payment of the debts created in the lifetime of the said late seigneur d'Aulnay, and since his decease until the present hour, as also of those which he shall agree to create hereafter for the benefit and advantage of the society among the said seigneurs minors, the seminary, and the said lady, after which payment and the last sou of all the debts, she shall take her part of the property of the association at a *pro rata* of that which shall belong to her, and which she shall have thereto contributed of her rights and pretensions, which shall then come into their said future community. A general inventory and division with the associates shall be made, without disturbance, however, of any funds, but for the making clear the rights and claims of the said associates; after which a manager shall be appointed by consent of parties, to administer the effects of the said society, who shall have care of and be bound annually to render an account of the rents and profits thereof. Monsieur de la Tour now declares that he will

not receive, or interfere with anything of the said rights and property of the said madame d'Aulnay, his future wife, until the full payment of the general debts of the society. Also the said seigneur de la Tour shall not be charged with any of the said loans and obligations of the company, nor even shall the benefit and advantages which he gives the said lady, his future spouse, in view of their marriage (be so charged) which he wishes to belong to her, and be preserved free and acquitted from all troubles and obligations. The said seigneur de la Tour gives to the said dame d'Aulnay, his future wife, in consideration of the love he bears her, the sum of 30,000 livres tournois, whereof 20,000 livres shall remain the property of the said lady and her relations of her own side and line, to receive and take the same on the fort and habitation of the river St. John, its appurtenances and dependencies, and the remaining 10,000 livres shall enter into the said future community. The said seigneur de la Tour has endowed, and does endow the said lady, his future spouse, for her lifetime only, with the property of the said fort and habitation of the river St. John, in all its extent, all as the said seigneur the future husband possesses it, without reserving or diminishing anything, with all the rights of trading, fruits, revenues, emoluments thence proceeding, as well within the said river as from the islands and shores adjacent, which the said seigneur promises to improve. With respect to messieurs, the minor children of the first marriage of the said seigneur de la Tour, he will leave them for their subsistence cape Sable, with all its appurtenances, and also all and singular the property which may come to and belong to him by succession in old France. [This is the only notice of his having had sons by his first marriage.] In case of the decease of the said seigneur, the future husband, before that of the said lady, his future wife, the said seigneur de la Tour, the future husband, declares that it is his will and intention that all and singular the goods, moveables, arms, provisions, and all merchandizes of trade and furs which shall be found at the time of his death, in his stores and other places, whether in New or Old France, are to belong and do belong to the said lady, his future wife, as being the property of their community, cares and labors, whereunto he now makes a pure and simple donation thereof, all the debts of their said future community being previously paid, without prejudice to the article above contained of her dower. And to change a clause which was necessary for the security of the said lady for the aforesaid articles, the said seigneur de la Tour has desired to provide for such security in manner hereinafter contained. that is to say, that in case of contravention, and that any obstacle should arise on the part of the children or heirs of the said seigneur the future husband, to the said lady his future wife, in the receipt of the said rents and profits, duties, and other revenues and emoluments to her hereinbefore accorded by donation for her dower, the said seigneur de la Tour, persevering and absolutely wishing that the said lady should really enjoy the effects of these marriage articles, and in punishment of those who contravene the same, declares from this time forward that he gives her, to her and her relations, the property, purely and fully, of the fort, habitation and river of Saint John, in all its extent and privilege, according to his grants; and he desires, as far as in him lies, that the said lady should avail herself thereof by all judicial modes.

If it should happen that on the part of any strangers, hindrance should occur to the said lady, his future wife, in the execution and enjoyment of the aforesaid articles, the said seigneur, the future husband. to take away all umbrage and occasion for misunderstanding, wishes that the children or heirs should unite in suit with

the said lady to obtain the enjoyment thereof for her. after being by her called upon so to do ; which, if they resist and refuse, he deprives them as above of the said inheritance, capital and revenue of the river St. John, and cedes the whole to the said lady and her relations.

Touching the wages and salaries of the officers, soldiers, sailors, servants and domestics actually in the service, their yearly payment and satisfaction shall be provided for ; wherefore the said lady, in case of the death of her said future husband, promises and obliges herself to pay the salaries and wages of the then current year, without binding her further, and this is to be done out of the merchandizes and furs which are to be found in the stores at the day of the decease of the said seigneur, her future husband.

The said seigneur de la Tour, the future husband, promises and obliges himself to support and preserve, to the extent of his power, messieurs the minor children of the said lady, in the possession of all and singular their rights and grants, in conformity with the titles and patents which they have thereof, which shall be exhibited and copies given to the said seigneur de la Tour, as the said seigneur de la Tour shall do with his own title deeds, (giving copies thereof,) to the said dame d'Aulnay, his future wife, for the security of the above conditions. As for messieurs, the minor infants, as well on one side as on the other, it has been agreed, that those of monsieur de la Tour shall be fed and maintained at the expense of the future community, during their minority ; and in case of the decease of the said seigneur de la Tour, the said lady promises that (she enjoying peaceably and tranquilly her said dower, donation and other rights) to assist, according to her power and in the best way possible for her, the said minor children of her future husband during their minority : and those of the said lady, the future spouse, shall also be fed and maintained during their minority, whether in this country of New France or in Old France, at the expense and out of the revenue and funds of the society subsisting between the seminary, the said lady their mother, and the said seigneurs minors ; the whole gratuitously, without the said dame d'Aulnay, their mother, making or causing to be made any demand on them for the same. Whereunto the very reverend father Leonard de Chartres, vice prefect and custos of the mission, joined with the very reverend fathers and brothers, missionaries, all together undertaking for the very reverend father of the province of Paris, has consented and does consent for the interest of the said seminary, in consideration and for the respect he entertains for the memory of the late monsieur d'Aulnay, as also for the love and particular good will he cherishes towards his minor children.

It shall be lawful for the said dame d'Aulnay to retain near her and with her such and such number of her children as she pleases, on condition that they are fed and maintained during their stay at the expense of the future community, of the said seigneur de la Tour and the said lady.

Any children that shall be born of the said marriage shall divide equally with those of the first marriage of the said seigneur de la Tour, as well the river St. John, and cape Sable, as the other property which may belong to the said seigneur de la Tour, whether in New or Old France, by succession, donation, or otherwise, and respectively on the part of the said lady, the future spouse, according to the custom and vicomté of Paris.

The said seigneur de la Tour and the said dame d'Aulnay, his future spouse, to attain the ends and principal design of their intended marriage, which is the peace

and tranquillity of the country, and concord and union between the two families, wish and desire as much as lies with them, that in the future their children should contract a new alliance of marriage together.

Done and passed at the fort of Port Royal, the twenty-fourth day of February, one thousand, six hundred and fifty-three, in presence of the parties and witnesses, who have signed the minute of these presents.

(Signed)

CHARLES DE ST. ETIENNE,
et JEANNE DE MOTIN.

ST. LEONARD DE CHARTRES, Vice Préfet,
et custode de la mission.

FRERE JEAN DESNOUSE, St. Françoise Marie.

J. JACQUELIN, Prevost de St. Martin.

LA VERDURE ET BOURGEOIS, Temoins.

CHAPTER XV.

1654. We have seen that Emmanuel le Borgne, a merchant of Rochelle, was a creditor of M. d'Aulnay in 1650 to the extent of 260,000 livres (the livre or franc is worth 10d. sterling,) and he had obtained some judgment in his favor for this demand in France. Armed with this authority, he came out to Acadie to take possession of all the estates of the deceased d'Aulnay. He had also connected himself with the duke of Vendome, having shipped in the name of his highness, for Acadie, goods to the value of 65,090 livres in March, 1654. The exact date of his coming out to take possession does not appear. He is said to have assumed the character of seigneur or lord of Acadie, most likely as possessed under his judgment of the deceased d'Aulnay's patents, and he undertook in earnest to drive both Latour and Denys out of the country by forcible means. [2 *Charlevoix*, 198.]

Nicolas Denys, sieur de Fronsac, had come to America, with the *commandeur* Isaac de Razilly, in 1632. So had his brother Denys de Vitré, (probably the Simon Denis named in the Royal patent of 1632.) On the death of Razilli, (1636), Nicolas Denys was appointed governor in the whole extent of the great bay of St. Lawrence, and the isles adjacent, from cape Canseau to cape Rosiers, by the nomination of the company of New France. He then formed two settlements, the one at Chedabouctou, (now Guysborough), and the other at St. Pierre. (St. Peter's), in the island of cape Bréton. [1 *Ferland*, 495.] The strait of Fronsac (now gut of Canseau), was called after him. LeBorgne began with an attempt to dislodge

M. Denys. Having ascertained that the latter had arrived [2 *Charlevoix*, 198 to 204] at the isle Royale (cape Breton) with authority to settle inhabitants there, LeBorgne sent on sixty men, with orders to seize and carry him off. The commander of this detachment, in disembarking, learned that M. Denys, after having put all his people on shore to go to work at clearing land, was gone to visit the port of Ste. Anne. He thought this a favorable occasion for destroying the new settlement without risking anything. He surprised the workmen, who were unprepared for hostilities—made them all prisoners, and took possession of the vessel which had brought them thither, the cargo of which was estimated at 50,000 livres. He then sent twenty-five men, well armed, on the road which M. Denys must take in returning from Ste. Anne, and commanded them to prepare an ambush for him on the way. Denys, who had no apprehensions, found himself most unexpectedly surrounded, and was carried as a prisoner to Port Royal, where he was shut up like a criminal in a dungeon, with his feet in irons. The mischief did not end here. The party of Le Borgne's men who carried off M. Denys, in passing by Lahève, (which had been settled again after d'Aulnay removed the inhabitants from it to Port Royal), set fire to all the buildings there by LeBorgne's orders, not even sparing the chapel; and the destruction of property at that place was estimated at 100,000 francs. Some time after, Denys recovered his personal liberty, and went to France, to carry his complaints to the king and the company of New France. They were favorably heard, and he obtained from the company a new commission, which was confirmed by letters patent from the king, re-establishing him in all his rights. Fortified with his new authority, Denys embarked for Acadie, and on his arrival at cape Bréton, the person in command at fort St. Pierre, who had been placed there on the expulsion of Denys, surrendered the fort to him. LeBorgne was informed of this, at the time when he was making preparations to surprise M. de la Tour in the river St. John, under pretext of carrying him provisions, of which he knew that Latour was absolutely destitute. He thought it best to postpone this design to another time, altho'

he was already on his way, and so he returned to Port Royal. His project now was to carry off all the papers of the person sent to notify him of the commission of M. Denys, and of the king's commands, in order that he might go and fall upon Denys, whom he hoped to find unprepared and without apprehension of an attack.

But LeBorgne had not yet got back to Port Royal, when the English appeared in sight of fort Latour, on the river St. John, and summoned M. de la Tour to surrender it into their hands. [2 *Charlevoix*, p. 200.] The apprehensions felt in Massachusetts respecting their Dutch, Indian and French neighbors, were communicated in 1653 to Oliver Cromwell, the lord protector of England. He, in consequence, put three or four ships in requisition for an expedition against the Dutch colony of Manhadoes, (or Manhattan, now New York), and he called on the province of Massachusetts for aid in this enterprize. Great delays took place in the sending out these vessels, so that they did not arrive at Boston until June, 1654. On the 9 June the general court passed resolutions for enlisting five hundred men, to be commanded by major Robert Sedgewick, of Charlestown, a man of popular manners and military talents, who had once been a member of the artillery company of London, and captain John Leverett, of Boston. However, before these forces were ready to embark, news arrived on the 23 June that articles of peace had been signed on the 5 April, and that consequently all hostilities between the English and Dutch colonies must cease. [1 *Hutch, Mass.*, 182. 1 *Williamson, Maine*, 360.]

The restoration of Acadie to France in 1632 had not been agreeable to the republicans in old or in new England. Accordingly, although it was a period of profound peace between England, ruled by Oliver, and France governed by cardinal Mazarin: the former gave secret, informal orders to the captains of the ships he sent out, that when they had reduced the Dutch colony they should attack and conquer Nova Scotia. So on hearing of the Dutch treaty, it was determined in Boston to go on against Acadie. — The English ships appear to have met with no great resistance in this affair. Latour was

destitute of provisions, and wholly unprepared to contend with such a force, and the other settlements were still less capable of offering any opposition. Port Royal capitulated in August. The places taken possession of, at this time, by the English, are said to have been Pentagoët, St. John, Port Royal, Lahève, cape Sable, and cape Fourchu.

LeBorgne, having possession of Port Royal, when the English summoned it, replied haughtily at first. [2 *Charlevoix*, 200.] The English then landed three hundred men to attack him. He sent against them his sergeant and part of his men. An engagement ensued, in which the French fought well; but on the sergeant being killed, all his men took to flight and re-entered the fort in disorder. LeBorgne then found himself much embarrassed. He had still with him one hundred and fifty men, inclusive of the inhabitants; but he had not one who was capable of commanding. He possessed neither knowledge nor experience in war himself. Thus, with a good garrison, and provisions and military stores in plenty, in a place which the enemy was not in a condition to take by force, he deemed it expedient to capitulate. The English promised him much, and in the end mocked him, not thinking themselves, as they said, bound to keep to their word with people who had exhibited so little courage. [The French were required to give up Nova Scotia, as "being anciently a part of the" "English dominion to which the French had no just title." —Crowne's statement, E. & F. Comrs.. p. 580.] The forty or fifty families who had houses and lands at Port Royal, having nothing to hope for in France, preferred to remain in the country, in confidence that it would soon be restored to France. [1 *Ferland*, 496.] Pentagoët soon had the same fate as St. John and Port Royal. Thus the English were again masters of Acadie for the third time.

Some time after, the son of LeBorgne returned to Acadie, with a trader of Rochelle, named Guilbaut, who was associated in business with him. He entered the harbor of Lahève, and there constructed a fort of timber, (*pieux*, pickets or staves, probably a blockhouse.) As soon as they were apprized of this, the English came to Lahève to dislodge the French. At

their approach, LeBorgne, as little of a warrior as his father, took refuge in the woods with some of his men, but Guilbaut nevertheless defended his position vigorously. Many English were killed in the first attacks, their commander fell also, and thus the survivors were induced to draw off. They were preparing again to return to the charge, when Guilbaut, who had no interest in Lahève but that of his goods, proposed an accommodation, which they accepted.—Guilbaut proposed to surrender the fort, on condition that all that belonged to him and his men should be given them, which was fulfilled. He contended that his partner should be included in the benefit of the terms of the surrender; but the English, not having found LeBorgne in his fort, were stubborn in excluding him from the capitulation. As hunger soon drove him out of his retreat, he was constrained to put himself in the hands of the victors, who carried him off prisoner to Boston, (always called *Baston* in the old French books and mss.) There he was detained a good while, but was subsequently released on terms. His release seems to have happened in 1658. M. Denys, after he was freed from the persecution of LeBorgne, senior, had settled himself quietly in a fort that he had built at Chedabouctou, on the eastern shore of the Acadian peninsula. [2 *Charlevoix*, 202.] One *la Giraudière*, upon a false statement, had obtained from the company of New France a grant of the port of Canseau, (called Camceaux in Charlevoix), and arrived at that harbor, where he was informed that a vessel laden with provisions for M. Denys was expected immediately.—This vessel having got there, *la Giraudière* exhibited his commission to the captain who commanded it, and forbade him to deliver anything to M. Denys. He also sent to summon Denys to surrender Chedabouctou to him, with all the latter possessed as far as cape St. Louis, as being comprised within his new grant. M. Denys replied to him that the company had been imposed on, and that it was not probable that they would give away to another that which they had already sold to him. *La Giraudière* answered that he was furnished with a patent in due form, and that if he did not yield up the fort willingly, he possessed means to compel him. At the

same time one hundred and twenty men, who were with sieur Denys, knowing that his vessel had been seized, and seeing that they were thereby on the eve of a failure of provisions, asked him for their discharge. He told them, he did not pretend to retain them by force; but he induced them, by his good manners, to finish the works they had begun; and when he saw he was in a condition not to fear la Giraudière, he had these men carried to the island of cape Breton, except twelve of their number, who would not leave him. As soon as la Giraudière was informed of their departure, he set himself to the task of taking Chedabouctou, but he was much surprized to find the governor well intrenched with cannon and swivels. Still he repeated his summons to surrender the place, and told him he would not act wisely in risking his life, in defence of a post that he could not hope to preserve. M. Denys made answer that his risk in attacking it would be greater, and that the justice of his cause would combat in his favor.—La Giraudière, who had now been joined by his brother named de Bay, remained three days in sight of the fort, doing nothing but going around it to discover some weak point, by which he might safely attack it, and failing in this he withdrew. Some time after de Bay went alone to Chedabouctou, and requested to speak with the governor. He told him that his brother was master of fort St. Pierre, in the isle Royale (cape Bréton), and proposed terms of accommodation, which, after some argument, were adopted. [2 *Charlevoix*, 204.] The conditions were that the fort of St. Pierre should be delivered by M. la Giraudière to M. Denys, who, in his part, should give up Chedabouctou and proceed to France, where their interests and mutual pretences should be referred to the decision of the company. M. Denys accepted this proposal, and the company declared that they had been imposed on, and consequently revoked and annulled their grant to la Giraudière, and re-established M. Denys in all his rights. But he received no compensation for all the injury this transaction had caused him, amounting to 15,000 écus. To crown his misfortunes, after he had returned to his fort St. Pierre, designing to repair his losses by the fur trade,—at a period when, by the arrival of a great number of

Indians, he saw himself on the point of making great profits, a conflagration completed the ruin of his interests. After this calamity he was no longer able to undertake anything of importance; by which the country lost, in a great measure, the advantages of a commander of the greatest capacity and application to business; although we find him publishing his voyages in 1672, and still holding his extensive government and grants in 1677 and 1685. M. Denys retired to Miramichi, where his son was established in 1690. [*Paris mss.*] See the grant of Miramichi, 1687, confirmed in 1690, post, by which Denys seems to have been still living. One cannot avoid reflecting at this era, upon the singular changes and reverses of fortune that attend on the best concerted efforts of man. Here we see three individuals, each possessing remarkable qualities as eminent leaders of men, viz., d'Aulnay, Latour and Denys. They had all three been officers of Razilly on his taking possession of Acadie in 1632. D'Aulnay, after a brief career of ambition, characterized by a haughty, fierce and vindictive disposition, had been cut off suddenly, and his widow had transferred herself and his possessions to his rival. Denys had been victimized by the rapacity and injustice of men wholly his inferiors in ability and character; and Latour, after a short period of prosperity, was suddenly checked in his career by the English invasion of 1654. Both Latour and Denys, however, lived for years after, probably in affluence and comfort, though deprived, in a great degree, of the power of advancing their own fortunes or promoting the settlement of the country, the objects for which they had both assiduously labored. Latour appears to have died about 1666, the year before the treaty of Breda, while Denys survived him many years. Latour, who had shewn on former occasions great vigor in resisting military attacks, was now compelled to bend to the storm, and, by his prudence, retained his property and much of his influence during the twelve ensuing years while the English held the control of the country.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XV.

(1.)

Laët, p. 37, published in 1633, describes cape Bréton. Speaking of the Indians, there, he says, "Their chiefs wear a cloak of wild beasts' skin over their shoulders and breast. They have black dogs, whom they train up for hunting with" "great care. The Portuguese brought a colony here formerly, but, tiring of the" "inclemency of the winter's sky, the cold and the frequent storms, they soon" "abandoned the design." He mentions 'English harbor' (now Louisbourg), "so called because they are used to resort thither frequently to fish," Newport and Cibo, "where such abundance of crabs and lobsters is found as almost" "passes belief." Ninganis on the N. shore, where the Portuguese had settled and deserted it.—The name of cape Bréton is by some supposed to have been derived from cap Bréton, a town in the election of Landes, in Gascony, near Bayonne.

(2.)

The 2d commission of M. Nicolas Denys is printed in the E. & F. Comm'es., p. 719, 723. It mentions that Denys had been made governor in the bay of St. Lawrence, and isles adjacent, by the company of New France, from cape Canseau to cape Rosiers, and had acted there for nine or ten years, built two forts, &c. ; that he was hindered by d'Aulnay, who, by force, had seized forts and ruined the settlers, &c., seized goods. It then makes Denys the king's governor and lieutenant general "in all the country, territory, coasts and confines of the great" "bay of St. Lawrence, beginning from cape Canseau unto cape Rosiers, the" "islands of Newfoundland, islands of cape Bréton, of St. John, and other islands" "adjacent. &c.," gives him powers similar to Latour's commission of 1651. The widow and heirs of d'Aulnay are to indemnify him, and he has power to form a company for the shore fishery on the shores of his government and on the coasts of Acadie.

(3.)

Capitulation of Port Royal, 16 August, 1654. This is printed in E. & F. Commissaries, p. 723, 726.

Result of all the articles presented by M. de la Verdure,* as well in quality of captain commandant in Port Royal for the king, as that of surrogate tutor (subrogé tuteur) of the minor children of the defunct monsieur d'Aulnay to Mr. Robert Sedgewick, general of the squadron, and commander-in-chief on all the coasts of New England in America, under the authority of his highness Oliver, protector of the republic of England, Scotland and Ireland, and by virtue of a commission from his said Highness, dated 8th February, 1653, and again with

* See the name of LaVerdure to the marriage articles of 1653. See also post M. de Barillon's letters of 21 Oct., 1702, and 29 Nov., 1703. In 1723, by a deed, it appears there was a François le Claire, dit LaVerdure and Magdalen Corporon his wife, living at the cape at Annapolis Royal. See also census of 1686.

the commission of the general council of the Navy, dated 9th February, in the same year, 1653, old style of England; all which articles ought to be promptly and faithfully observed, without any reserved explanation.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE TERMS.

1. The first article was settled that LaVerdure, with the soldiers and domestics, should leave the fort with their arms, drums beating, flags displayed, fusil on shoulder, ball in mouth, &c. ; also have their baggage and passage provided to France, &c. 2. The property of the minor children (of d'Aulnay) was to be left in charge of LaVerdure for their use. 3. Liberty to inhabitants to remain unmolested or to go back to France. Liberty of conscience allowed the rev. Capuchins, missionaries, to remain in their new house, or take passage to France, &c. 4. LeBorgne's vessel, the Chateaufort, and his goods, to be inventoried and left to the generosity of the English general. It was concluded on board the admiral ship the Augustin, anchored in the river, and before the fort of Port Royal; "and for greater security of the contents of the above articles, the said" "sieur de la Verdure has left for hostage M. Jacques Bourgeois, his brother-in-law, and lieutenant of the place, bearer of his procuration for the present" "treaty, and the sieur Emanuel le Borgne, the son, until the completion of the" "present agreement, which was begun at the first sitting held yesterday and concluded to day, 16th August, 1654, stile of France," (thus signed),

BOURGEOIS.
ROBERT SEDGWICKE.
ROBERT SALEM.
MARKE HARRISON.
RICHARD MORS.

(And below is written),

"Since this present treaty, the same has been read over to the reverend" "fathers, Leonard de Chartres, vice prefect and custos of the mission, for the" "interest of the mission; Mre. Guillaume Troum, sindic of the inhabitants and" "for their interest, and the sieur le Borgne, for his own interest; all of whom" "have agreed to and approved of the said treaty. Done and passed, the day" "and year above," (and they have signed thus),

EMANUEL LE BORGNE.
GUILLAUME TROUM.
FR. LEONARD DE CHARTRES, vice préfet
pour l'intérêt de la mission.

(4)

"During the usurpation in England, Cromwell, in the year 1654, sent Sir David Kirk, (see 1647, *ante*), who seized the settlement of Lord Baltimore, and drove out the people who would not submit to their new taskmasters; however, Kirk afterwards entered into treaty with Lord Baltimore for the purchase of his plantation, but without success, notwithstanding which, Sir David lived there upon his lands for several years, gave his name to a Sound on the Western shore, and his children and grand children dwelt there after him, the latter being reduced to the mean condition of the most ordinary inhabitants."—*History of the British Empire in N. America*, p. 139.

CHAPTER XVI.

1655. Mr. Edward Winslow, who had been several years governor of Plymouth colony in New England, was sent to England as agent for Massachusetts. Cromwell appointed him one of his commissioners to accompany an expedition he sent to Hispaniola. He died at sea on board of a vessel of the fleet, May 8, 1655. [1 *Hutch.*, 137.] The commander of the ships was admiral Penn, and general Venables was head of the land forces. They failed to take Hispaniola, but succeeded in conquering Jamaica, which island the English have retained ever since. Mr. Leverett, who had been employed in the expedition against Port Royal, was appointed agent in England instead of Winslow. The commission to captain John Leverett was dated Boston, 23 November, 1655, and the fourth clause in his instructions is thus: "4. If a peace be concluded betwixt England and France, and the French forts in these parts included therein, and that you find a propensitie in his Highness to gratifie New England with the same, that you improve your best interest and opportunitie for the obtayning thereof, provided they be free from charges and other ingagements." (The highness here referred to was Oliver Cromwell, then lord Protector.) The treaty of Westminster was this year concluded between England and France, and it was published 23 October, o. s., (2 November, new style.) The restitution of Acadie, which the French desired, was not then effected; but it was postponed, and did not take place until after the treaty of Breda, twelve years later. By the 25th article of the treaty of Westminster, the

claim of France to Pentagoët, St. John, Port Royal, and Lahève, was referred to a proposed commission, but nothing was done in consequence. In 1662, the question was revived by M. Estrades, the French ambassador, and commissaries were appointed, but nothing further was effected.

Peace being thus restored between the two governments of England and France, and the former remaining in peaceable possession of the whole or at least the greater part of Acadie, Latour, wearied by the frequent changes of fortune he had experienced, and the fatigues and exertions he had undergone, appears to have been glad to acquiesce in any arrangement that would permit him to enjoy domestic tranquillity, especially as he was no longer young, being about the age of sixty. We find, accordingly, that a grant was made by Oliver Cromwell, the lord protector, in favor of Latour, Sir Thomas Temple and William Crowne, conveying to them Acadie, from Merliguesche to the bounds of New England. (Crowne is said to have been a writer of plays.)

1657. In this year colonel Sir Thomas Temple arrived in New England, and took charge of Acadie, as governor. Temple received a commission as governor of Nova Scotia from Cromwell, and a similar commission from king Charles the second. Le Borgne was appointed governor of Acadie by the king of France ; he was also sent to England to negotiate for a restoration of the places in the province which had been seized by the English in 1654. He also obtained an extensive grant of land in this country. 20th November, 1657. By a grant of this date, the company of New France conveyed to le Borgne the property in the lands situated in Acadie, from the entrance of the river of the isle Verte to New England, except what had been granted to the sieur de la Tour. (10 December, 1657, a commission from the king of France issued, appointing le Borgne governor and lieutenant general in Acadie from Canseau to New England.)

In this year, 1657, viscount d'Argenson was appointed governor of Canada.

1658. This year LeBorgne sent two captains and fifty men

in February, to Acadie; and going out himself, he was made prisoner, at Lahève, by the English, and was sent with other prisoners to London.—Joseph de Menou, aged 22 years, prays for a grant to himself as hereditary governor in Acadie, and to confirm his titles, he being the eldest son of d'Aulnay. 22 March, 1658, an arrêt was issued, forbidding any of the inhabitants of New France to leave it without permission or passport, or to carry off furs or goods which should be lodged in the public stores at Québec. [*Paris mss.*]

1659. At this time the English had possession of the coast of Acadie, from cape Canso to New England. The French retained yet all the shore of the gulph of St. Lawrence, and the island of cape Bréton, in which M. Denys was in command of the chief settlement. In the second volume of the Jesuits' 'relations,' is the following passage: "Acadie is that part of New France which faces the sea, and" "which extends from New England as far as Gaspé, in proportion, until it meets the entrance of the great river St. Lawrence," (This description of Acadie is opposed to the claims of Sir Thomas Temple, in 1668, and those of the French commissaries in 1751, who alike wished to restrict the limits of Acadie to a portion of the peninsula only.) "This" "extent of country, which extends three hundred leagues" "fully, bears one name, and has but one language. The" "English have usurped all the East coast, from Canseau as" "far as New England. They have left the French the coasts" "on the North, the principal names of which—Miscou, Rigi-bouctou, and cape Bréton. The district of Miscou is the" "most populous, the best disposed, and where there is the" "most Christians. It comprehends the savages of Gaspé," "those of Miramichi, and those of Nepigiguit. Rigi-bouctou" "is a fine river, important for the trade it has with the savages of St. John river. Cape Bréton is one of the finest" "islands one meets in coming from France. It is well" "enough peopled with savages for its size. Monsieur Denys" "commands the principal settlement which the French have" "in these quarters. This is the country our fathers have cultivated since 1629, and where now labor André Richard,"

“father Martin Lionne, and father Jacques Fremin.” [Denys wrote “Description géographique et historique des côtes de l’Amérique Septentrionale, par le S. Denys, Paris, 1672. 2 tomes en 12°.”]

1660. In a letter dated Villy, 13 October, 1660, from the sieur de la Verdure to the Demoiselle de Charnisay, he gives the particulars of the furs carried away on account of Emanuel le Borgne, which he estimates at 387,000 livres value.

1661. Baron l’Avergour was appointed governor of Canada. At this period the materials for our history prove to be very scanty and fragmentary, and all we can do is to arrange under the order of dates the few disconnected matters having any reference to the province.

1663. January 19. The company of New France, assembled with that of Miscou, grant to the sieur Doublet, *capitaine de navire*, (captain of a ship), the isles of Madelaine, St, John, Birds island and Brion, in full property, subject to an annual rent to the company of fifty livres. [*E. & F. Com.*, 726.] The St. John here mentioned may have been Prince Edward island, or possibly one of the groupe of the Magdalens.

On the 26th and 28th January, 1663, corresponding with the 5th and 7th February, new style, earthquakes occurred in New England, New York, Canada, and in Acadie. At Quebec a great earthquake was felt, and over an extent of three hundred leagues from East to West, and one hundred and fifty leagues from North to South. The sea and rivers were perceptibly agitated. The isle aux Coudres was enlarged by its effects. No lives were lost. Earthquakes occurred in North America in 1638, 1658, 1663, 1727 and 1755. [2 *Charlevoix*, 125, 134. *Rel. of Jesuits*, v. 2. 1 *Ferland*, 487.]

In February, 1663, the company of New France surrendered and abandoned all their rights and property in New France to the king. [1 *v. Edits, Quebec*, 1803, p. 19.] On the 21 March, 1663, the king of France, by an edict, revoked all grants made by the company of New France of lands which had not been cleared and should remain uncleared for six months after that date. *Edicts. &c.*, 1 *v.*, p. 24.—M. de Mesey was appointed governor of Canada in 1663. In April, 1663, the king created

the superior council (*conseil superieur*) of Quebec, to consist of the governor, the bishop, five members chosen by them, and a *procureur royal* (king's attorney general.) [*2 Edits, p. 21.*] This council was to be a supreme court for the country, and as far as possible to be conformable to the parliament of Paris. The part of Nova Scotia, or Acadie, extending from the Kennebec to the Ste. Croix, was granted in 1663 or 1664, by king Charles the second to his brother the duke of York. It obtained the name of "the duke's territory," and after his ascending the throne as James the second, it was called "the king's territory." It was also sometimes called 'the province of Sagadahock,' and became an appendage of Massachusetts. [*History of the British Empire in America, pp. 172, 171.*] The patent of king Charles 2, is dated 12 March, 1664, in which he grants to his brother James, the province of New York; also the territory between the Ste. Croix and the Kennebec, &c.

1664. On the 1st February, 1664, an agreement of partnership, signed at Rouen, in triplicate, was entered into between François Gon, sieur de Guimé, Claude de Landemare and François Doublet. (Doublet had, as we have seen, obtained a grant of the Magdalen islands, &c., in 1663.) The St. Francis, of 150 tons, and the St. Michel, of 300 tons, both then at Honfleur, were to be employed on joint account in the fisheries at the Magdalen islands. Gon was to have one quarter of the islands in Doublet's grant,—the remaining three-fourths to belong to Landemare and Doublet. The vessels were to take in three hundred hogsheads of salt at Rochelle. The first green codfish caught was to be brought back to France in the St. Francis, to Honfleur, by the 15 July, and the vessel to be sent back for more green fish. The dry fish was to be sent to Bilboa, in Spain, for sale.——The sum of 2500 livres was to be advanced to the officers and men of the vessels, at 27 livres, 2 sous, per cent. To insure a blessing, one hundred codfish were to be sold for the use of the poor.——M. Denys is mentioned in this document as being then in New France.

Louis 14, by an edict of May, 1664, established "*la compagnie des Indes Occidentales*," (the company of the West Indies.) [*1 Edits, Quebec, 1803, p. 29.*] An edict of the same

monarch, in December, 1674, suppressed this last company, and re-united its possessions to the crown of France. [2 *Charlevoix*, 149. *E. & F. Com'es.*, 703.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVI.

(1.)

Patent from Oliver Cromwell to Latour, Temple and Crowne, of Acadie, in 1656, printed in the *E. & F. Commissaries*, pp. 727 to 732, in French. It is dated Westminster, 9 August, 1656. Cromwell grants to Charles de St. Etienne, sieur de la Tour, Thomas Temple and William Crowne, "the country and territory" "called Acadie, and part of the country called New France, from Merliguesche" "on the Eastern coast, as far as the port and cape of Lahève, following the sea" "coast as far as cape Sable, and thence to a certain port called port Latour, at" "present named port l'Esmeron, and thence following the coasts and islands" "as far as cape Fourchu, and thence to the cape and river Ste. Marie, following" "the sea coasts as far as Port Royal, and thence following the coasts to the" "head of the Bay, and thence along the Bay to fort St. John, and thence follow-" "ing all the coast as far as Pentagoët, and the river Saint George in Mescou-" "rus, situate on the borders of New England, on the West coast, and within the" "lands along the said coasts to one hundred leagues in depth, and further on to" "the first habitation made by the Flemings or French, or by the English of New" "England, and all and singular the lands, islands, seas and rivers, lakes, forts" "and fortresses, woods and underwoods, and all places of fishery, and privi-" "leges of all kinds there and within 13 leagues to sea, are granted. New Eng-" "land grants are reserved. The grantees, their heirs and assigns for ever, to" "have the land, &c. Rent reserved of 20 beaver skins and 20 mouse (sourit)" "skins, (moose?) payable annually on 29 September. All others forbidden to" "trade there. The grantees may confiscate all vessels and goods found there" "without their permission. They may appoint governors of forts, &c., and a" "governor of the country, on death vacancy, subject to the Protector's approval." "No one is to reside in the country but Protestants."

(2.)

On the 18 September, 1656, Cromwell made an order dated at Whitehall, addressed to captain John Leverett, to deliver to colonel Thomas Temple, on his arrival in Acadie, commonly called Nova Scotia, possession of the forts of St. John and Pentagoët, with the magazines, powder, vessels, ammunition, &c. Temple is to be governor of these forts.

(3.)

The king of France wrote to M. de Bourdeaux, his ambassador in London, 30 January, 1658, [*Paris mss.*,] stating that the company of New France had

sent M. le Borgne to England, to solicit the restitution of the forts of the river "St. John, Port Royal, and Pentacoit, in the province of Acadie, dependent on" "New France," taken by force by the English in 1654, and recommends the claim to the ambassador's support. 31 January, the company write to M. de Bourdeaux. 7 October, 1658, the king writes to him again on the subject.

(4.)

In a letter from Mr. John Leverett to Governor Endecott, dated London, 27 April, 1658 :

"These are to accompany a letter from his Highness and councill to you, im-powering of you to examine the accounts kept by Mr. Tho. Lake, and presented "by me, of disbursements and receipts for the carrying on his Highness service "at the forts taken from the French in America, a hint whereof I gave you by my "last of the 16th current. In the letter you are required to call Col. Temple, or "give him notice thereof : by whose occasion, it is as I suppose, that I meet with "this trouble ; and if he have nothing of desygne but the gayning of time upon "the state for his payment according to his engagements (the which some of his "instruments hath confessed to me was aymed at by him), I know not why he "should found his accommodation upon my real prejudize at present, though I "know the Lord can turne it to advantage."

(5.)

A letter on the affairs of New England, 1663 or 1664 : †

Sir,—I have been divers times with Col. Temple, at his lodgings, whom I found to be a reall cordial gentleman, for poor N. E. who hath not wanted for foes, for I will tell you, sir, what not only I, but a ten or a dozen besides myself can testify, which I doubt not is writ by other hands to N. E. Sir, the first day that Col. Temple came to the Exchange after he had been at Court, he went off to the Sunne to Dummer, (1) and I think most of N. E. was there, amongst the rest was Mr. Mavericke; Col. Temple was then pleased to tell us what he had said to the king in the behalf of N. E., which was very much, and speake merrylie, as you know his manner is, and said for all those affidavies or oaths that are given in against the country, yet I will hold 6 to 4 N. E. hath their liberty contrary to expectation. Mr. Mavericke thought to have found him far otherwise, and of his judgment : Mr. Mavericke said before all the company that N. E. were all rebels, and he would prove them so, and that he had given in to the council so, but I think he will be shamed of it.

To-morrow morning N. E. business is to be heard at the council table, and we intend to be there. Sir, you need not fear but N. E. will enjoy their libertys as ever, and concerning the Quakers, I tell you what Col. Temple saith, that in the letters that he delivered of the country to the council in presence of the king, they writ they should observe his Majesty's commands in all things, and that they had given the Quakers liberty, the king hearing this clapt his hand on his breast, said that he intended not soe, but that they should not hurry them, while further orders.

J. CURWINE.

† Maine Historical Society's Collections, vol 1., p. 301.

(1) Jeremiah Dummer, agent for Massachusetts, and Samuel Mavericke, afterwards one of the Commissioners to New England.

CHAPTER XVII.

1667. The treaty of Breda was concluded between the king of England, Charles the second, and the king of France, Louis the fourteenth, on the 21-31 July, 1667. The tenth article of this treaty is as follows: "10. The before named lord, the" "king of Great Britain, shall restore and give up unto the" "above named lord, the most Christian king, or to those who" "shall have charge and authority on his part, sealed in good" "form with the great seal of France, the country called" "Acadie, situated in North America, which the most Chris-" "tian king has formerly enjoyed; and to execute this resti-" "tution, the above named king of Great Britain, immediately" "after the ratification of the present treaty, shall furnish to" "the above named most Christian king all the acts and" "authorities, expedited duly and in good form, necessary to" "that effect, or shall cause them to be furnished to those of" "his ministers or officers who shall be delegated by him." (M. de Courcelles was appointed governor of Canada in 1666.) Charles de la Tour is supposed to have died before the treaty of Breda. His youngest surviving child appears to have been born in 1665, (*census* of 1686.) He is said to have come to Acadie with Claude de la Tour, his father in 1606, being then fourteen years old. Jeanne, his daughter by his first marriage, was born about 1626. In 1627 he was in command of port Lomeron. In 1646 his fort at St. John was taken by d'Aulnay. In 1651, after d'Aulnay's death, he was made governor. In 1653 he married the widow d'Aulnay. In 1654 he had to yield to the English. In 1656 he was named first grantee in

Cromwell's patent, along with Temple and Crowne. He was born about 1592, and he was about 60 years of age at the time of his marriage with madame d'Aulnay, and about 74 at the time of his decease. It was about the date of the treaty of Breda, 1667, that mons. Jean Vincent de St. Castine, a French baron de St. Castine, settled near Pentagouët, at the peninsula now called Castine. He was born in Oleron, near the Pyrenees. He had been a colonel in the king's body guards; he afterwards commanded the regiment de Carignan Salieres, and went with them in 1665 to Quebec. At the disbanding of the corps, at the peace, he went to live among the Indians. He married an Indian wife (or wives), and carried on an extensive and lucrative trade with the natives. He finally returned to France, in 1708, leaving young Castine, his half breed son, behind. In 1722, the young baron went to France to obtain his father's inheritance, but was again in Acadie in 1731. The elder Castine was son in law of Madockawando, chief sachem of the Eastern Indians. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, 471, 472. *Rameau*, pp. 26, 27. *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, v. 3, p. 124.]

The company of New France, in 1653, granted to Nicolas Denys, esquire, all the lands and islands situated from *cap de Canceaux* to *cap des Rosiers*. This was confirmed by royal patent 30 January, 1654. Denys being in Paris 9 November, 1667, requests a grant of confirmation from the new company, *La Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*. They therefore regrant to him the same territories in full property and seigneurie, on condition of his sending thither fifty emigrants annually (male and female) for ten years. 17 December, 1667. The new company, "*Des Indes Occidentales*" grant to Le Borgne the lands from the entry of the isle Verte to the river des Mines, with ten leagues in depth, from the sea coast, annulling the former grant he held as too extensive.

31 December, 1667, king Charles the second wrote a letter to Sir Thomas Temple to surrender the country of Acadie, which was delivered to him on the 20 October, 1668, at Boston, by monsieur Morillon du Bourg, deputed by the most

Christian king, under the great seal of France, to receive the same.

17 February, 1667-8, king Charles the 2d makes a formal cession by letters patent of this date, of all Acadie, naming expressly "the forts and habitations of Pentagoët, St. John," "Port Royal and Cape Sable," to the king of France. [*Memorials of E. & F. Commissaries*, p. 580, 587.]

9 October, 1668, the sieur de Morillon du Bourg transferred all his authority to the Sr. de Belleisle; and 10 October, 1668, gave him a deed of all his interest in certain grants in Acadie. 20 October, 1668, Morillon du Bourg delivered king Charles' letters to Sir Thomas Temple, at Boston. Sir Thomas Temple's reply of the date 6-16 November, 1668, objects that some of the places named in the order are in Nova Scotia but not in Acadie, and that no mention is made of Nova Scotia in the treaty. 2. That St. Christophers has not been delivered which, by the treaty, was to precede the restitution of Acadie. 3. That monsieur LeBorgne had invaded Nova Scotia in a hostile manner, and had been left commander-in-chief in Port Royal by the sieur du Bourg, contrary to the articles of the treaty. He declines acting under the king's order "until his" "majesty's pleasure be further known, both as to the bounds" "and limits of Acadie and Nova Scotia, there being no places mentioned in my order, but la Hève and cape Sable," "that belong to Acadie; and the rest of the places mentioned, viz.: Pentagoët, St. John's and Port Royal, are in Nova Scotia, bordering upon New England, containing the whole" "country under my command: together with the irregular" "invading of the said country before mentioned in hostile" "manner, &c." On the 10 November, 1668, Temple received a letter from the king Charles the 2nd, dated the 1st August, commanding him not to deliver up the country until his further pleasure was known. This he shewed to M. du Bourg, and on the 19-29 November, 1668, sent to him a written notice accordingly of same date.

On the 24 November, 1668, Sir Thomas Temple wrote to the lords of the council, giving them an account of these things, from which are the following extracts:—"I thought"

“fit also to let your lordships know that those ports and”
 “places named in my first order were a part of one of the”
 “colonies of New England, viz. : Pentagoët, belonging to”
 “New Plymouth, which has given the magistrates here great”
 “cause of fear and apprehensions of so potent a neighbor”
 “which may be of dangerous consequence to his majesty’s”
 “service and subjects, the Carribbee islands having most of”
 “their provisions from these parts, and that mons. de Bourg”
 “informs me that the most Christian king intended to plant”
 “a colony at Pentagoët, and make a passage by land to Que-”
 “bec, his greatest town in Canada, being but three days”
 “journey distant.” ————— “that Acadia is but a small”
 “part of Nova Scotia,” ————— “a country that might”
 “be of infinite advantage to his majesty and his subjects,”
 “were it improved, abounding in good harbors, rivers, good”
 “land, mines, excellent timber of all sorts, especially for ship-”
 “ping, and the seas abounding with cod fish.” ————— “The”
 “only revenue at present (it being unpeopled) is made by”
 “furs and elk* skins, to the value of £900 per annum, of”
 “which Mr. Elliot receives £600.” He mentions his plans
 for a fishery, his expenses in defending the country from
 attacks of French neighbors, the colony being £5000 in debt
 to merchants, having received no aid from the English king,
 his own old age and poverty, refers to papers enclosed, and
 prays for relief. He says that “Nova Scotia is the first”
 “colony which England has possessed in all America, of”
 “which the limits have been fixed, being bounded on the”
 “North by the great river of Canada, and on the West by”
 “New England, it contains the two great provinces of Alex-”
 “andria and Caledonia, established and confirmed by divers”
 “acts of the parliament of Scotland, and annexed to that”
 “crown, the records whereof are kept in the castle of Edin-”
 “burgh to this day.” [*Memorials of the English and French*
Commissaries, pp. 588 to 691.]

From Sir Thomas Temple’s letter of December, 1668, to
 the earl of Arlington, [*Memorials of E. & F. Commissaries*,

* Moose.

pp. 595 to 599.] "His majesty's letter of the 1st August, by "the ketch Portsmouth, I received of captain John Wyburn, "here in Boston, the 10th of November, 1668. Port Royal, "whither I have sent his majesty's ketch and two vessels of "my own, with men, ammunitions and provisions, though with "great charge and difficulty, being the depth of winter, and "the coast very rude; but I make no doubt, by God's blessing, to reduce the place, and put things into the same posture they were before monsieur du Bourg, the French king's "deputy, came, of which I never heard anything, nor of his "majesty's orders, till he delivered them unto me. He acted "with great subtilty, coming all along the coasts of Acadie "and Nova Scotia, leaving a governor at Port Royal; and "here menacing me with no less than the loss of my head, if "I refused to deliver up all the country; which not prevailing, he is gone for St. Christophers, as he informed me. At "his departure, he intreated me to convey this inclosed letter "to the French ambassador in England, which, in civility, I "could not well deny, nor know how better to perform, than, "with your pardon, by your lordship's hand. He was a person of singular address, and much versed in business of this "nature; and the threat he mentioned was behind my back, "to some gentlemen. I sent to him to demand caution that "le Borgne, he left governor in Port Royal, should return "peaceably. He much feared that I would have used means "to have detained him here, and sent a letter to le Borgne, a "copy of which I have here inclosed. I used him, for his "majesty's honor, with great respect and courtesy; and so did "the magistrates here, with which he was much satisfied; and "seemed to be most astonished at the flourishing growth of "this city, and the strength of it, especially in so short a time. "His answer for le Borgne being left at Port Royal, was that "le Borgne had a particular commission from the French king, "which I found to be true."

From Morillon du Bourg's letter to the French West India company, dated Baston, 9 November, 1668. [*Memorials of E. & F. Commissaries*, p. 599.] "I have followed all the coast "of Acadie, with M. de Belleisle, to see the places marked in

“my instructions, but as there was no probability of settling myself there until I should have previously conferred with M. le chevalier Temple, I have come to Boston to deliver to him the letter of his Britannic majesty, and the articles of the treaty of Breda, which he received very well, and whereto he says he is willing to conform : meanwhile he makes a very great difference between Acadie and Nova Scotia, which he says is his own property, and which he makes to consist from Mirliguesche as far as Pentagoët, and stretching from the coast of cape Breton as far as the river of Quebec. Thus, gentlemen, one is misunderstood, and you see thereby that Pentagoët, St. John, Port Royal, cape Sable and la Hève, specified in the orders, are not in Acadie, but in Nova Scotia.” “Besides, M. le chevalier Temple says that M. le Belleisle ought not to have remained at Port Royal, (which he did, not wishing to go further with me), until our interview shall previously have taken place. He also complains of some violence committed by him” (Belleisle) “a short time since on some of his” (Temple’s) “people.” “And” “then returning to the general treaty, he maintains that we ought to have given up the islands of Saint Christopher’s, Antigua and Montserrat.”

1669. Charles 2, wrote to Colonel Temple, under date of 8th March, 1668–9, referring to his former letters of 31 December, 1667, and to that of 1 August, 1668, and directs him now to obey the former directions, and to give up possession. In this order Acadie is named, and the same forts as in the first order. In a final order, dated 6 August, 1669, the king refers to the scruples already made by Temple, and directs most positively the unconditional delivery of Acadie, and by name of the several forts of Pentagoët, St. John, Port Royal, Lahève and cape Sable. The two letters are in the E. & F. Com’es., pp. 743 & 601. Temple was said to have derived 80,000 livres rent, in the shape of duties on the fisheries, &c., paid by the English trading to Acadie, &c. [2 *Charlevoix, N. F.*, 205.]

On the 6 July, 1670, at Boston, in New England, Hubert d’Andigny, chevalier de Grand-fontaine, delivered to Sir Tho-

mas Temple the order from king Charles the second, date 6 August, 1669, and at the same time exhibited to him a commission from the French king, dated 22 July, 1669, under the great seal of France, empowering Grand-fontaine to receive possession of Acadie. (Charlevoix says the commission, by virtue of which Grand-fontaine took possession of Pentagoët, was dated 6 March, 1670, and that it marks the bounds of his government from the Quinibequi to the river St. Lawrence, and taken possession by Razilly in 1630,—v. 2, p. 205.) Temple (he is said to have been sick at the time, *Hist. B. Empire in America*, p. 74) accordingly executed a written order, dated 7 July, 1670, addressed to "captain Richard Walker, my" "deputy governor of the said parts, actually upon the place." In this order Temple styles himself "Sir Thomas Temple," "knight baronet, lieutenant for his majesty of Great Britain," "of the countries of Nova Scotia and Acadie," and he directs Walker, and all officers under his (Temple's) command, to deliver Acadie and the forts of Pentagoët, St. John, Port Royal, Lahève and cape Sable, to M. Grand-fontaine. He restores the country in terms, and alleges bodily sickness for transferring to his deputy the actual delivery, and mentions that Grand-fontaine is to remain commandant for his most Christian majesty. (See original in E. & F. Commissaries, pp. 604-606.) See also 2 Charlevoix, pp. 204-205.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVII.

The acts setting out the surrender of the forts are given also in the E. & F. Commissaries, pp. 606 to 613, and are at this day very curious.

(1)

The first is the surrender of the fort of Pentagoët. The date is 5 August, 1670. It is signed by the chevalier de Grand-fontaine, Jean Maillard, Richard Walker, Isaac Garner, and by Marshal, secretary. In this instrument, Walker, the deputy governor, is said to be accompanied by Isaac Garden, gentleman, and Jean Maillard is called the king's scriviner (ecrivain du Roi) in the ship of his majesty called the St. Sebastian, commanded by M. de la Clocheterie.

"First at the entering in of the said fort upon the left hand, we found* a court " of guard of about fifteen paces long and ten broad, having upon the right hand " a house of the like length and breadth, built with hewen stone, and covered " with shingles, and above them there is a chapel of about six paces long and " four paces broad, covered with shingles, and built with terras, upon which " there is a small turret, wherein there is a little bell weighing about eighteen " pounds." "More, upon the left hand as we entered into the court, there is a " magazine" (storehouse) "having two stories, built with stone, and covered " with shingles, being in length about thirty-six paces long and ten in breadth, " which magazine is very old and wanted much reparation, under which " there is a little cellar, wherein there is a well. And upon the other side " of the said court, being on the right hand, as we enter into the said court, " there is a house of the same length and breadth as the magazine is, being " half covered with shingles, and the rest uncovered, and wanted much repara- " tion; these we have exactly viewed and taken notice of." The cannon on the ramparts are stated as 3 guns, 6 pounders, 2 four-pounders and culverins, 2 three-pounders, and on a little platform adjoining the sea, outside of the fort, 2 eight-pounders, in all twelve iron guns, weighing 21,122 lbs.; and also in the fort two murtherers (pierriers) without chambers, weighing 1200 lbs. The wheels and carriages are specified, some as new, others old. 200 iron bullets, from 3 to 8 lbs. "Lastly, about 30 or 40 paces from the said fort there is a small out- " house," being about 20 paces in length and 8 in breadth, built with planks " and half covered with shingles, which do" (does) "not serve for any use but " to house cattle." "More, about 50 paces from the said outhouse, there is a " square garden, inclosed with rails, (pieux), in which garden there are 50 or 60 " trees, bearing fruit." It is stated at the end that particulars are given, in order that the value may be made good to Sir Thomas Temple, his heirs or assigns, &c.

(2.)

The next is the procès verbal of the surrender of fort Gemisick, on the St. John river, 27 August, 1670. The parties who signed this were Pierre de Joibert, ecuyer, seigneur de Soulanges et Marson, lieutenant of M. le chevalier de Grand-fontaine, commandant for the king in the county of Acadie, deputy governor captain Richard Walker, and Isaac Garner, gentleman. The fort of Gemisick is stated to be 25 leagues up the river St. John, to be forty paces long by 30 wide. enclosed all round by new stakes (perches) of 18 feet high, connected by two cross pieces fastened with two nails (deux clous de fiche) to each stake. The gate is new, of three thicknesses of plank. Pickets of nine feet high are leant inside against the stakes. Three platforms and three angles of the fort are made of new plank. There are four iron guns mounted, weighing respectively 427, 427, 625, 300, lbs., and a 5th iron gun, not yet mounted, of 350 lbs. weight. A house 20 paces by 10, two chimnies and two sheds, a forge, a ton of coals, a table with drawers, and two wooden chairs. There is also a store house, in which is a large closet for goods.

* "Trouvé dans la cour un corps de garde," (French copy), found in the court a guard house.

(3.)

The surrender of Port Royal was made on the 2nd September, 1670, by Walker and Garner, to M. de Soulanges, by an announcement to that effect made publicly and aloud, in presence of all the inhabitants assembled for that purpose. This is certified by de Soulanges, under the same date. He also states that Walker had sent an order to the sieur de Rinedon, commandant of fort Latour, (on the river St. John, in St. John's harbour or port Latour ?) to deliver it up also. This document gives no particulars of the state of either fort.

Williamson, in his history of Maine, vol. 1., pp. 363, 428, speaks of a purchase made by Temple of Latour's title, and a regular conveyance made. He says Temple was humane, generous and disinterested. He also mentions a promise made him by the crown, of £16,200, as an indemnification for the loss of his grant and property, and for money he had expended in fortifications and otherwise in Acadie. We will find some particulars of his death in 1674. It would seem that Grand-fontaine, on assuming the command of Acadie, took up his residence at Pentagoët.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1671. The chevalier de Grand-fontaine, governor of Acadie, in writing to the minister at Paris, in 1671, states—That the vessel called l'Oranger had arrived, having on board sixty passengers, among whom were four girls and one woman. He transmits a list of the things he is in need of to M. Terron; also of the articles in store. He says he is going to send his ensign to the river St. John, to establish the old fort that is at the mouth, to guard it until the cannon be brought there from the fort 25 leagues inland, (Jemseg.) On the margin of his despatch is written, "This ensign will also attempt the road" "to Quebec, will pass over to Port Royal, and tell those who" "are there what they ought to do to live in peace, until" "messrs. de Courcelles and Talon have sent them some one" "to command them," (Courcelles was governor of Canada, and Talon intendant at the time,) "he, Grand-fontaine, having" "forbidden the inhabitants to acknowledge the person called" "le Borgne, unless as a simple inhabitant, considering the" "complaints against him, also against a *cordelier*, performing" "the functions of curé, having caused a negro to be hung" "without any formalities, killed an Indian, and banished" "three inhabitants." He says he has bought a ketch from colonel Temple, to carry the inhabitants and provisions to Port Royal, and to put a stop to the fur trade which the English are carrying on there. He says that he must send to seek a carpenter in New England, to construct some little vessel; it being necessary to send one there; also that little funds are wanted to meet this kind of expenses. He complains of the

conduct of sieur de Marson, his lieutenant, whom he had sent to Boston on the subject of a vessel arrested, and of the trade, with the letters of M. Talon. Marson returned, and did not report to Grand-fontaine, who put him under arrest in consequence. That he had sent to M. Talon to facilitate the communication with Acadie ; and while awaiting his reply, would have new colonists sent to the great rapid of Kediscuit, by which the intended road should pass. (There is a place called Keduskig, on the map published by the E. & F. Commissaries with their reports, about fifty miles up the Penobscot.) For want of a person fit to command at fort Latour, he has not been able to begin the shore fishery, (*pêche sédentaire*), or that of seals. He asks for some half-pay officers. (*officiers réformés*), or persons capable of taking command, and that the colonists to be sent should be seafaring men. He requests some little salary for the storekeeper, with whom he is pleased. He proposes that those sent out should leave in March, to give them time to make clearings for their dwellings during the summer. Sends a list of all the inhabitants of Acadie, which will be much greater next year, all his soldiers wishing to settle there ; and he remarks that the air is very good. He sends a description of the river and fort of Pentagoët, and conceives it to be necessary to occupy the river St. George, which bounds the English settlements. He recommends that the king should get the duke of York to restore Quenebeguy and Pamcouet, (*Kennebec and Pemaquid*), the inhabitants of which do not wish to recognize Boston, and would only demand the liberty of religion, and that his majesty would profit by the fishery and coasting trade, which would prove of great utility. [*Paris mss.*]

M. Rameau, the author of a work entitled "*La France aux Colonies*, Paris, 1859," visited Nova Scotia in 1860 to seek information personally on the spot respecting the ancient French settlements. I had the pleasure of conversing with him at Halifax at that time, and subsequently, of perusing his excellent book. At pages 124 to 127 he gives the particulars of a census of the inhabitants of Port Royal, &c., in 1671, drawn up by Laurent Molin, religieux cordelier.

There appeared to be at that time at Port Royal, 361 souls.

At Poboncom, near the Tousquet isles, {	
(now called Pubnico), }	7
At cape Negro,	7
At rivière aux Rochelois,	3
	<hr/>
Total,	378

(At page 129 he calls the total 394. He also mentions a previous undated census of Port Royal, returning 92 souls.) The largest family is that of Francis Gauterot, numbering 13.—Among the people at Port Royal were a surgeon, a weaver, four coopers, a farrier, two armourers, a mason, and a maker of edge tools. The number of families there was 66. The surnames were Aucoin, Babin, Belon, Bellineau (Belliveau?), Baiols, Blanchard, Boure, Boudrot, Bertrand, Bourgeois, Brot, Brun, Commeaux, Cormié, Corperon, D'aigre, Doucet, Dupeux, DeForêt, Gaudet, Gauterot, Grangé, Guillebaut, Girouard, Gougeon, Hebert, Knessy, Labathe, Landry, LeBland, Lanoue, Martin, Melanson, Morin, Pelerin, Petitpas, Poirié, Pitre, Richard, Rimbaut, Robichaut, Scavoye, Sire, Terriau, Thibaudau, Trahan, Vincent. At Poboncom there was Phillippe Mius, ecuyer, sieur de Landremont, or de Dantremont, aged 62; his wife, Madeleine Elie; sons Abraham, 13, Philip 11, another 17, and two daughters. At cape Negro lived Armand Lalloue, ecuyer, sieur de ———, aged 58; his wife, Elizabeth Nicolas; children, Jacques 24; Armand 14; Arnault 12, and two girls. At rivière aux Rochelois lived Guillaume Poulet, wife, and one child.

The number of horned cattle in Port Royal

	settlement,	580
"	sheep,	406
"	arpents, (acres), cultivated	
	land, do.,	364 1-2

At Pobomcoup the sieur Dantremont had 20 horned cattle, 25 sheep, and 6 arpents of cultivated land. At cape Negro, M. Lalloue had one arpent of land under cultivation. At rivière aux Rochelois were two arpents of cultivated land. The oldest person mentioned is Jean Gaudet, 96 years. Mat-

thew Martin, the same person, I suppose, who afterwards obtained a grant of Cobequid from the governor and intendant of New France, (Denonville and Champigny), date 28 March, 1689. *See post.* It is said that he was the first white person born in the colony, and that this circumstance was recited in his grant. See under dates 1686, 1689 and 1731, *post.* In the census of 1671 he is mentioned as being 35 years old, unmarried, and a weaver, owner of four horned cattle and three sheep. In the census of 1686 he is called 47 years old, owner of one gun and eight arpents of land. Disputes about his will arose in 1731.

M. Rameau proves that this small population was of an old date in the country, by the intermarriages which had taken place among them before 1671, specifying that Michael Boudrot and François Girouard had each married a daughter of the Aucoins, twenty-five or thirty years previously. There appears no mention in this census of LeBorgne, or his family, or of any of the Latours, or of any governor, nobleman or priest, except the cordelier friar, as resident in the settlement of Port Royal, at this time.

1672-3. Some time in 1672 or 1673, six years after the treaty of Breda, a number of French families emigrated from St. Malo, in Old France, to the river Miramichi, and commenced a settlement at baie des Vents. [Cooney, N. B., 30-33. Gesner, N. B., 43-44.] At this time, the French, who had taken possession of the country, appear to have kept up but two forts, viz., that of Pentagoët, where the chevalier Grandfontaine, the governor or commandant, resided, and that of the river St. John, where his lieutenant M. de Marson held command. It is also stated that M. Talon, intendant of Canada, who had requested leave to return to France, was directed by a letter of M. Colbert, dated 4 June, 1672, to take Acadie in his way, as he had proposed. He had orders to negotiate with Sir Thomas Temple, who had desired leave to retire into French territory, and to assure him that the French king would give him letters of naturalization, and other favors. From some cause, which is not explained, this proposal led to no result. [2 *Charlevoix*, p. 255.]

On the 5 May, 1673, an order, signed by king Louis 14, and by his minister Colbert, issued, dated at Peronne, [*Paris mss.*,] which recites that Grand-fontaine wished to return to France, to have leisure for his private business, and directs the appointment of the sieur de Chambly to command in Acadie in his stead.

1674. *The compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, established by edict of May, 1664, with exclusive privileges of trade for forty years, was revoked by edict of December, 1674, which remitted the territories, &c., to the Crown, and gave free trade to all his majesty's subjects. Canada, Acadie, Newfoundland, Virginia, Florida, and the African coasts, were included. [*Edits, &c., Quebec, 1803, p. 63, &c.*]

In this year, 1674, Sir Thomas Temple died. In a letter from Mr. J. Collins to governor Leverett, of Massachusetts, dated London, April 10, 1674, is the following passage. [*Hutch. Mass. Collections, p. 445.*] "Since my last, it has pleased" "God to remove by death Mr. Lodor, Mr. Venning, and" "some other ministers of the presbiterian perswasion, holy" "men, and much lamented; as alsoe lately Sir Thomas Temple, whom melancholy and grieffe hath killed by his hard" "usage from Mr. Elliott, but especially the occasion given of" "scandall, by his lodging at his old Mrs., her house, Mrs." "Martin, which having heard the echo of again from New" "England, from the letters that some too uncharitably wrote" "did sit deep upon his spirit, and hastened his end. He" "sent for me, and I was with him severall houres, before he" "dyed a week, and he layed open his soul; it was a mere" "accident: yea, great necessity, I judge afterward, that cast" "him at that wretches house." Sir Thomas Temple is said to have appointed Mr. John Nelson his heir to this province, [*Hist. of B. Empire in America, p. 174*], and it there stated that the government promised him £16,200 sterling, as an indemnity for his losses in respect of Nova Scotia, which was never paid.

The chevalier Grand-fontaine was succeeded in his command at Pentagoët, which seems to have been at this time the French headquarters in Acadie, by M. de Chambly, probably

in 1673. In the following year, 1674, an Englishman gained access to the fort in disguise, and remained there for four days. Having thus obtained the information he wished, he withdrew, and in a short time came back with the crew of a Flemish corsair to attack the place. This adventurer, whose name is not given, had one hundred and ten men under his orders, while M. de Chambly had but thirty. As the two crowns of England and France were in peace with each other, no idea of an attack from any quarter had been entertained, and the garrison was wholly unprepared for a defence, and taken by surprise. Chambly nevertheless defended himself with much valor, but after an hour's fighting he received a musket shot in the body, which forced him to retire. On this event, his ensign and soldiers, who were badly armed, and, it is said, worse disposed, surrendered at discretion. The enemy at once sent off a detachment to fort Gemesic, (Jemseg), on the St. John river, where M. de Marson was in command, to carry him off, and this they accomplished without resistance. The author of this hostile proceeding had no commission, and was disavowed by the English, though it is stated that he had obtained an English pilot from Boston, and the English there were suspected of having encouraged the affair from jealousy of the neighborhood of the French at Pentagoët. Williamson, the historian of Maine, dates this occurrence in 1676, but it is stated to have happened in 1674 both by Charlevoix and by the recitals in a grant of land made in 1676 by count Frontenac to M. de Marson. Williamson also attributes the attack to the Dutch, and adds that these corsairs were driven out of their conquest by two or three vessels sent from Boston. The grant of 1676 also calls the assailants Hollanders. The baron Castine after this took possession of the now vacant fort of Pentagoët, which he repaired and occupied.

1676. The Indians who lived eastward of New England made war on the English settlers, killed many, and drove others by terror from the Kennebec, and did much mischief at Casco and other places in that vicinity. Their head chief in this war was Mugg, and they conducted it in more con-

formity with civilized usages than was customary with the Indians.

On the 13 November, 1676, the Tarrateens or Eastern Indians made a treaty at Boston with the English, which was entered into by Mugg, in behalf of Madockawando (the father-in-law of Castine), and Cheberrina, sachems of Penobscot. [1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 346, 347.] A commission dated 20 May, 1676, appointed M. de Chambly to the command of Acadie, subject to the governor of Canada. He is directed to defend the fort and the country, and to protect trade. [*Paris mss.*] It does not clearly appear how he was to carry out these injunctions, having such small means of defence supplied him.

1677. The Eastern Indians committed further aggressions on the frontiers of New England. Major Andros, who held a commission from the duke of York, placed forces at Pemaquid, and forced them to make peace again. [*Hutch: ubi supra.*] The coal mines of cape Breton began at this time to attract attention. Duchesneau, the intendant of New France, issued an *ordonnance*, dated 21 August, 1677, which recognizes and establishes the right of M. Denis to exact a duty from all persons who took coal from cape Bréton, or plaister from the straits of Canceaux, as grantee of the land by patent in 1654, governor, &c. This document fixes the duty at 30 sous for each ton of plaister (gypsum), and 20 sous for each ton of coal. Persons also who trade in furs within the limits of Denis' grants and government, which embraced the islands of St. John and cape Bréton, and the whole gulph shore from Canso to cape Rosiers, are declared liable to confiscation of their goods employed, and to a fine of 200 livres, unless they have license from Denis.

1678. M. de Marson had taken command in Acadie by order of M. de la Barre, Chambly being absent; and on 16 July, 1678, count Frontenac appointed the sieur de la Vallière to this command.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVIII.

(1.)

An edict of the king of France, dated from the camp of Luting, near Namur, directs all grants of land in New France, which had been left uncleared, to be reduced to one-half. The retrenched half to be granted to actual settlers. [*Edits, Quebec, 1803, v. 1, p. 71.*]

(2.)

In a letter of 28 January 1686, Grand Fontaine states that he left the treaty he made with Temple, and his own instructions from M. Perron, with Chambly, who relieved him in the government; but as Chambly was afterwards captured and robbed by a corsair, he thinks the papers were lost. He says his own papers were left with his host at Rochelle, when he went out to Tobago, but on his return they were missing. [*Paris mss.*]

(3.)

An edict of Louis 14, dated from the camp at Heurtebise, near Valenciennes, 20 May 1676, authorizes count Frontenac, governor, and Duchesneau, intendant, to grant lands in New France, on condition of clearing them within six years. Such grants to be presented to the king for confirmation within the year they bear date, &c. In 1667 and 1668, edicts forbade the settlers going to hunt among the savages more than one league from the settlement. [*Edits, &c., Quebec, 1803, vol. 1. p. 93.*]

Grants made in Acadia by count Frontenac, governor, and Duchesneau, intendant :—

1. 12 Oct. 1676, to the *Sieur Pierre de Joibert, ecuyer, Sieur de Soulanges et de Marson*, major of Pentagoët and commandant of the forts of Gemisick and the river St. John, a seignory, called Nachouac, to be hereafter called Soulanges, 15 leagues from Gemisick, 2 leagues front on each side of the St. John river and 2 leagues deep inland, &c. 2. 16 Oct., 1676, a similar grant to *de Marson* of the fort or house of Gemisick, with a league on each side of the fort, making two leagues front on the river. 3. 24 Oct., 1676, a similar grant to *Michel le Neuf, ecuyer, sieur de la Vallière*, "of ten leagues of land in front, which are on the South side" "between Cape Bréton and the isle Percée, beginning from the river Kigiskoua:" "bouguet, comprizing the same, to another river called Kimontgouiche, also" "comprized, with ten leagues in depth inland, whereof the bay of Chinigtou" "and cape Tormentin are part." These grants are in perpetuity, as Seigneuries, held by homage, &c., at the chateau of St. Louis at Quebec.

(4.)

Translation of a document, or conveyance in 1679 :—

Before Jacques Courand, procurator fiscal and notary, settled at Port Royal, for the lord of said place, was present in person the nobleman Alex. LeBorgne, Sieur deBellisle, in stead and place of Monsieur Emanuel leBorgne, his father, Sieur

duCoudray, knight of the order of St. Michael, lord and part owner of Acadie. Which said Sieur de Bellisle in the said name has voluntarily acknowledged to have granted, surrendered and transferred, as in fact he grants, surrenders and transfers by these presents from henceforth forever to Pierre Martin and Mathieu Martin his son, (the said Mathieu at this time stipulating and accepting for them their heirs and assigns.) To wit.—It is a piece of land and meadow by them in part improved, and on which they reside, bounding on the east side on the great meadow, on the west side on the brook Domanchin, on the south side on the river Dauphin (*now Annapolis river*), and on the north side on the mountain, for the said Martins, father and son, their heirs and assigns to enjoy and dispose of the said land as belonging to their own property. For and in consideration whereof they bind themselves and shall be held to deliver and pay to the said lord or others for him, one denier Tournois of quit rent, one capon, and one bushel of wheat, annual, perpetual and irredeemable ground rent to the said lord on account of his fief and seigneurial manor of Port Royal aforesaid. Payable the said denier of quit rent, the said capon and bushel of wheat of rent, every year the first day of January in his manor house at Port Royal aforesaid. Bearing the said quit rent, *lots et ventes*, seizin and amends, if the case should occur for every sale made and not notified in twenty days from the date of the contract. All which above stated have the said parties so willed and agreed, promising in every place to keep and observe the same, under the obligation and hypothecation of all and singular their present and future property. Renouncing all things contrary to these presents, which they desire to be observed and kept according to their form and tenor. Done at Port Royal at the domicile of the said lord, the ninth day of August one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine. Present, Jacques de la Tour, Pierre Mellanson.

(Thus signed in the minute.)

BELLISLE,
MATTHEW MARTIN,
JACQUES DELATOUR,
PIERRE MELLANSON,
et COURAND.
COURAND, pr. fiscal et notaire.

February 14, 1737.

Reg'd pr. me, W. SHIREFF, Secy.

(N. B.—The French copy is in the Register Book of Deeds, kept at Annapolis during the time it was the residence of the British governor.)

CHAPTER XIX.

1680. Charlevoix informs us (v. 2, p. 273) that Acadie, fort Latour on the St. John, and Pentagoët had been restored by the English to the French for the fourth time in or previously to the year 1680. That M. de Chambly had been named governor, neither he nor Grand Fontaine having before held any higher title than commandant. That by this time, a little village had been formed at Port Royal, which then became the capital of their government. That the government included, besides the peninsula, all the southern coasts of New France, always however subordinate to the governor at Quebec, That meanwhile the English had built a good fort at Pemkuit (Pemaquid,) between Pentagoët and the Kinibeki, and by an alliance with the Illinois (Mohawks,) had compelled the Abenakis to make peace. That M. de Chambly had left Acadie to go to Grenada, where he was appointed governor, and no one was named in his stead. That the English consequently took possession of Pentagoët, and fort Latour, without resistance; and that the inhabitants of Port Royal, seeing the storm ready to fall upon them, made terms with the English; M. de la Vallière, who held only a simple commission from M. de Frontenac, having no power to hinder them; and that thus the English for the *fifth* time became masters of the country.

1682. It would seem that this occupation of the English was of short duration, as in 1682, we find the count de Frontenac, writing to M. de la Vallière as in command of Acadie. He wrote at the same time to the English governor at Boston, pointing out that the English (under the administration of the

former governors of Canada,) had not liberty to fish or trade in Acadie, unless by express permission and agreement as to what each vessel should pay for the privilege. The last day of February 1680, the king of France granted to the sieur Bergier, of Rochelle, Gautier, Boucher and de Mantes, bourgeois of Paris, "the lands which they shall find suitable along" "the coast of Acadie, and of the river St. John, to make there" "the establishment of a shore fishery, (*une pêche sédentaire*)," "in the extent of six leagues, to the environs of the habitation they shall make," &c., for the fishery and all other trade.

M. Lefèvre de la Barre was appointed governor of Canada in 1682.

1683. The Sieur de la Barre wrote to Vallière, that he should not suffer the English to continue to trade and to fish, on the coast of Acadie, as they had done under count Frontenac, until the king's intentions should be ascertained, and that they should not take any coals without his receiving the accustomed dues. In this year the population of Acadie amounted to 600, according to a Canadian list. *Rameau*, p. 19.

1684. M. de la Barre, the governor of Canada, granted a commission to M. de la Vallière to command in Acadie, in consequence of the previous appointment made by Frontenac, also of an instruction from the king, dated in May 1682, directing him to report on the merit and capacity of la Vallière, with the design of sending him a commission. On the first May 1684, M. de la Barre writes to M. de la Vallière, that by a royal despatch of 5 August, his Majesty had chosen him as governor, with a salary of 1800 livres, and that the patent, not yet signed, would be sent by the first opportunity. Letters are also mentioned both from Frontenac and de la Barre, to la Vallière, testifying their satisfaction with him, and their confidence in his services.

Bergier and his associates who had obtained a grant in 1682, complained that La Vallière had granted licenses to the English to fish on the coast and use the harbors of Acadie. On his second visit to the coast Bergier arrived at Chedabouctou, on the 2 March 168—, There he sowed wheat, rye and barley

upon land that his people had previously cleared. This was done on the 22nd May. On the 21st September he reaped the harvest and brought the produce to France for exhibition. He also brought out vines and all sorts of fruit trees from France, which he planted, and they appear to take root and prosper. Flax, hemp, peas, beans and all sorts of vegetables, were asserted to grow there as well as they did in the neighborhood of Paris. It only wanted good laborers to make the land prosper, it being incomparably superior to Quebec. The land was said to be more fertile, and the climate as good as that of Rochelle.

The inhabitants of Port Royal, having been encouraged by Bergier, fitted out six small craft for the fishery. One Carter, of Salem, who had been licensed by M. de la Vallière, for 50 livres, the year before, induced some English buccaneers to capture the six fishing vessels of Port Royal, which deprived the people of that settlement of any opportunity of carrying on the fishery, unless they went to Canso for the purpose. Carter, playing the part of a fisherman, came to Canso along with the buccaneers; and having been entertained at dinner at Chedabouctou by M. Bergier, he requested his permission to fish on the coast of Acadie. This request Bergier refused to grant. Carter then asked leave to pay a visit to the captains of four French vessels in the port, whom he had known the year before; which Bergier agreed to, not distrusting anything. The buccaneers found the French fort and vessels on the alert, and they withdrew under cover of night. Bergier sent a vessel to Boston to complain to the governor there of Carter, as the author of the capture of the six fishing vessels of Port Royal, and of the capture of the dwelling of the sieur de la Castine at Pentagoët. Meanwhile Bergier discovered an Englishman named Gerner Tailer, (Jemmy Tailer?) of Boston, an accomplice of the buccaneers, who had been with them at the capture of the six fishing vessels of Port Royal, acting for them as their pilot, as was authenticated by the attestations of the owners of the fishing vessels. This man, Tailer, had been kept in irons by Bergier in his fort since the 27 July last, until he could send him to Quebec, to be tried by de la Barre, the

The Publisher takes this method of returning his thanks to the Press of the Province for their kind notices of the first number of this work.

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PROSPECTUS.

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*In the Press, and to be Published in Monthly Numbers of
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A HISTORY OF Nova-Scotia or Acadie,

BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, Esquire, Barrister at Law, Q.C.

This work, on which the author has been engaged since 1860, will contain a full account of the early French adventurers in this country,—their mutual contests,—the wars with the English, the circumstances of the conquest,—the settlement of Halifax,—the Indian wars,—the attempts at re-conquest and the particulars of the final expulsion of the French inhabitants.

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The writer was induced to undertake this work, by observing the success of the Record Commission of Nova Scotia, in collecting a mass of manuscripts which contain information that was before wholly inaccessible, regarding the early events in this country. Among these are the correspondence of the French governors with the ministry at Paris, copies of which were procured from Canada, and the correspondence of the British governors with the Secretaries of State, &c., obtained from the State paper offices in London.

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HALIFAX, March, 1865.

HISTORY
of
NOVA SCOTIA

A CADDIE.



By BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE. Q.C.

WE BLOOM
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THE SNOWS

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PROVINCE OF NOVA-SCOTIA:

Be it remembered, That on this Thirteenth day of March, 1865, BEAMISH MURDOCH, of the City of Halifax, Esquire, has deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the Copyright of which he claims in the words following:—
“A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA OR ACADIE, BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE, Q. C.

JAS. H. THORNE,
Deputy Secretary.

governor general, and DeMeules, the intendant. The buccan-
eers threatened to return and give no quarter, if anything
were done to the English. Bergier had left his two boys in
charge of the fort, and had gone back to France to request the
assistance of some small man-of-war. If the king will give
them a small frigate of ten or twelve guns to cruise on the
coast, Bergier and his associates offer to furnish all sailors,
provisions and expenses, for four years, without calling on
government for anything. As this will be expensive, Bergier,
on behalf of his company, asks for authority to capture and
confiscate all English vessels trading, fishing or taking coal
on the coasts of Acadie, or the alternative of imposing a tax
or duty on them, as Vallière has done. The day before he
left, there were six English vessels in Canso, four going to
fish, and two about to go to the Magdalen islands, to build
and settle there, whom he forbade, and sent on people to hin-
der them. He says La Vallière, for whom the commission of
governor of Acadie has been requested, is a poor man—who
has a settlement of eight or ten persons, and who gave up the
country to the English for wherewithal to subsist on, and has
not power to carry out the king's orders, while the company
is powerful, &c. This representation is among the Paris
manuscripts.

In another memorial of this period it is said that la Vallière
has but a small settlement of eight or ten men near the river
St. John,——that he encouraged the English to fish on the
coasts,——that he was hated by the Indians, whom he con-
stantly robbed, and who are disposed to assassinate him, and
would have done so last summer, but for Bergier,——that
la Vallière has no power to enforce the king's authority, and
he has shown great jealousy of the company's operations.
The Indians, and the merchants and shipmasters of Rochelle,
have petitioned against him. The advantages of Chedabouc-
tou, as a centre of trade and fishery, are pointed out. The Eng-
lish are said to injure the fishery by throwing the heads and
entrails of fish overboard, which the French carefully avoid
doing. Good timber and masts can be obtained in the coun-
try.—Elsewhere Vallière is said to receive five piastres per

yacht from the English for a license to fish. He is said also to threaten the Indians that he will hang them, and that he imposes on them. Bergier's company ask for the frigate la Friponne, of 130 tons, to guard the coast, and offer to pay her expenses. They also offer to carry on trade with the West Indies. Quebec traders could call there. It is 200 leagues nearer to France than Quebec is.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIX.

(1.)

The effect of the representations of Bergier is seen in a Royal order 10 April, 1684, forbidding LaVallière to act as commandant in Acadie, or to grant fishing licenses to foreigners, under 3000 livres fine and damages to Bergier's association. Bergier is commissioned as lieutenant du Roi, in Acadie, under sieur Perrot the governor, 14 April, 1684. This is registered at Rochelle, and also at Port Royal. Bergier writes an order, dated Lahève, 15 July, 1684, directed to Michel Boudrot, *lieutenant civil et criminel* (judge) at Port Royal, and to *Mius, sieur d'Entremont, procureur du roi*, (attorney general), there to register it. Claude Petitpas, *greffier*, (secretary), certifies, 20 July, 1684. [*Paris mss.*]

(2.)

29 Nov., 1684, a commission as counsellor and lieutenant general, *pour la siege ordinaire de l'Acadie*, in favor of M. Desgoutin, is registered, (judge's commission.) ' *Edits, &c.*, Quebec, 1803, v. 2. p. 31, *table*.

(3.)

A grant was made by de laBarre, governor, and de Meules, intendant of Canada, to Jean Martel, of the place called Mageas (*Machias*) 23 leagues from Port Royal, 2 leagues in front and three leagues in depth, with the isles, &c.

(4.)

April 1684, the king grants by patent, at Versailles, to Bergier, Gautier, &c., all the lands and islands on the coasts of Acadie from Cape Canceau to the bay of All Islands.

(5.)

From Ferland's Canada, v. 1, p. 280. "Several families came a little while" "after M. de Montmagny, among them were those of the Sieurs de Repentigny" "and de la Potherie, both numerous and to be of influence in the future."

Relation of 1636. "These two noble families of Normandy included 45 persons." "Pierre le Gardeur de Repentigny brought with him his wife, his mother, his " brother Charles le Gardeur de Tilly, his sisters, and several children. They " were of Thury sur Orne. The sieur le Neuf de la Potherie had also with him " his mother, and his brother the Sieur Michel le Neuf du Herisson. The " family of le Neuf was of Caën. Some of the descendants of the *Sieur de la* " "*Potherie* served in Acadie, under the names of la Vallière and Beaubassin."

(6.)

1. *Grant* date 20 Sept., 1684, by de la Barre and de Meules, to Louis d'Amours, sieur des Chauffours, of the river Richibouctou, one league of land on the s. w. side and as far as three leagues beyond the rivers Chibouctouche, on the other side, with the isles adjacent, &c., in fief and seigneurie, to be called de Chauffours. 2. *Grant* of same date to Renè d'Amours, Sieur de Clignancourt, on the river St. John, from Medoctec to the *longue sault*, two leagues in depth on each side, fief et Seigneurie of de Clignancourt. 3. *Grant* 28 June, 1684, to Jean Sarreau de St. Aubin, of five leagues in front, on the sea shore, and 5 leagues in depth in land at a place called Pascomady, (Passamaquoddi?) and its environs, with the isles and islets in front of that extent, also an islet of rocks about 6 leagues off for seal fishery, also the island called Archimagan, and the islets for two leagues round it. 4. *Grant* to Mathieu d'Amours, esquire, in 1684, of the land along the river St. John, between Gemisick and Nachouac, two leagues deep on each side of the river, &c.

CHAPTER XX.

IN 1685, the fort and dwelling of St. Louis, at Chedabouctou, consisted of two buildings, sixty feet in front by twenty feet in depth. There were thirty-three persons resident, having provisions for a year. They had four cannon, besides fusils, pistols and halberts ; 80 minots, equal to 240 bushels, of salt ; a bark of 30 tons ; fifteen shallops, and every thing requisite for the fishery. The Bergier company ask now for a frigate for two years, and a grant of the islands of cape Bréton, St. John, and the Magdalens. [*Paris mss.*]

The government of La Vallière now draws to a close. Bergier des Hormeaux sent a written complaint against him. Bergier shews that he having gone to the island of cape Bréton with three men, to receive there from several savages different furs which they owed to the company, and having received part of them, Beaubassin, La Vallière's son, entered his cabin at 3 o'clock in the morning, accompanied by six men, armed with fusils, with drawn swords and pistols cocked, crying, "kill, kill," and after having seized him and his people, who were lying down, he told them they were prisoners.—That having asked for his authority, he replied that he acted upon an order of M. de la Barre, which his father, La Vallière, held. That having also asked for the reading of the order, he refused it, threatening with frightful oaths to tie him and maltreat him, if he insisted further. Bergier, on this, sent off *Beauregard*, one of his three men who accompanied him, to go to M. de la Vallière, and tell him that he should complain of such treatment ; but seeing that this man did not come back, and

that they carried off everything he had in his cabin, without inventory or any form of process, he made his escape out of the hands of Beaubassin, with one of his men, and embarked in an Indian canoe, which he found near his cabin, in which he came to Chedabouctou, and concludes by stating what Beaubassin took from him. There is another statement made by an Indian captain named Negascouet, dated 22 May, 1685. He says that coming from Neguedchecouniedoche, his usual residence, to bring to Chedabouctou what he owes to the company of sedentary fishery of Acadie, he was met by the sieur de la Vallière, who took from him, by violence, seventy moose skins. (*peaux d'originaux*), sixty martins, four beaver, and two otter, without giving him any payment, or making any acknowledgment, and that this is not the first time the said La Vallière has acted so by him, and by several other Indians. [*Paris mss.*]

M. Perrot, who had been governor of Montreal since 1670, was, in 1684, transferred to Acadie, to be governor there. He had been originally nominated to the government of Montreal by the seminary of St. Sulpice there, he, Perrot, having married a niece of M. Talon, intendant of Canada. This office was confirmed to him by the king, but having got into discord with the seminary, he was removed to Acadie, where we find him in office in 1685. 2 *Charlevoix*, 190, 321. Writing to the minister in France, Perrot asks for himself the grant of Lahève, as a seigneurie, with a frontage of twelve leagues on the sea coast, beginning at port Rossignol, (Liverpool), on the west, and ten leagues in depth inland, with high, middle and low justice, all rights of fishing, trading and hunting, under the quit rent of a gold crown on each change of property. He also asks for fifty soldiers, (including fifteen seamen), with the thirty who were then in garrison, maintained at the king's expense; a corvette of ten guns, (eight and twelve pounders), a coast pilot and a missionary to be also supported. The cannon to be supplied for the fort, with the requisite ammunition and utensils of war; tools, to rebuild the fort; twelve barrels of tar, and 300 blocks, or pulleys, of all sizes. He requests permission to collect vagrants, and compel them to

settle in the country ; and that the soldiers be allowed to marry, giving them, as in Canada, fifty livres, or an equivalent. On these conditions, he offers to put the fort of Lahève in a state of defence, to build there a dwelling house, storehouses, cazernes and a guard house ; to erect a mill, settle a village, and collect inhabitants for the shore fishing by the advances he will make them. He will also take care that the inhabitants shall build a church. This place, he says, is most convenient for his purpose. It is within three days' communication with Port Royal and Mines, the most populous places in the country. He will buy the corn they raise, in order to excite them to the culture of the land. The fishery will produce great advantages to them. As the English of Boston cannot yet be dispensed with, he says it will not do to exclude them at once. They should be allowed to dry their fish on the French shores free of duty. It will only be necessary to oblige them to sell their fish on the spot for French goods, fixing the price of merchantable fish at six livres a quintal, and the refuse at three livres, or three livres ten sous. [*Paris mss.*] About this time Bergier's company reiterate their requests for a grant of the Magdalens, St. John and cape Bréton islands, for 20 years, to carry on the seal fishery.

1686. In May, 1686, the French king granted all these islands by patent to Gabriel Gautier, who seems to have been one of the partners.

M. de Meulles—Jacques de Meulles, knt., seigneur de la Source, the intendant of New France, visited Acadie in 1685 and 1686. He found all the French settlements there in a neglected and desolate state. On his return to Quebec, he wrote to the minister that the most useful establishment his majesty could make in America, was that of Acadie. While on this tour, he visited each of the settlements in person, and he caused a census to be prepared in the beginning of 1686, (a copy of which is among the Paris mss.) In this census the name, age and residence of every settler is to be found—the sex and number of his children—the quantity of cleared land he held—the number of his cattle, and the guns in each family's possession. The total population was 915, including 30

who were soldiers ; fusils, 222 ; horned cattle, 986 ; sheep, 759 ; swine, 608 ; cleared land, 896 arpens.

In this year, 1686, the daughters of M. d'Aulnay, who, by the death of their brother, killed in the king's service, were the heiresses of the father, petitioned the king for compensation. They stated that their father had spent seventeen years in Acadie—built there five fortresses, churches, two seminaries, established a mission, cleared land, sustained war against foreign sectaries, and expended 800,000 livres.

At this time there was at Ste. Croix a settlement of twenty persons. The baron St. Castine lived at Pentagoët, and traded with the Indians and with the English. The fort at Lahève had been long abandoned, and so had that of Pentagoët. It was urged on the government to build a tower and redoubt at the entrance of Port Royal basin, the cost estimated at 2000 crowns ; and to put up a redoubt, with palissades, at Port Royal itself ; to enclose the governor's lodgings, part of the barracks, storehouses, &c. Port Royal seems to have been now the only place in Acadie having the shadow of defence, the governor and thirty soldiers being resident there.

A treaty of peace between France and England was concluded at London 16 November, 1686, for North and South America. It contained 19 articles, among which was one that, though the two crowns should break their friendship in Europe, their respective colonies and subjects in America should remain in peace and neutrality.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XX.

(1.)

Bergier in July and August 1684, being on the Acadie coast in his vessel the *St Louis*, arrested eight English barks, called, the *Mary*, the *Adventure*, the *Swallow*, the *Rose*, the *Industry*, the *Lark*, the *Friendship*, and the *Industry*, for fishing and trading within the limits of his patent. He took out the fish and furs, and carried the masters to Rochelle, where they were interrogated by the officers of the Admiralty. Two were acquitted, having held licenses to fish from LaVallière,

and Bergier was adjudged to take them back and indemnify them : the other six were confiscated. [*E. and F. Commissaries, pp. 614-615.*]

(2.)

13 August, 1685. Richard Denis, as lieutenant for his father, Nicolas Denis, governor, &c., grants to the ecclesiastics of the Episcopal Seminary of foreign missions at Quebec, 3 leagues of land in front at Ristigouche, three leagues on the river Ste Croix, and three other leagues in the island of Cape Brèton, each to be also three leagues in depth, reserving right of building a store house and trading with the savages. The seminary is bound to have a mission, a church or chapel and a resident priest at each place, maintained at their expense. The exact location to be determined within ten years, to suit the convenience of the savages.

(3.)

In a petition of the "Compagnie de la pêche sédentaire de l'Acadie," without date, they ask for.

1. A grant of the Magdalen Islands, and the islands of St. John and Cape Brèton, for 20 years, to carry on the seal fishery. All vessels interfering to be confiscated and to pay 3000 livres penalty, half to the chapel of the Fort at Chedabouctou and half to the company. 2. An order to governor Perrot and lieutenant du roi Boulaye, to compel la Vallière, his son Beaubassin, his brother-in-law Richard Denis, and their consorts, to make restitution of goods and furs robbed by them from Bergier's son and the Indian captain Negascoet ; and if they disobey to send them prisoners to France, to answer for their conduct. 3. An order of reprisals on the L'Hirondelle, and her cargo of fish (or the proceeds) in the hands of Mr. Stukey, merchant at Rochelle, being English property owned by Boston merchants, for the barque Marie and cargo, belonging to the company, taken by the English at Cape Brèton. 4. The restitution of duty on beaver improperly exacted. [*Paris mss.*] In May 1686, letters patent were granted at Versailles by which the king gave to Gabriel Gautier, the island of Cape Breton, the island of St. John, and the Magdalen islands. [So it is recited in the *arrêt du conseil d'état du Roy*, of 20 May 1703.]

(4.)

Extracts from the census of M. de Meulles in 1686 :—

<i>At Port Royal</i> , 95 families—adults 197, boys 218, girls 177, total,	592
Thirty soldiers maintained there by the king,	30
	<hr/>
	622

Guns 75 ; horned cattle, 643 ; sheep, 627 ; swine, 351 ; cultivated lands 377 arpens, (arpent is nearly an acre.)

At Cape Sable, 15 souls ; 7 acres tilled ; 17 horned cattle ; 16 guns.

At Lahève and Mirliguaiche, 19 souls ; 3 acres tilled ; 1 pig ; 9 fusils.

At Bay of Mines, 57 souls ; 83 acres tilled ; 90 horned cattle ; 21 sheep ; 67 swine ; 20 guns.

River St. John, Pesmonquady, Megays and Pentagoët, 16 souls ; domestics not included.

Chignitou, called Beaubassin, 127 souls; 102 fusils; 426 acres tilled; 236 horned cattle; 111 sheep; 189 swine.

Miramichy, Chedabouctou, Nepisiguit and Isle Percée, 52 souls.

General summary of census of Acadie in 1686, settlers, 885; soldiers, 30; total souls, 915; fusils, 222; horned cattle, 986; sheep, 759; swine, 608; cleared land, 896 arpens.

At Port Royal, among others, are these families:—1. Le sieur Alexandre le Borgne, seigneur du lieu, (lord of the place) âgé de 43 ans, (aged 43 years,)—

		Born in	1643.
D'lle. Marie de St. Etienne, his wife,	aged 32,	"	1654.
Children,—Emmanuel,	" 11,	"	1675.
" Marie,	" 9,	"	1677.
" Alexandre,	" 7,	"	1679.
" Jeanne,	" 5,	"	1681.
Domestic, Etienne Aucher,	" 73,	"	1613.

(The ages of each are given in the census. I have added the years in which each person was born. This gentleman, Alexander le Borgne, was called M. de Belleisle. He was son of Emmanuel le Borgne, and his wife was the eldest daughter of Latour by madame D'aulnay. Belleisle was left as governor at Port Royal in 1668, by M. Grand-fontaine.)

2. Michel Boudrot, lieutenant-general of the jurisdiction of Port Royal, (which was a judicial, not a military office,) aged 85,

		Born in	1601.
Michel Aucoin, his wife,	" 65,	"	1621.
Children, Michel,	" 26,	"	1660.
" Francois,	" 20,	"	1666.

3. Philippe Mius, the sieur D'antremont, procureur dui Roi, (attorney-general,) aged 77 years, native of Normandy, died about 1700, the same gentleman who was major and deputy for Latour in 1653—

		Born in	1609.
His children, — Philip,	aged 24,	"	1662.
" Madelaine,	" 16,	"	1670.

4. Claude Petitpas, sieur de laFleur, greffier (sec'y,) aged 60, " 1626.

Catherine Bugaret, his wife, aged 46, " 1640.

Children,—Claude, " 23, " 1663.

" Jacques, " 19, " 1667.

" Marie, " 18, " 1668.

" Henriette, " 12, " 1674.

" Paul, " 11, " 1675.

" Charles, " 10, " 1676.

" Martin, " 9, " 1677.

" Pierre, " 5, " 1681.

" Anne, " 2, " 1684.

Mathieu Martin, 47 years. The same named in the census of 1671, as 35 years old, also in the deed of M. Belleisle in 1679, probably the same person who obtained in 1689 the grant of Cobequid, said to have been the first white person born in the colony. Born therefore in 1636 or in 1639.

The following are the surnames of the inhabitants of Port Royal, at this time:—Arsenault, Babin, Barillost, Bastarache, Bertran, Benoit, Brossard, Brun, Boure, Blanchard, Leblanc, le Borgne, Bourgeois, Boudrot, Bellivault, Brien, Commeaux,

Colson, Como, Corberon, Dupeux, Douaron, Dugas, Doucet, DeForest, Fardel, Gaudet, Garault, Guilbault, Guillaume, Goho, Girouard, Godet, Godin, Granger, Hebert, Henry, Lavoye, Landry, Lort, Leuron, Martin, Margery, Melansou, Muis, Pitre, Peltiet, Prijean, Pellerin, LePrince, LaPerriere, Petitpas, Rembault, Richard, Robichaud, (Marie Salé, 86 years years) Savoye, Terio, Toan, Tourangeau, Thibaudeau, Vincent.

We find by this census, at cape Sable :

Jacques la Tour, sieur de Etienne,	aged 25,	Born in 1661
Marie Melançon, his wife,	" 18,	" 1668
Charles de la Tour,	" 22,	" 1664
Jacques* Mius, sieur de Poubomcou,	" 27,	" 1659
Anne de St. Etienne, his wife,	" 22,	" 1664
Children—three boys.		
Abraham Muis, dit Plemarch,	" 24.	" 1662
(called also Pleinmarais),		
Marguerite de St. Etienne, his wife,	" 21,	" 1655
Children—Marguerite.	" 5,	" 1681
Charles,	" 3,	" 1683
Abraham Dugas,	" 23,	" 1663
Jeanne Guilbaude, his wife,	" 18,	" 1668
La Liberte, le neigre.		

Sum.—15 souls, 16 fusils, 7 acres tilled, 17 horned cattle.

[Marie Muis, apparently daughter of either Poubomcou, or Pleinmarais, was the wife of M. Duvivier, married in 1705. See Bonaventure's letter in that year ; also deed from Francois du Vivier, enseigne du vaisseau, et capitaine d'une franche compagnie, &c., in 1707, in the register book of grants, deeds and wills, kept at Annapolis from 1731 to 1749. See also memorial of M. Duvivier in 1735 at that date.]

At LaHève and Mirliguaiche.

Surnames : Provost, Labal, at Petite rivière, Vesin, Martin le Jeune, and his wife Jeanne, an Indian woman, and two children. Michel, Gourdeaux, LaVerdure, Petitpas. Sum. : 19 souls, 9 fusils, 3 acres tilled, and 1 pig.

Bay of Mines.

Pierre Melançon,† called La Verdure,	aged 54,	Born in 1632
Marie Muis d'Antremon, his wife,	" 36,	" 1650
(probably married in 1685).		

And nine children, from 20 years to one day old.

Surnames : Aucoin, de la Boue, la Roche, Pinet, Terio, Rivet, Boudrot, Hebert, Landry.

Sum. : 57 souls, 20 guns, 83 acres tilled, horned cattle 90, sheep 21, swine 67.

* He had in 1707 four sons and five daughters. See de Goutin's letter. He was son of major Philippe D'Antremont.

† Mentioned in December, 1705, as very poor, owing to the English invasion, &c. See the name of La Verdure in the marriage settlement of 1653, and surrender of 1654. Also in M. de Brouillan's letters, 1702 & 1703. In 1723 a deed from François le Claire dit La Verdure, of Annapolis, registered there.

River St. John, Pesmonquady, Megays and Pentagoët.

Martin d'Aprenstigué, aged 70, Born in 1616.

Jeanne de laTour, his wife " 60, " 1626.

(said to be a daughter of Charles de laTour.)

Le sieur Louis d'Amours de Chauffours, aged 32, " 1654.

Marguerite Guyon, his wife.

Le sieur Mathieu d'Amours de Freneuse, " 28, " 1658.

Louise Guyon, his wife.

René d'Amours de Clignancourt.

Bernard d'Amours de Plenne received a grant of the river Kanibecachiche 20 June, 1695. He was married to Jeanne le Borgne; and his son, Alexander Francis was born 28 Oct. 1702; baptized by F. Felix Pain, Recollet, at Port Royal.

(The d'Amours were originally from Bretagne. [*Rameau*, p. 145.] Louis d'Amours, from Paris, is among the immigrants to Canada, between 1641 and 1666. [*1 Ferland, Canada*, p. 511.]

Megays (Machias) Martel, Dubreuil. and some domestics.

Pentagoët, la sieur de St. Castin, and several valets.

Sum. : along all this coast, without counting the domestics of each of those seigneurs, there are 16 souls.

(There was a fort and dwelling at Pentagoët, first erected by M. d'Aulnay de Charnisay. Grand-fontaine and Chambly were afterwards there, and all was abandoned after the invasion of 1665.]

Chignitou, called Beaubassin.

Michel le Neuf, sieur de la Vallière, seigneur of Beaubassin, aged 45,

Born in 1641

His children :	Age.	Born.	His domestics :	Age.	Born.
Alexander,	20	1666	François Leger,	55	1631
Jacques,	17	1669	Gabriel,	20	1666
Marie Joseph,	15	1671	Michel l'Arché,	22	1664
Jean Baptiste,	12	1674	Marie Lagassé,	16	1670
Judith,	10	1676	M, Pertuis, armourer.		
Michel,	8	1678	Fusils 70, tilled acres 60.		
Marguerite,	6	1680	Horned Cattle, 19.		
Barbe,	4	1682	Sheep 22, swine 12.		

Surnames at Chignitou :

Mirande, LaBarre, Girouer, Morin, Mignault, Bourgeois, Cochin, Poirier, Cottard, Mercier, Quessy, Laval, Lagassé, Blon, Cormier.

Sum of Beaubassin : 127 souls, 102 fusils, 426 acres tilled, 236 horned cattle, 111 sheep, 189 swine.

Miramichy :

The sieur Richard Denis de Fronsac, seigneur of Miramichy, and four or five valets.

Chedabouctou :

The sieur de la Boulais, lieutenant du Roi, and in a fort which is at the inner extremity (fond) of the bay, with fifteen or twenty domestics. In this place there are three or four inhabitants who have cleared land.

Nepisiguy :

Enaud, aged 35 ; his wife, who is a squaw, and three or four valets. He has turned the land to account, and raised cattle.

[Cooney, History of New Brunswick, pp. 30, 168, calls him Jean Jacques Enaud, a native of les Basques, near the Pyrenees, but thinks he came here in 1638 or 1644. He says he had a seigneurie in (what is now) Gloucester county, New Brunswick ; that he married a Mohawk woman of distinction, and was murdered by one of her brothers. That he was opulent, and lived in Absnaboo, or Coal Point, at the mouth of the Nipisiguit river.]

Isle Percée :

Boissel, wife and 8 children.

Lamotte, do. and 4 do.

Lepine, do. and 4 do.

Le Garçon and wife.

Sum. : 52 souls.

The English acre contains 160 square poles, at 16 1-2 feet each pole's length, or 43,560 square feet. The Norman acre 77,440 square feet, or 160 square perches of 22 feet long. The small arpent, formerly in use about Paris, contained 100 square perches, each perch being 18 feet long, or 32,400 royal feet square measure. The middling arpent contained 100 square perches, of 20 feet long, or 40,000 square feet. The great arpent, 100 perches of 22 feet long, or 48,400 square feet.

(5.)

A shipmaster from Piscataqua had carried a cargo of wine to Penobscot, and landed it there, conceiving it to be French territory. Palmer and West, being at the fort of Pemaquid, forcibly seized the wines, as if the country were under their jurisdiction. This act offended not only the French, but also the people of New England ; and the Boston government issued a circular to the fishermen and people of Maine and New Hampshire, warning them not to venture on the Eastern coasts in consequence. Barillon, the French ambassador, requested that one Phillippe Syuret, master of a vessel called the Jeanne, having sailed from Malaga for New France, with a cargo of merchandize on account of messrs. Nelson, Watkins and associates, and having delivered them according to the bills of lading to the sieur Vincent de Castine, merchant, settled at Pentagoët, situate in the province of Acadie ; the judge of Peniguide (Pemaquid), sent a vessel and seized the cargo of wine as contraband. On this claim of the ambassador, the wines were released. [See *Paris mss.*, and 1 *Hutchinson, Mass.*, 370.]

CHAPTER XXI.

1687. In 1687, the French fishing company had a fort and settlement at Chedabouctou, consisting of 150 residents, of whom 80 were fishermen.

M. Denonville was appointed governor of Canada in 1687.

M. de Menneval was appointed governor in place of M. Perrot. The king's instructions to Menneval are dated 5th April, 1687, and are to the following effect. The king blames previous governors for the slow progress of Acadie, and appoints Menneval in place of Perrot. His government is to extend from cape Gaspé to the river Kennebec. The christianising of the Indians is the king's chief object. He refers him to M. de St. Vallier, bishop of Quebec. The governor is to support religion and morals among the settlers. Litigation exists. A blank commission is given, which Menneval is to fill up with an honest judge. He is also empowered to appoint a *procureur du roi*, and a *greffier*, (attorney general and clerk of court.) The people are not to be allowed to go into the woods trading. The Indians are to be dealt with in trade, kindly and honestly. Special licenses, however, may be given for such trading expeditions. The disorderly conduct of parties claiming large grants is referred to. Menneval is to repress this, and may send the offenders to France. Idleness and debauchery are to be discountenanced. The fishery company at Chedabouctou are to be looked after, that they may deal fairly with the fishermen. Foreigners are to be prevented from fishing and trading with the French or Indians. Refers to treaty of Breda of 31 July, 1667, and the treaty of neutrality

of London of 16 November, 1686, article 9, and forbidding such trade. The liberty of fishing, granted to the English by former governors, has been injurious. Menneval is not to suffer it, nor the sale of furs to the English. He is to prevent the English from encroaching beyond the Kennebec. The king has ordered the frigate 'la Friponne,' *Beauregard* commander, to enforce this and the treaty of Breda. All foreign vessels coming on the coast to fish, after proclamation, to be confiscated. Thirty soldiers to be sent out in addition to thirty previously sent, to be commanded by the sieur Durs de Boulaye, lieutenant du roi, under governor Menneval.—He is to order Perrot back to France.—Menneval is to reside at Port Royal.—The fort at Port Royal is to be rebuilt; four thousand livres is sent by M. Gorgas, *ecrivain principal*, for that purpose. Tools, &c., are sent in the *Friponne*. The fort is not to be revetted with masonry, but to be an earth fort, with fascines and turf. Soldiers and inhabitants to be employed on the fort. Menneval may change the site of the fort, if necessary. He is to take great care of the arms, powder, ammunition and tools.—Castine is to be coerced from his vagabond life and trade with the Indians, &c., and his illicit trade with the English, which he alone follows, and to be urged to pursue a line of conduct more becoming a nobleman.

1688. Sieur de Goutins, appointed by the king, judge, and *ecrivain du roi* in Acadie, had his instructions dated 10 April, 1688. He was to prevent law suits as far as possible—to act in concert with governor Menneval—to settle all differences amicably, not to pass sentences unless where it was necessary to the safety and peace of families, and to discourage appeals to Quebec, as ruinous to suitors. He, de Goutins, is to relieve M. de Gargas as *ecrivain principal*. Gargas is to hand him his account of money received for pay of troops and for fortifications. This account is to be examined in presence of Menneval before Gargas leaves. De Goutins, as *ecrivain*, is to see that economy is used, and that the contracts for works are duly fulfilled. He is to inquire and report on the nature of the lands, fishery, &c. He is annually to send exact accounts

of the pay of the troops and the cost of fortifications. He is also to prepare and transmit annually a census of the colony, of which a model is given him.

30 April, 1688, the demoiselle Marie de Menou, daughter and heiress of M. d'Aulnay de Charnisay, and canoness of Poussay, made a donation of Port Royal to her brothers and sisters, before Tardiveaux, notary, which gift was confirmed by her last will made in 1691. The *legataires* were her half brothers and sisters, children of Latour and madame d'Aulnay. About this time, baron Castine was notified by the government of New England to surrender Pentagoët, and wrote to Denonville, the governor of Canada, 9 July, 1687, complaining of his position. In March or April, 1688, Sir Edmond Andros, the governor of New England, embarked at Pemaquid, in the frigate *Rose*, captain George, and, sailing along the coast, arrived at Pentagoët, (Penobscot.) As soon as the frigate was conveniently anchored in the harbor, near the old fort and the dwelling of Castine, the lieutenant was sent ashore by captain George, and had a conversation with the baron. Castine, on notice of the governor's coming, retired with all his people, and left his house shut up, possibly for his personal liberty. [*Hutch. Collections*, 562.] The governor landed with other gentlemen of his party. They went in to Castine's house, and found a small altar in the common room; which altar and some pictures, and ordinary ornaments, they left uninjured, but they took away all his arms, powder, shot, iron kettles and some trucking cloath, and his chairs; which were put on board the frigate, and laid up, in order to a condemnation for trading, in the fort at Pemaquid. Notice was verbally given to an Indian sachem, that if Castine would ask for his goods at Pemaquid, and come under obedience to the king of England, they would be restored. Andros had with him carpenters, and boards, nails, and all necessary stores to repair the old fort, and fit it to receive a garrison; but finding that it had originally been built for the most part of stone and turf, and was quite a ruin, he concluded to do nothing to it, and abandoned it. Castine naturally resented the pillage of his place; and as he had great influence among the Indians,

it was supposed to be owing to him, that the eastern Indians killed some of the inhabitants, as asserted, and destroyed their cattle. In retaliation, Andros raised seven or eight hundred men by impressment, and pursued the Indians in the first part of the winter, but without avail. Having built two small forts on the boundaries at Pejypscot falls, and Sheepscote, he returned to Boston. [1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 371.]

There were two brothers, both missionaries, named Bigot; their family were barons Bigot. Vincent Bigot was the elder and James Bigot the younger. Vincent, the elder brother, resided in a wigwam at the village of St. François, in Canada, and often went among the Abenakis. In 1688 Vincent was at Penobscot, for the purpose of gathering the savages into a new village on the lands of the king of France, and to guard them against the efforts of the governor Andros to draw them to the English. M. Denonville, in a memoir addressed to the minister of marine, says that he owed to the missionaries, particularly to the two fathers Bigot, the good intelligence he had preserved with the Abenakis, and the success they had met with in their expedition against the English. [1 *Maine Historical Society's Collections*, pp. 328, 329.]

During this year, 1688, a Portuguese vessel was taken by pirates. They robbed her of above 3700 Spanish hides, threw the men and £2000 worth of goods overboard, and went into port a Bear, (between Liverpool and Shelburne), on the coast of Nova Scotia. One Glanville, in a ketch, carried thence the hides to Boston. [See Randolph's letters, May, 1689.]

1689. The revolution in England deprived James the 2d of the throne of the British islands, and placed his daughter Mary, and her husband William the third, the Prince of Orange, in his stead as king and queen. This led to a new war between the crowns of France and England. The war was declared in England 7 May, 1689, and at Boston 7 December, 1689. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, 595.] The Bostonians arrested Sir Edmund Andros the governor, and several of his chief councillors and officers. [1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 372.] At this time the whole population of New France amounted to 11,249

souls. Acadie is stated in a census of this year at 803. The Indians were not counted in these early enumerations.

It is a subject of grave reflection, that after 84 years had elapsed from the founding of Port Royal in 1605, and notwithstanding the expense of money and all the exertions of DeMonts, Poutrincourt, Latour, Denis, and others, men highly qualified for the task of colonization, the results should be so trifling. Many of the settlements were now desolate and abandoned, and none of them prosperous. Nearly forty years before, d'Aulnay had besieged St. John with a flotilla and 500 men, and the defenders had been probably numerous. The contests and discords of ambitious leaders contributed doubtless to this unfavorable state of things, but the incessant interferences and invasions which the English at Boston carried on, must be considered as the chief causes of retarding the progress of French settlement in Acadie.

In August, 1689, the English fort at Pemaquid, then garrisoned by fifteen men only, under captain Weems, was taken by the Indians, who spared the lives of the captain and six men. There was a large rock near this fort, from which the Indians galled the garrison so much as to compel them to capitulate. The Indians have been charged with breaking faith in killing and making prisoners of the men after the surrender. Thury, a jesuit missionary, is said to have excited the Indians to this attack, by a harangue he made them at his chapel. Matakawando was engaged in this affair. The work was afterwards extended, so as to take in this rock and remedy the defect, [1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 396. 1 *Williamson, Maine*, 612. 1 *Maine Hist. Soc. Collections*, 330. *Paris mss.*]

M. des Goutins, who acted in the two capacities of a judge and of *écrivain du roi*, which latter office gave him charge of military stores and monies, &c., wrote a letter to the minister, dated 2 Sept., 1689. In this he refers to his former letters of 23 September, 1688, by the frigate la Friponne. He complains of the governor, Menneval; accuses him of diverting litigant parties from his tribunal, and sending them for justice to Canada. Says that five or six families have been thus ruined by the expenses. Champigny, the intendant, wrote to

disapprove of this, but Menneval persisted, and told the inhabitants not to recognize des Goutins as judge. He, Menneval, threatened the people—had them beaten, and imprisoned in a cellar half full of water, on slight pretences. He charges Menneval and the priests with encouraging the English to come trading to Port Royal. That he got letters written to the English on his behalf, by du Breuil, whom he had made procureur du Roi, who was here in the service of messrs. Perrot and Villebon, and who is now his man of business. The English now trade here openly. They come ashore with goods at night, and the sentinels are forbidden to cry “*Qui va là,*” (who goes there?) The goods are carried to the dwellings of the priests. After a while, Menneval got the people to sign a request to him to admit the English to trade, on the ground of the necessities of the country. Menaces, tricks and cajolery were used to procure signatures. On des Goutin’s remonstrating, Menneval gave him bad language—too bad to be written to my lord.—Five English vessels had arrived on 14 Nov., 1688, 18 Feb’y., 9 April, 10 May, and 13 June, 1689, respectively, and if duly proceeded against for illicit trading, 40,000 livres would have been realized by their confiscation. The priests have great correspondence with Boston. Menneval and they profit by this. The Bostonians will take nothing in payment but French money, except beaver and other furs. He complains of Trouvé, a priest, having caused the banishment of a family of nineteen persons, and of Menneval having ordered him to pay two cadets, “sons of the sieur de la Vallière, one of whom had a quarrel” “with a drummer of the garrison, and in a duel with him,” “Fronsac, one of these cadets received a sword wound in” “the body.” At this time the sieur de la Mothe Cadillac prays for a confirmation of his grant in Acadie, proposing to make a considerable settlement.

From a letter of M. de Menneval to the marquis de Seignelay, (minister of the marine and colonies), dated 7th September, 1689. The king’s ships *l’Ambuscade* and *le Fourgon* arrived at Port Royal 5th October, 1688, with the company’s ship laden with goods and provisions. These

vessels captured six ketches and an English brigantine between Canseau and Port Royal, which were fishing and trading. Two of these were carried away by M. de la Caffinière, commander of the ships, to serve in his expedition; another was given to the crews of all the ketches, (40 sailors), to take them back to Boston; the rest to remain in port, to abide orders.—The count de Frontenac sent an order to M. de Villebon, captain of one of the companies, to embark with de la Caffinière. His lieutenant, Portneuf, (his brother), has not yet come from Quebec, and the other (lieutenant) being at Chedabouctou, Menneval is without any officer, and is himself incommoded with the gout.—In another letter he says that the English had been some time in the bay of Fundy with four vessels, but the fogs prevented their landing. He expresses his fear of being taken. The fort is all open, and there are no cannon. Asks for more soldiers. He has only seventy at Port Royal, and twenty elsewhere in Acadie. He complains of des Goutins, the judge, for bad conduct. (The ministerial note on this passage suggests the recal of des Goutins, and names Dubreuil, procureur du roi, to be judge in his place.) Menneval says his pay as governor is only 1000 livres, (£50 currency), and his pay as captain of one of the companies has never been sent him. His provisions have been captured; one year by pirates, (forbans), and the next by privateers, (corsaires.) He asks leave to go to France for the winter, and to leave Villebon in charge. In the abstract, mention is made of de la Mothe Cadillac as a poor gentleman, who had been in the king's service, and had settled in Acadie, where he has a wife and children. Having especial knowledge of the coasts of North America, he had been taken in the squadron, and had come to France. He seeks some compensation for these services, and the means of returning to Acadie.

27 November, 1689, Lyman Bradstreet, governor at Boston, writes to Jacob Leisler, New York, that some New England people had been captured on the coast of Acadie by two French men-of-war, who reported that a squadron of twelve others intended to take Boston by surprise.

1690. De Menneval, in a *mémoire* of 1690, says he has to

oppose des Goutins in improper, self-interested proceedings, and that this led the latter to cabal against him, cross him in every thing, and act seditiously. That la Mothe Cadillac had helped to set him on. That des Goutins had been recommended by M. de Chevre, having been secretary to that nobleman's father, and that de Chevre is now sorry for it. That des Goutins married a *paysanne*, (countrywoman), in Acadie, and connected himself with *la course et le commerce dans les bois*, (the hunting and trading in the woods), with his father-in-law and two brothers-in-law, and in fomenting litigation.—Dubreuil, the procureur du Roi, is 45 years old, is of Paris, and an advocate. His mother has promised him 10,000 *écus*, if he makes a respectable marriage in Acadie. Menneval recommends him as judge. La Mothe Cadillac is called an adventurer, but his talents and capacity are praised.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXI.

(1.)

The commission of Menneval, as governor of Acadie, is dated 1 March. 1687, It is to be found in the 2d vol. Edits, &c., Quebec, 1803, p. 347.

(2.)

(Translated from the French original.)

We, Michael Bowdrot, lieutenant general in Acadie, with the ancient inhabitants of the country, do certify, that the late M. d'Aulnay Charnisay, formerly governor for the king in the coast of Acadie, caused to be built three forts on said coast, the first at Pentagoët, the second at the river St. John, and the third at Port Royal, which forts were well furnished with all the necessary cannon and ammunition, with three hundred men ordinarily to defend the aforesaid forts. We also certify that the said late sieur d'Aulnay Charnisay caused to be built two mills, one a watermill and the other a windmill; and the said late sieur caused to be constructed at Port Royal, five pinnaces and several shallops, and two small vessels of about 70 tons each, with two farms or manors, and the necessary buildings, as well dwelling houses as grange and cow houses; and also the late said sieur brought out from France, at his expense, several families, the most part of whom yet remain, whom he settled and forwarded at his own charge. We also likewise certify that the said late sieur undertook several other settlements, as

Lahève, Miscou, St. Anne, which enterprizes were begun and sustained for several years by the said late sieur d'Aulnay de Charnisay, at great expense and excessive charges, as appears yet at this day, although subsequently the English ruined the forts, took away the cannon, pillaged several of the inhabitants, having reduced the children of the said sieur de Charnisay and their mother to beggary, obliging them to retire to France without any succor, the late sieur de Charnisay having been drowned four years before in the river of Port Royal. All which is above we certify to be true, we having seen it. In faith of which we have signed at Port Royal, the fifth of October, one thousand six hundred and eighty-seven, in presence of M. de Menneval, governor for the king of all Acadie, and of M. Petit, grand vicar of his lordship (the Bishop) of Quebec, and Curé (rector) of the said place of Port Royal.

Thus signed :

M. BOUDROT, lieutenant-general.
FRANCOIS GAUNIZOT.
BOURGEOIS.
PIERRE MARTIN.
MATHIEU MARTIN.
CLAUDE TERIOT.
D'ENTREMONT, procureur du Roi.

With the marks of

ANTOINE LE BOURG,
PIERRE BOUET,
DENIS LE BLANC, and
ABRAHAM DUGAST.

And lower down is written :

I certify that the inhabitants who have signed above, are inhabitants of Port Royal, the day and year as above.

Signed at the end,

And lower down,

DE MENNEVAL.

PETIT, missionary priest,

Performing the functions of Curé at Port Royal.

Collated with the original document just now exhibited, by the undersigned counsellors of the king, notaries at the Chatelet of Paris, this day, the 27 December, 1688.

Signed,

HUCHE & TARDIVEAU.

(3.)

A grant, dated 23 July, 1688, was issued by Denonville de Brizay, governor, and de Champigny, intendant of New France, to the sieur de la Mothe Cadillac, of the place called Donaquek, near Megeis, (Machias), of two leagues in front on the sea, and two leagues deep inland, the island of Monts Deserts, and other isles, &c., in front. The river which equally divides the depth of the tract, is not included. Copy of brevet of confirmation, dated 24 May, 1689.

Extract from the New York Historical Magazine, November, 1860, page 341.

Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, lord of Bouaquat, (Donaquek), and Mount Desert, in Maine, was a native of Gascony. He held a commission of captain of marines, and had served in France before coming to Canada. Having resided

some time in Acadia, he returned to France in 1689, and obtained in 1691,* from Louis XIV., a grant of territory, from which he subsequently took his titles. On coming to Canada a second time, he succeeded M. de Louvigny in 1694 as commandant of Michilimackinac, which post he filled till 1697. In 1701 he was sent to lay the foundation of fort Pontchartrain, in the present city of Detroit, where he remained with his lady until 1706, when he left for Quebec. He returned to Detroit in the fall of the same year, and in 1707 marched against the Miamis, and reduced them to terms. In 1712 he was appointed governor of Louisiana, and arrived there in the month of June of the following year. He administered the government of Louisiana until the 9th March, 1717, when he returned to France. In 1691* he obtained a grant from Louis XIV. of Mount Desert Island. and of a large tract of land at Frenchman's bay, in the present State of Maine. In 1785 Madame Grégoire, his grand daughter, claimed the island, and she and her husband got a grant of it, (100 acres, settled, excepted), being about 80,000 acres, but seem to have profited little by it.

(4.)

On the 7 January, 1689, a grant was made by the sieur Marquis Denonville (de Brizay), governor, and Champigny, intendant, of New France, to Pierre Chesnet, ecuyer, sieur du Breuil, of two leagues in front on the river St. John, in the place called Kanibecachiche, and little Nakchouac, which is the middle of the grant, with the isles and islets in front, and three leagues in depth.

Signed,

J. R. DE BRISAY DE DENONVILLE.

J. BOCHART CHAMPIGNY.

DE FREDIN.

DU BREUIL, procureur du roi, (mentioned in Meneval's letter of 7 Sept., 1689, and memoir of 1690, recommending him for Judge.)

Collated by the notary, Hoppinot, 1699. Q. Loppinot ?

This grant is in full, in French, in the E. & F. Commissaries, pp. 769, 770.

(5.)

Grant confirmed by king Louis XIV., in Council, at Versailles, 14 July, 1690. See the decree confirming several grants, published in papers of Legislative Council of Canada, vol. XI., for 1852-3.

On the 28 March, 1689, Denonville and Champigny grant to sieur Mathieu Martin the place called Cocobeguy, (Cobequid ?) which comprises all the head of the basin of Mines, two leagues deep on each side inland, to begin opposite the mouth of the river Chicabenacadi, (Shubenacadie ?) on the south side of the river crossing to the west-north-west. Confirmed by royal brevêt, 16 March, 1691.

(The count de Frontenac returned to Canada as governor this year, 1689.)

* This must be an error, as the grant was in 1688, confirmed in 1689.

CHAPTER XXII.

1690. Sir William Phips, who had been in England in 1688, returned to England in 1689, and was selected to command the expedition prepared at Boston to attack Port Royal. This squadron, which left Boston harbor on the 28 April, 1690, o. s., 9 May, n. s., consisted of a frigate of 40 guns, two sloops, one of 16 guns, the other of 8, and four ketches. The forces embarked consisted of 700 men and some boys.

Before describing the capture of Port Royal by this armament, we will go back to mention three parties sent out by count Frontenac in this year 1690 to make inroads upon the English settlements. For the account of these we are chiefly indebted to Charlevoix, vol. 3, pp. 63-79. 1. The first was collected at Montreal, and consisted of one hundred and ten men, French and Indians, under the command of messieurs d'Aillebout de Mantet, and Le Moyne de Sainte Helene, both lieutenants; under whom messrs. de Repentigny, d'Iberville, de Bonrepos, de la Brosse, and de Montigni, served as volunteers. This party, after many days' march in severe winter weather, surprised a village in the province of New York, called Corlar or Schenectady. The attack took place on the 8th of February, 1690, at night, and much slaughter and destruction occurred. 2. The second party was formed at Trois Rivieres, and consisted of fifty-two men, of whom twenty-five were Indians. Monsieur Hertel commanded, and he had with him three of his sons and two nephews, viz., le sieur Crevier, seigneur of St. Francis, and the sieur Gatineau. They left on 28 January, and found their way, 18 March, to Salmon falls, called Newichawannock, or Berwick, a settlement on the river which divides

New Hampshire from Maine. The Indians were under Hoop-hood, a noted warrior. The attack was made at daybreak. Thirty of the villagers were killed, and fifty-two made prisoners. The place was burnt and the cattle destroyed. 3. The third party came from Quebec, under the command of M. Portneuf, a lieutenant, third son of the baron de Bekancourt. (Menneval, the governor of Acadie, was captain.) This company, which had been in Acadie, was placed under Portneuf, together with some Canadians, and sixty Abenakis of the sault de la Chaudière. Tilli de Courtemanche served as lieutenant to Portneuf. This party left Quebec the same day that Hertel's party left Trois Rivières, viz., 28 January. The scarcity of provisions at Quebec prevented this party from carrying much food, so they had to subsist on the produce of the chase in their route; and this caused much delay, so that they did not arrive near the English settlements until late in May. Castine and Mockawando commanded the Indians, and Hertel and his party joined Portneuf. The united force attacked the fort and settlement of the English, called Falmouth, at Casco bay. Besides Loyal fort, which had eight guns, there were three smaller forts or redoubts, and the garrison sent out fifty men to combat the besiegers, but without success. Trenches were dug, tar barrels prepared to set fire to the wooden buildings and palissades, and the Indians scaled the fort. At length, after a severe struggle on both sides, on the 28th May, the garrison surrendered as prisoners, of war, to the number of seventy men, besides the women and children. Four vessels, coming to relieve the place, arrived too late. The guns were carried off, and the houses burned for two leagues around. The cruelties and horrors which attended this warfare are conspicuous in the histories of Charlevoix and Williamson, and some striking instances of savage torture are given in Belknap's *New Hampshire*, v. 1., p. 259. In these wars between the French and English, the Indians played an important part as allies or principals. The mischiefs of war were thus increased, and the national hatred and prejudice were constantly kept alive from 1660 to 1760. It is to be observed that much fighting occurred in North America while the two

crowns were at peace, perhaps as much as when they were in open war. In such cases the Indians in the French interest ostensibly acted against the English, but they were excited and assisted by the French in their attacks, and French officers from Canada used to put on the Indian dress and fight with them. Independently, therefore, of the capture of the seven English vessels by la Caffinière in 1689, which Menneval apprehended might bring on attack upon Port Royal, the three expeditions which had been fitted out with such exertions in Canada, followed by devastations on the New England frontiers, and accompanied by the terrors of Indian border wars, were more than sufficient to call into activity the best powers of the English settlers, against neighbors who had so palpably violated the treaty of neutrality. The heroism of the young Canadian officers and gentlemen unfortunately led them to take part, in surprizes and night attacks of isolated settlements and dwellings, or of the small forts and blockhouses, erected chiefly to protect the outlying settlers against the Indian enemy; and however gallant their marches in winter over the desolate wildernesses, with deficient supplies of provisions, and their other achievements in border warfare may have been thought, their tendency was to impress on the minds of the English in America, a permanent and fixed dislike and a deeply seated resentment, which, in the course of time, brought to pass the final destruction of the French power on this continent.

At the time that the squadron commanded by Sir William Phips was sent to Port Royal, that is in April and May, 1690, M. de Menneval, the governor of Acadie, was resident there, having with him a garrison of eighty-six men. There were also eighteen cannon, but they were not placed in battery. The fortifications were insignificant and unfinished, and the place was wanting in almost every thing requisite to its defence.—M. Perrot, the late governor, was yet in the country, attending to his private affairs. A soldier and two inhabitants who were on guard at the entrance of the basin of Port Royal, perceived the English vessels under full sail, making in. They immediately fired off a small mortar,

(boëte), which was the appointed signal to apprise the governor, and they then embarked quickly in a canoe. They arrived at the fort about eleven o'clock at night, and upon hearing their report, M. de Menneval at once ordered a cannon to be discharged to notify the inhabitants that they were to come in to his aid. On the 20th May, the English squadron anchored within half a league of Port Royal ; and Phips sent one of his sloops to the fort, with a trumpeter, to summon the governor to surrender the place to him, with all that was in it, without any capitulation. Menneval retained the trumpeter ; and, for want of an officer, sent M. Petit (a priest of the seminary of Quebec, who acted as his almoner, and whose name is signed in 1687 as acting curé of Port Royal) to the English commander, to endeavor to obtain at least tolerable conditions ;—for he at once understood how useless it would be to attempt a defence with so small a garrison, without a single officer, and not being able to depend upon the inhabitants, three of whom only had come in upon his signal. Besides he had absolutely no one to mount his guns or to work them. He had himself been for two months past severely afflicted with gout, and he was assured that the enemy had eight hundred men they could land.

Sir William Phips at first insisted that the governor, garrison and inhabitants should yield at his discretion, and Petit replied that de Menneval would die first, rather than so act the coward. Phips then inquired what terms were sought for. Petit proposed : 1. That the governor and soldiers should go out with their arms and baggage, and be sent to Quebec by water. 2. That the inhabitants should remain in peaceable possession of their property, and that the honor of the females should be protected. 3. That they should have the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and that the church should not be injured. Sir William Phips readily agreed to these conditions ; but the priest having requested that they should be committed to writing, he refused to do so, saying that his word passed as general was worth more than all the writings in the world. Petit urged his request, but in vain, and had to return with these offers. Menneval, in conse-

quence, wrote to Sir William Phips, saying that he acquiesced in what had been agreed on, and that if Sir William would send his sloop next day, he would give him a convincing proof of the frankness of his dealings, by going on board the English ship himself. Menneval went on board accordingly, and the terms of capitulation were confirmed orally, in the presence of the sieur des Goutins, *écrivain du Roy*, holding the office of *commissaire ordonnateur* at Port Royal. The English commander added that he left it to the choice of M. de Menneval to be taken with all his garrison to France or to Quebec. The governor stated that he would prefer going to France, and Phips promised to have him sent there. All being thus settled, Menneval and Phips landed, and the former delivered to the latter the keys of the fort. At sight of the state of the place, Phips appeared much surprized, and he was sorry he had granted terms so honorable to people who were so little able to make a defence; but he concealed his discontent, until he could find a pretext for violating a capitulation, which he conceived had been unfairly obtained.

Accordingly, having learned, that while the governor was on board his vessel, some soldiers and inhabitants, who were intoxicated, had taken some articles out of a storehouse belonging to M. Perrot, the late governor, he declared that the property removed, being now that of the king, his master, he conceived the capitulation was broken, and he was no longer bound by its engagements. He began by disarming the French soldiers, and he shut them up in the church. He even demanded their swords from messrs. de Menneval and des Goutins, which, however, he returned to them immediately, giving them notice, however, that they were prisoners. He gave de Menneval his own lodgings for his prison, and placed a sentry over him. He even took from him his money and effects. Next he allowed the pillage of the settlement, as he said the inhabitants had hid their best articles. Even the priest's dwelling and the church were not spared. [3 *Charlevoix*, 96 to 100.]

Sir William Phips remained at Port Royal about ten or twelve days after the surrender. Before he left, he assembled

such of the inhabitants as he could get together, and made them take an oath of fidelity to William and Mary, then the sovereigns of England. He appointed his first serjeant, whose name was Chevalier, to be commandant of Port Royal, and he named six of the principal inhabitants councillors, to execute justice. Phips carried off as prisoners, M. de Menneval, the governor, one serjeant and thirty-eight soldiers ; also messrs. Petit and Trouvé, ecclesiastics. He also brought back with him to Boston a quantity of plunder. Encouraged by this success, the New Englanders sent Sir William Phips to Quebec, with thirty vessels and two thousand men, where he arrived in autumn, but wholly failed in his attempts at conquest there.

At the time of Phips' visit to Port Royal, M. Perrot, who had been governor before Menneval, and had remained in the province in a private capacity, was absent from the place, being, with M. Duclos, his clerk, on a trading voyage along the coast in a small vessel or ketch. On the 27 May, as they were on their way coming back to Port Royal, and not aware of the English having taken it, they were detained at the entrance of the bay by an adverse wind. Perrot missing the sentinel usually posted there, felt doubts if all were right, and he got into a canoe with M. d'Amours, a gentleman from Canada, having an Indian along with them, in order to learn what had occurred. After going three leagues up, he got sight of an English ship anchored in the river on which the town is built, and heard the firing of cannon and musketry. Perrot thought there must be fighting going on, so he concealed the canoe in the wood, and went by land to the nearest house and found it abandoned. Withdrawing promptly, he got into the canoe again, to reach his ketch, which he met in the basin. Two Englishmen had been sent to watch for this vessel, as her return from the coast had been expected, and they caught sight of her, and went in chase of her in a shallop ; but as it was ebb tide, the shallop, being too close in shore, grounded, and Perrot, though pursued again by another canoe, succeeded in reaching his ketch in safety, and, setting her sails, got out of the basin. The English ship which he had seen at

anchor in the river got under weigh to pursue him, but perceiving it would be useless, she returned to her former position. In the meantime M. Perrot got safe into Mines.

It seems at first, on being made acquainted with the small pains that were taken, and the very trifling expenditure allowed, for the protection of the French colonies in North America, that there was some strange and unaccountable want of information or culpable negligence attributable to the government of the *grand monarque*, Louis XIV., in thus leaving his transatlantic possessions to be overrun so often by a mere handful of New England colonists. It was the opinion of well informed persons that if Phips had proceeded without delay to attack Quebec on his arrival there with 2000 men, it must have fallen into his hands, and with it, of course, all Canada. The repeated captures of Port Royal, and other posts, by the expeditions from Boston, and the want of men and materials of defence against these raids, both before and after 1690, are very distinctly recorded in our old documents. All this was not owing to ignorance on the part of the ministry at Paris, as we find constant information on the geography, products and trade of the country regularly transmitted from these countries, by governors, officers and adventurers. The resources of the French crown were enormous at that period, as is evident from the grandeur and magnitude of the wars in Flanders, Germany and Italy, conducted at the expense of France, and from the magnificence and sumptuousness of the palaces and public edifices, as well as fortresses, that sprang up by a regal magic to illustrate and commemorate the reign of Louis le grand, and from the costly aid his government gave to art, science and literature. Why, then, we may well enquire, were the French colonists in America left so destitute of protection, when a few regiments and some few thousand crowns would have ensured them a life of peace and tranquillity, and enabled them to develop the great resources of the land and water that nature has bestowed on these regions. Observation and reflection will inform us that neglect of colonial interests was not peculiar in that age to the French nation. Colonies were regarded as valuable only in pro-

portion to the immediate commercial profits that attended them. England gave little direct encouragement to her settlements in New England. They had no armies in those days but those composed of settlers, who left their farm work temporarily. In Canada the population was much smaller, and the efforts at cultivation less than in New England, but the dominant idea of all the white population of that country was to engross the fur trade, and keep the English from participating in it. With this view, the friendship of the Indian tribes was sought by every means, and the French Canadian gentlemen hunted with them, and joined them in their forays upon the frontier settlements of the English. The governments in Europe—the merchants, whether of London or of Rochelle—the functionaries, civil and military, sent out to the colonies, were not disposed to expend money or exertions for so distant an object as the eventual cultivation and growth of American lands and population. Their joint efforts were directed with the distinct aim of increasing the returns to Europe in the shape of furs and fish. We now know that the nation which shall found colonies, and see them safe and prosperous, and filled with an intelligent and free population, will be richly rewarded in the great increase of her exports and manufactures, for which a permanent demand is thus created. But in the 17th century no such opinions or views as yet existed; and what little was done for defence by the respective mother countries, where it is not to be accounted for by the wish to protect commerce, will be found to have been owing to national jealousies and angry passions, rather than to a just and lasting propensity to provide for and protect their fellow citizens in a distant portion of the globe.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXII.

(1.)

Sir William Phips was born 2 Feb'y., 1650, at Woolwich, upon the Sheepscote river, (in the present state of Maine.) His father was James Phips, of Bristol, gunsmith. His mother had 26 children, of whom 21 were sons. He was one of

the youngest. His father died while he was yet a child. He remained with his mother until he was 18 years old, keeping sheep, it is said. He was thence an apprentice to a ship carpenter for four years. After this he set up trade on his own account, and built a ship at Sheepscoote. He had very small instruction in learning. He is said to have been taught to read and write at Boston. He was esteemed honest, but his temper was hasty. The Indian parties are said to have driven him away from the Sheepscoote, and he then adopted a seafaring life. In some of his voyages he heard that a Spanish ship, laden with silver, had been wrecked and sunk half a century before, not far from the Bahama islands. Having communicated this information to the duke of Albermarle, who was governor of Jamaica in 1687, they entered into an agreement for the purpose of recovering the lost treasure. (Phips is said to have been sent in 1683 in the English king's frigate, the 'Algier Rose,' fitted out for the discovery of another Spanish wreck near Port de la Plata, in Hispaniola, but to have returned to England unsuccessful.) In this voyage of 1687, Phips, after indefatigable efforts, found the Bahama wreck between 40 and 50 feet under water, and took from it the immense treasure of 34 tons of silver, besides gold, pearls and jewels. The value is stated at £300,000, and Phips' share of it at £16,000. Besides this, a golden cup, worth £1000, was presented to Phips' wife by the duke, his partner and patron. He was knighted on the occasion by king James 2. He was also named to be high sheriff of New England, but as he did not concur in political sentiments with Andros, then governor, he declined to act. Sir William Phips married a daughter of Roger Spencer, of Saco, a young widow. Her first husband was John Hull, merchant of Boston. Phips had no child. Spencer Phips was his nephew, and adopted son and heir, taking his name, afterwards lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. Sir William Phips was baptised in Boston in March, 1690, at the age of 40. He went to England after his return from Quebec in the latter part of the year 1690. He was made governor of Massachusetts in 1692, and returned to Boston with the new charter. He was imprudent enough to use personal violence to the collector of the customs at Boston, named Brenton, and captain Short, of the Nonsuch, frigate, and was recalled to England to answer for his conduct. He embarked for London 17 Nov., 1694, and died there 18 Feb'y., 1695, and was buried in St. Mary, Woolnoth church, London. It is said that his namesake, Sir Constantine Phips, was employed as his counsel in England to defend his conduct as governor. [*Cotton Mather's Magnalia, London, 1702, pp. 36-73.* 1 *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, 396, 397, note. 1 *Williamson's History of Maine*, 596, 597. *Douglas' Summary*, 475.]

(2.)

Menneval, Portneuf, Villebon, Neuville des Isles, (Tinville ?) appear to have belonged to the same family, being sons of the baron de Bekancourt, and to have been Canadians by birth. Many of them occupied a distinguished position in the military events of Acadie. M. de Longueil, M. de Maricourt, d'Iberville, Serigny, Chateaugué, St. Helene and Bienville, appear also to have been brothers and Canadians, sons of M. le Moyne. [3 *Charlevoix*, 12mo., pp. 75, 100, 216, 268, 278, 301, 378, years 1690 & 1694.] There is much difficulty in tracing such connections, as in noble families each son seems to have taken a different surname after some estate of the family.

(3.)

Captain Sylvanus Davis, (the commander of the fort at Falmouth taken by the Canadians and Indians, 29 May, 1690), the two daughters of his lieutenant who was killed in the siege, and several officers, were conducted to Quebec. They left the fort on the last of May, and reached Quebec by land 23 June. The other prisoners were left in the hands of the Indians. The French are stated to have had none killed on their side, and only two wounded, [3 *Charlevoix*, 63-79. 1 *Williamson, Maine*, 618, 623. 1 *Belknap's New Hampshire*, 257, &c.s.]

(4.)

Sir William Phips sailed for Quebec from Boston 9 August, 1690, o. s., 19 Aug., n. s., and reached Quebec 5 Oct., o. s., 15 Oct., n. s. He had 32 ships and tenders. The chief or admiral ship was called the Six Friends, of 44 guns and 200 men, Gregor Sugars, commander. Above 2000 men were on board this fleet. They were unpiloted, and having adverse winds, were three weeks after entering the river before they reached the island of Orleans. General Winthrop, who commanded the troops sent inland to co-operate with Phips, got no further than Wood Creek, near the southerly end of lake Champlain, when, being disappointed in supplies and means of transport, and also in the small number of his Indian allies, Iroquois, who joined him, he decided to return. When Phips arrived at Quebec, the general of the French was at Montreal, and according to Lahontan, who was in Canada at the time, "if the English admiral," (as he calls Phips), "had made his descent before our arrival at Quebec, or even two days after, he" "had carried the place without striking a blow, for at that time there was not" "200 French in the city, which lay open and exposed on all hands; but instead" "of doing that, he cast anchor towards the point of the island of Orleans, and" "lost three days in consulting with the captains of the ships, before they came" "to a resolution. He took the sieur Joliet, with his lady and his mother-in-law, in a barque in the river of Saint Lawrence. Three merchantmen from" "France, and one laden with beaver skins from Hudson's bay, entered the" "river of Saguenay, by the way of Tadoussac, where they skulked, and, after" "hauling their guns on shore, raised very good batteries. To be short, the officers of the enemy's fleet came to a resolution, after the loss of three or four" "days useless consultations, during which time we were joy'n'd on all hands" "by great numbers of inhabitants and soldiers." Phips summoned the place in due form, but Frontenac having now made it safe, rejected the demand with scorn, treating Phips and his troops as rebels to king James 2. The English landed 1400 men, under General Walley, 8 Oct., o. s., but they were attacked by Canadians and Indians, who lay ambushed in copses. The English lost 150 of their number, while of their opponents only 16 were killed. (By this time the small pox had got into the fleet.) Subsequently the English landed four field pieces and fought bravely, but unsuccessfully, and lost many of their soldiers. On the 18 and 19 October Phips tried to cannonade the town with four of his ships, but without much effect. The marshy and broken nature of the ground on which the fighting took place, and the cover of trees and bushes, gave the French and Indians very great advantages, of which Frontenac skilfully availed himself. A third action, in which the French were successful, decided Phips to give up his

undertaking. It rained heavily on the night between the 21 and 22 October, and the English left Beauport and went back to their ships. On the 23d and 24th the English fleet began to drop down the river, and an exchange of prisoners took place. Among others, M. Trouvé. M. Grandville, and mesdames Joliet and de la Lande, recovered their freedom. The English fleet met with great disasters in its return, and Sir William Phips did not himself reach Boston until the 19-29 November, 1690, whence he soon after sailed for England. [1 *Hutchinson*. 3 *Charlevoix*. *Magnalia*.]

(5.)

From a letter of M. de Lagny :

Paris, 21 February, 1690.

In waiting my lord's pleasure to regulate the affairs of Acadie, it seems necessary that the company should send, without delay, a vessel which it is preparing for Port Royal, with a part of the merchandizes, flour and bacon (*des farines et du lard*), for the subsistence of the soldiers, &c. My lord will also be good enough to give an order to the sieur de Villebon, captain of one of the two companies of infantry of Acadie, to take passage in this vessel, to go to the Canibats, (Indians of the Kennebec), and put himself at their head, if necessary, to oblige them to continue the war against the English of New England, as they did last year by the capture of Pemkuit, and by this means to make a diversion which may prevent the invasion of Port Royal, which is defenceless. My lord has had the goodness to cause a present to be made last year to the chiefs of these Canibats, which has cost 441 livres, and which has had a very good effect. It was thought necessary to send them yet the value of 500 to 600 livres. As they have need of powder and lead, which they can only procure from the French at present, being at war with the English, the company might be obliged to send about 1500 livres, making them furnish the king's stores, paying thereby for their trading with the Canibats. My lord ordered last year the sending of 50 fusils to Acadie, which has not been executed. Most of the soldiers are without arms. I could find guns if my lord wishes to send them. There are ten soldiers, dead or married, to replace. They might be delivered and sent in this vessel. (the recruits), in waiting until my lord takes the resolution to send the succors that he can give this country, which appears to need them.

DE LAGNY.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1690. On the 14 June, 1690, the chevalier de Villebon arrived at Port Royal from France. He found there M. Perrot and M. de Goutins, and by them was made acquainted with the occurrences of the previous month of May. Villebon was placed in an anxious situation. He had brought with him the sieur Saccardie, an engineer officer. He now held council with Perrot, des Goutins and Saccardie, as to what had best be done to save the remains of a colony of which he was in charge, and to secure the property of the crown, which he had brought with him from France. The most difficult point was that the English, at that time, were no further off than at Lahève, and in three days they might hear of his arrival, and he had not means to resist them if they should come back. They decided, unanimously, that they would withdraw to the river St. John, where the chevalier Grand-fontaine had occupied a fort at a place called Jemsek. That they would carry there all effects of the crown, and those of the company, and collect all the soldiers they could ; some of those having escaped from the English, and others had not been made prisoners. That they would send to M. de Montorgueil, lieutenant of Villebon's company, who was at Chedabouctou with a detachment of fourteen soldiers, to come and join his captain at Jemsek. Next they would build a fort of stone at Jemsek, and thence send to the Indians for aid, and encourage them to keep alive the war against the English. The order was sent to Montorgueil to evacuate Chedabouctou, and bury all his canoes that he could not bring away with him ; but Phips had

previously besieged the little detachment, and they had capitulated on honorable terms, and been sent to the French fort at Placentia, (which had been robbed by English freebooters in February previous.) The loss of the French company, by the pillage and destruction at Port Royal and Chedabouctou, was stated at 50,000 écus. [3 *Charlevoix*, 101–108.] Two pirate vessels, with ninety men on board, pillaged the island of Marievalante, in the West Indies, and brought off nine of the inhabitants. After this they came to Port Royal, where they landed their prisoners. They then burned all the houses near the fort—killed some of the cattle—hung two of the inhabitants, and burned a woman and her children in her own house. After Villebon had landed at St. John and gone up the river to Jemsek, the same pirates captured the vessel called the *Union*, in which he had come out. M. Perrot was then made prisoner, but he was afterwards retaken by a French vessel, and we may infer that he got safe home to old France, as Charlevoix says he found sufficient in the wreck of his fortunes to establish his family advantageously, and that he left two daughters, the countess de la Roche Allard, and the présidente de Luber. M. Saccardie, the engineer, was also captured. In a *mémoire* of 5 February, 1691, it is stated that the English had burned twenty-eight houses in Port Royal, and the church, sparing the mills and farm houses up the river. It seems most likely that this mischief was the work of the pirates. Charlevoix does not say that Phips destroyed any buildings in Port Royal; but he calls the pirate ships English.

Villebon, after vain efforts to recover what had been thus lost, and to destroy the pirates, returned to Jemsek. There he gathered the Indians together, and explained to them the loss of the presents the French monarch had sent them, and which had fallen into the hands of the robbers, by the capture of the *Union*. He further begged them to make prisoners of the English, to be exchanged for the French now in their hands. He said he should go to Quebec, and thence to France, and would bring out fresh presents for them, and prayed them to be, without fail, down the river in the coming spring. They promised him they would send out one hun-

dred and fifty warriors to carry out his object. After this conference he set out for Quebec, to which place he carried the first news of the invasion of Acadie, and the imprisonment of M. de Menneval, the governor.

1691. Villebon accordingly went to Quebec, and from that place went to France, where he urged on the minister the importance of preventing the English from establishing themselves in Acadie, and undertook to hinder them with the help of the Abenakis alone, if he was authorized to put himself at their head. His representations were favorably received, and M. de Pont-chartrain obtained for him a commission from the king to command in Acadie, and ordered him to embark, in the month of June, 1691, for Quebec, where he would receive the orders of count Frontenac. He was also authorized to assure the Indians that the ammunition, &c., promised them should be sent and delivered to them in their abodes, instead of their having to go to Quebec to receive them; and that Villebon, his brother Portneuf, who was lieutenant of his company, and some other officers, Canadians, to be selected by the governor general, should command them. Villebon went to Quebec, in the *Soleil d'Afrique*, the best sailor of the age, said to make 7 leagues (17 1-2 miles) an hour, and arrived there in the beginning of July; but from an apprehension of another attack on Quebec, by the English, Frontenac detained the vessel until the 6th September, when she set sail for Port Royal, Bonaventure, commander, and on her way she captured an English (New England) vessel, in which were John Nelson and Mr. Tyng. Nelson was on a trading voyage to Nova Scotia, and Tyng had been named governor of Nova Scotia by the authorities of Boston, who considered Acadie as their own conquest and property. (Tyng was a colonel and a councillor in Maine.) [1 *Williamson*, 695.]

Villebon did not arrive at Port Royal until the 26th November, from which we may conjecture that he had visited some of the ports on the eastern coast, or in cape Bréton, in his way, or else had spent his time at the St. John river. As soon as the vessel was anchored at Port Royal, he armed a sloop and went in it, with fifty soldiers, and two swivels,

(pierriers.) He went as far as the dwellings of the inhabitants, and there saw the English flag flying, but found no Englishmen left to guard it. On the day following, he assembled the inhabitants, and, in their presence, he took formal possession of Port Royal and of all Acadie, in the name of the French king. The sieur des Goutins, who had come with Villebon to exercise again the office of *commissaire ordonnateur*, informed the chevalier that he had buried a sum of 1300 livres which remained in his charge when Phips made himself master of the place; and this money was found in the same state in which he had left it. This money, of which des Goutins alone knew, he employed in part to pay arrears of an officer's salary, and placed the balance in the king's chest. (His honest conduct in this instance proved of use to him in years afterwards, when he was charged with malversation, being accepted as settling the case in his favor with government.) [3 *Charlevoix*, 158, 162.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIII.

(1.)

The government of Massachusetts, after Phips' capture of Port Royal in 1690, considered Acadie as a dependency of that province, by right of conquest. In the charter of William and Mary to Massachusetts, dated 7 October, 1691, and brought out to Boston by Sir William Phips, 11 May. 1692, "the territory" "called Accada, or Nova Scotia," is united to and incorporated in the province of "The Massachusetts Bay in New England," and the patent grants "unto our" "good subjects the inhabitants of our said province or territory of the Massa-" "chusetts Bay, and their successors." the territories of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Main, which are severally described, "and also the lands and heredita-" "ments lying and being in the country or territory commonly called Accada or" "Nova Scotia, and all those lands and hereditaments lying and extending be-" "tween the said country or territory of Nova Scotia and the said river of Saga-" "dehook, or any part thereof; and all lands, grounds, places, soils, woods and" "wood grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, and other hereditaments and" "premises whatsoever, lying within the said bounds or limits aforesaid, and" "every part and parcel thereof; and also all islands and islets lying within ten" "leagues directly opposite the main land within the said bounds; and all"

"mines and minerals, as well royal mines of gold and silver, as other mines" "and minerals whatsoever in the said lands and premises, or any part thereof." The *habendum* is to the inhabitants of the province of Massachusetts bay and their successors, for their own "only proper use and behoof for evermore."—"to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our mannor of East Green- "wich, in the county of Kent, by fealty only, in free and common sockage." (In 1696, the province of Massachusetts prayed the crown to garrison Port Royal and St. John, thus, as some thought, virtually abandoning their grant of the territory.)

(2.)

1. A royal brevêt, dated Versailles, 16 March, 1691, confirms a grant made in 1690, by Frontenac, *governor*, and Champigny, *intendant*, "to the sieur Nicolas" "Denis de Fronsac, in Acadie, at the place called Miramichi, regulated and" "limited by arrêt of the council of the 10th April, 1687, to fifteen leagues of" "front by fifteen leagues in depth, reckoning from the Trout river, including the" "same, running one league to the South East, and the other fourteen leagues" "to the North West, with the points, islands and islets for fifteen leagues dis-" "tance in front, to be enjoyed by him, his heirs and assigns," (ayans cause), as their own property, &c. &c., on the conditions contained in the regulations of 18 April, 1690.

2. Similar brevêt of a grant same date and in same terms, confirms a grant from Frontenac and de Champigny, to sieur Gobin, merchant at Quebec, of a space of land of twelve leagues in front by two in depth, in the bay of Chaleurs, in Acadie, comprising the rivers that may be found in said extent, measuring the said twelve leagues from the boundary of the grant of sieur de Fronsac, regulated by the *ordonnance* of the 18 April last, on the north west course, (*tirant au nord ouest*), with the points, islands and islets, and flats (battures), which are in front thereof, to said sieur Gobin, his heirs and assigns for ever, &c., as a fief and seigneurie, as granted 26 May, 1690.

3. Similar grant confirmed to sieur Lemoine d'Hyberville, of a space of land of twelve leagues front by ten leagues in depth, in the bay of Chaleurs, in Acadie, comprising the rivers to be found within that extent, measuring said twelve leagues from the boundary of Sr. Gobin's grant on the north west course in part, and the other part on the east south east, the river of Ristigouche included, with the points, islands, islets and flats in the front, to be enjoyed by the said sieur LeMoine d'hyberville, his heirs and assigns, for ever, as their own property, with title of fief and seigneurie, high, middle and low justice, &c.

(The above three warrants or brevêts were found among the papers of the government at Halifax, being official copies from the registry at Quebec, made in 1764, certified by H. T. Cramahé, judge advocate. The description in these grants locates the rivers Miramichi, Ristigouche, &c., in *Acadie* expressly, and would have been strong testimony in 1751 in favor of the English claim to extend the bounds of Acadie.)

4. 2 March. 1691. The king confirmed a grant made in 1691 by count Frontenac and the sieur de Champigny, to the sieur François Genaple de Bellefond, notary royal at Quebec, of a lot of land situate on the river St. John, in Acadie,

between Medoktek and Nacchouak, which joins the land of Jemsec, to wit, the place called the Longues Veïes, commencing at the river called Skoutespskek, as far as the place and river called Neckouygack, (Nercaioioutquek), by two leagues in depth running inland, on each side of the said river St. John, together with the isles, islets, &c. [Legislative Council of Canada. Session papers, vol. II., 1852, 1853.]

5. A grant, dated 23 March, 1691, was made by count Frontenac and the sieur Bochard de Champigny, intendant of New France, to dame Marie Françoise Chartier, widow of the sieur de Marson, of an extent of land at the river St. John, of four leagues front on said river and two leagues depth, on the other side and opposite to the grant of M. de Chauffours, (called Jemsek), the centre of which four leagues will be opposite the house of Jemsek. Brevêt, 1 March, 1692, registered Quebec, 26 Oct., 1693.

6. A brevêt du roi, of 18 January, 1692, confirms to the sieur des Goutins a grant from Frontenac and Champigny, of the 4 August, 1690,* of a tract of land of two leagues front, at a place called Mascondabouet, (Musquodoboit), viz., one league above said river and one league below it, by two leagues in depth in going up the river, and along it, (*et le long d'icelle*), with the islands and islets that are before the two leagues of front. Registered in the Sovereign Council of Quebec, 10 September, 1692.

(3.)

Marie de Menou, canoness of Poussay, a child of d'Aulnay by his last marriage, and the last survivor of his sons and daughters, was educated in France, and in 1691 made her will, giving all her property to her half brothers and sisters, the children of her mother, d'Aulnay's widow, by her subsequent marriage with Latour. [*Paris mss., and 1 Ferland, 495.*] This will was deposited 22 Feb'y., 1693, with Dupuis, notary, at Paris.

(4.)

Messrs. Nelson† and Tyng, who had been captured by M. Bonaventure, were

* 1691 in Leg. Council papers of Canada, vol. II., 1852-3.

† John Nelson was nephew of Sir Thomas Temple, and also was by his will made heir to whatever rights Sir Thomas had in Acadie, for the property and outlay he had made there. The earliest mention I find of him is in April, 1689, on the occasion of the people of Boston taking the government from Sir Edmund Andros, the governor commissioned by James the second. Hutchinson says, (vol. I., p. 376. note), "Mr. John Nelson, a young gentleman of Boston, at the " head of the soldiers, demanded the fort the second time, and then the gover- " nor came down and surrendered himself and the fort." (P. 378) we find Nelson signing the address to Andros, dated 18 April, 1689, which was headed by the former governor Bradstreet, then 87 years old. Hutchinson says that notwithstanding Nelson's zeal and services, he was not allowed any share in the administration after it was settled, in Boston, and gives as reasons for his exclusion that Nelson was an "Episcopalian," and of "a gay, free temper." Perhaps he was not ambitious of office, and besides he may have not been connected much with the Puritan families.

some time after sent to Quebec, where M. de Frontenac received them kindly. This general paid attention to Nelson, (whom Charlevoix calls the chevalier Nelson), not only from gratitude for good treatment Nelson had exercised towards Frenchmen on several occasions, but also on account of Nelson possessing much influence in Boston. Lahontan (vol. I., p. 176) says, "a gentleman of New England called Nelson, was brought prisoner to Quebec, who was taken in the river Kennebec, upon the coast of Acadie, together with three ships belonging to him; and because he was a very gallant man, M. Frontenac gave him a lodging at his own house, and treated him with all manner of civility;" and in page 275, speaking of a young French captain in the army, he says, "However, he was obliged to be present at a treat that Mr. Nelson, the English gentleman I spoke of in my 23d letter, gave to the two lovers, as well as the governor, the intendant, the bishop, and some other persons of note: and this generous English gentleman, having a kindness for the young lady's father and her brethren, upon the score of their trading with one another, made an offer of a thousand crowns, to be paid on the wedding day, which, added to a thousand that the Bishop offered, and a thousand more that she had of her own, besides seven or eight thousand that M. de Frontenac offered in licenses, not to mention the certain prospect of preferment,—all these items, I say, made the marriage very advantageous to the captain." It appears, however, that the officer thought differently, as he declined the proposals.

However kindly and courteously Mr. Nelson was treated at Quebec, he found that his release would not be granted, as he was too intimately acquainted with the affairs of America, and was considered a dangerous adversary on that account, although so much the friend of Frenchmen, yet a resolute and able supporter of British rights and interests. Finding his case to be thus exceptional, he appears to have thought that the indulgence by which his captivity was, in some measure, lightened, lay him under no special obligations to his French friends, who, by refusing to suffer his being exchanged or ransomed, kept him at a distance from his family and his business. He therefore held himself at liberty to gather such intelligence as might be of use to his country, and to communicate such information to the authorities at Boston. Thus actuated, he wrote the following letter, given in 1 Hutchinson's Mass., 378:—

"August 26, 1692."

"About 14 days ago arrived two men-of-war and six merchant ships, from France, which came furnished with recruits of provision, ammunition, 30 more great guns, 24 pateraroes, one mortar and 20 shells. A little before the arrival of these ships, Madockawando, the Penobscot sachem, came here, who made and received divers compliments, presented the governor with five English captives, and received from him presents, encouraging him and the rest to continue the war, but all gave but little satisfaction to the Indians, who expected greater recompense. They would often discourse their discontent to some of us who understand their language. I was in hopes to make some improvement of their discontent, by proposing the settlement of a trading house up Penobscot river, at Negas. They were glad of the proposal, and it is the only means of recovering our interest with these Eastern Indians. I promised to send my thoughts thereon to yourselves, of which I would have you to consider, &c. Madockawando gave daily advice of all their results. He is certainly well affected towards us. Two

days ago he was dispatched from hence, with orders to get together all the Indians he can. They make account of two or three hundred. They are to remain at Penobscot until the two men-of-war join them, who are preparing themselves as well as they can, adding to their number 200 Canadians, so that, in all, they will have above 400, who, with the Indians, are to assault Wells, Isle of Shoals, and Piscataqua. The design is dangerous if you should be unprovided. I have therefore improved my utmost endeavors to give you this intelligence. By money and a promise of good reward from yourselves, I have corrupted two Frenchmen, viz., Arnaud Du Vignon and Francis Albert, to be bearers of this letter, and also to be guides to two Dutchmen and to two Englishmen, who promise to be with you in 22 days. I pray that they may be contented. I have furnished them with 13 French crowns, which it is just should be allowed to my wife. My charge is otherwise great here, there being so many of my poor countrymen to relieve, &c. The two men-of-war, which come from hence, are—the one a great Dutch square stern ship of about 500 tons, takes in six guns from hence, so that she will have in all 38 guns, &c.; the other is a French frigate of 34 guns, who is the admiral. They take at Port Royal and along the coast all the small vessels, shallops, boats, &c., to land their men. You will do well to prepare for their reception a good fire ship, and other means necessary, according as your prudence shall direct. I recommend myself unto your prayers, and remain, gentlemen, your humble servant,

J. NELSON.

August 27th.—The ships of war go from hence in 12 or 15 days. Their voyage probably to St. John's and Penobscot will cost them a month's time more, so that you may expect them in about six or seven weeks hence. After their attempt upon your coast they are to cruise for about a month, &c., so that all concerned in shipping must take care to their affairs. Let no public talk be made of this letter, for by the escape of some prisoners the report will come hither greatly to my damage. . . . Excuse my broken manner of writing. I am forced to do it as I can get opportunity, and that is in my bed, because of the often coming in and out of the man that attends me, who once surprized me and took from me my ink-horn, but in all things else I am well treated. So are all the rest, according as the country affords, &c." "The letters came to Springfield the 23d of September, and a day or two after to Boston. The Frenchmen, not long after, by some means or other, were retaken and carried to Canada, where they were punished as deserters. Before their execution, they confessed the whole. Mr. Nelson was carried with them, in expectation of the same fate. They were shot before his eyes. He was sent back to prison, and soon after to France,* but on his passage prevailed with a fellow passenger to convey intelligence of a second design of 12 men-of-war and 2000 troops, which were every day expected at Canada to make a descent upon the English colonies from Piscataqua to Carolina. He was confined in France in a small hole for two years, without opportunity of seeing any person but a servant who brought his victuals to a grate. A gentleman, who had taken notice of the person who had carried the victuals from day to day, had the curiosity to enquire what prisoner was there, and to speak to him at the

* In 1693. See 4 New York State Documents, in the editor, doctor O'Callaghan's note.

grate, and to ask if he could do him any service. Mr. Nelson desired no other favor than to have a letter sent to England to inform Sir Purbeck Temple of his condition, which was done, and soon after a demand was made for his release or exchange. He was then looked upon as a person of some importance. He was sent to the Bastille, and just before the peace of Ryswick was allowed to go to England, upon his parole, and security given by a French gentleman for his return. The peace being concluded, and he intending to return, was forbid to do it by king William ; but to prevent any trouble to his friend, he went contrary to order, and surrendered himself. Being discharged, upon his return to England he was brought into trouble there for going back to France contrary to the king's order, but at length returned to his family after ten or eleven years absence." [*1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 389. *note.*]. (In 1706, M. Bonaventure, in a letter to the minister, defends himself from a charge of illicit trade with the English, by stating that Mr. Nelson, merchant of Boston, was indebted to him in 5000 livres, which he had lent him at the time of his imprisonment in France, and wishing to pay it, had sent him by the packet 1300 livres, in goods, viz., stuffs, scythes and pots.) When he was removed from Angoulesme to the Bastille, the marquis de Chevry, and monsieur de Lagny, intendant general of the commerce and foreign affairs of France, were sent to him, and held discourse on peace being possible, and to be made by the governors in America. Afterwards the Canada company petitioned for his detention, as a person dangerous to their authority. He was afterwards told that the idea of a neutrality in America must be abandoned. The inhuman wars of the Indians was the topic in which Nelson and the French ministry agreed, but the influence of Canada trade overbore it.

From the English and French Commissaries, p. 617.

The petition of John Nelson to the Lords Justices, 1697 :—

"To their Excellencies the Lords Justices of England." Humbly sheweth :
 "That the said Sir Thomas Temple long since did purchase from one monsieur
 "Charles de la Tour the inheritance of Nova Scotia, and part of the countries
 "called Acadia, and all the forts, plantations and trade thereof, to him and his
 "heirs, &c., which said countries were first discovered and planted by Sir William
 "Alexander, afterwards earl of Stirling, and others of the Scottish nation, in the
 "time of king James the first, and by the authority of that crown, the government
 "and propriety thereof was granted unto the said earl and his heirs, &c., and by
 "him afterwards conveyed unto the aforesaid mons. Charles de la Tour, to hold
 "under crown of Scotland, and by him quietly enjoyed, until the then common-
 "wealth of England did, in the year 1654, possess themselves of it, being in the
 "hands of a Frenchman, who thereupon coming into England, and making out
 "his title from under the said earl of Stirling and the crown of Scotland, his right
 "was allowed and he restored, and thereon conveyed his said right unto Sir T.
 "Temple, as aforesaid, who enjoyed the same until the treaty of Breda, did build
 "divers forts for the defence thereof, and made other improvements, which cost
 "over £16000, notwithstanding which, upon some false suggestions of the French

* The copy of d'Aulnay's commission as governor of Acadie, dated February, 1647, inserted in the E. & F. Commissaries, pp. 571, 576, has a memo. signed by Francis Nicholson, as a copy from the original, received from M. Nelson, esquire, nephew and executor to Sir Thos. Temple, bart., of N. S.

“ ministers, that it did formerly belong unto the crown of France, his late majesty
“ king Charles the second did, without any examination or notice given unto the
“ parties concerned, at the aforesaid treaty, restore the same unto France, and by
“ several orders of council required the delivery thereof unto monsieur de Grand-
“ fontaine, a person sent by the French king, which was accordingly complied with.
“ That the said Sir Thos. Temple dying, did, by his last will, devise all his right
“ and title of the premises unto your petitioner, who, during this present war with
“ France, hath hazarded both his person and estate in the recovery thereof, where,
“ thro’ misfortune falling into their hands, has been kept a prisoner in France for
“ these five years last past, and does yet so continue under caution, (bail ;) and in
“ the meantime the said countries being for the most part regained by the English,
“ the same hath been by surprise included in the patent of the government of the
“ Massachusetts’ Bay in New England, &c. This being the true state of the case,
“ and your petitioner being informed of a treaty now on foot between England and
“ France, and fearing that his majesty, for want of information, should be surprized
“ in this affair, by neglecting or acquitting so considerable a part of his dominions
“ and trade, as well as the propriety of the petitioner, &c. Your petitioner hum-
“ bly prays that your Excellencies will be pleased to make a timely representation
“ of this affair unto his majesty, that such due care and consideration may be had
“ thereof, as to his majesty in his great wisdom shall seem just and expedient,”

In a paper addressed to the Board of Trade by Mr. Nelson, in 1696, 24 Sept., (at which time we suppose he was in England, on bail), he says : “ For space
“ of 26 years I have been continually conversant with the French in the coun-
“ tries of Nova Scotia, Accadie and Canada, for which reason I was, in the year
“ 1691, made choice of by the governor and council in New England to settle and
“ establish one Coll. Edward Tyng in the command of Port Royal, a place that
“ had been newly subjected to the crown of England, in which enterprize I had the
“ misfortune to be taken by the French, who, notwithstanding the acquaintance
“ and interest I had with them, did, (to prevent the information they thought me
“ capable of giving unto the court of England about their countries and affaires in
“ those parts), see cause to make an exception unto my release, whereby I have
“ actually suffered above four years and a half’s imprisonment. In which space
“ of time I have continually endeavour’d to discover what I thought might be of
“ use to our interests, and accordingly have sometimes opportunity, both in
“ Canada and in France, to give such information as if due notice had been
“ taken, would have been of good effect, as by some instances I could well note,
“ were it not to avoid too much prolixity, &c. The improvement I would make
“ hereon serves only to pray an enquiry whom I am, that soe you may be the
“ better confirmed in the truth of my informations, in which, as I seek not any
“ particular advantage or interest, so I trust the readier belief and credit may
“ be given unto what I shall here expose, &c.” He thinks that, unless prevented,
the French may destroy the English colonies. The English colonies depend on
improving the lands, &c. The French of Canada, on their trade of furs and
peltry with the Indians, consequently their whole study and contrivance is to
maintain their interest and reputation with the Indians, “ Which has been ”
“ much augmented by that late foolish and unhappy expedition from New Eng- ”
“ land by Sr. William Phips, as also for want of due care of settlement in the ”
“ countrie of Nova Scotia, after the taking of Port Royal.”

(5.)

There are some remarks and statements of baron de Lahontan which appear to belong to this period, and to be worthy of attention. He is a gay, witty and intelligent writer, although not devoid of prejudices. His writings are lively and graphic. The charges he makes against the French governors are harsh, and if not entirely untrue, appear much exaggerated. His serious quarrel with M. Brouillon, when the latter was governor of Placentia, rendered him unfit to judge with impartiality in such cases. He had, according to Charlevoix,* been a half-pay captain, and was sent about this time from Quebec to Placentia. His memoirs, that author says, were dictated by a spirit of irreligion, and by spite for having been sent out of the service. I fear there is some truth in both charges, yet there are several passages in his work that cannot well be omitted if we wish to obtain information of the history of these countries about the close of the seventeenth century. In vol. I., p. 220, &c., he says, "The coast of Acadia extends from Kenebeki, on the frontiers of New England, to Isle Percée, near the mouth of the river St. Lawrence."—"It has a great many little rivers, the mouths of which are deep and clean enough for the greatest ships." After dilating upon the plenty of salmon and cod that frequent these shores, he says. "Two gentlemen, of the name of Amour, of Quebec, have a settlement for beaver-hunting, upon the river of St. John, which is a very pleasant river, and adorned with fields that are very fertile in grain. 'Tis navigable for 12 leagues up from its mouth." He says the channel between Acadie and Cape Breton is deep enough to carry the greatest ship in France. "Most of the countries of Acadia abound with corn, pease, fruit and pulse, and have a plain distinction of the four seasons of the year, notwithstanding that 'tis extream cold for three months in winter. Several places of Acadia afford masts as strong as those we have from Norway; and if there were occasion, all sorts of ships might be built there. For if you'll believe the carpenters, the oak of that country is better than ours in Europe. In a word, it is a very fine country—the air is pure and wholesome—the waters clear and light, and there's good accommodation for hunting, shooting and fishing."

The French neglect nothing to secure the Indians, giving some notable ones pay as a lieutenant or ensign, and giving them rewards for mischief to the English or to the Indians in the English interest, paying them for scalps, sending the Canadian youth with them and giving them commissions—taking Indians to Europe to shew them the glories of the French court and armies. There are now at Versailles 6 sagamores or chiefs from Canada, Hudson's Bay and Nova Scotia, all soliciting aid against the English. Great destruction done in Maine and New Hampshire. Timber and fisheries ruined there. The French, zealous in sending missionaries among the Indians, the English neglect to give them religious instruction. He mentions the great achievements of Skyler, (Schuyler), of Albany, in 1691, who came near taking Montreal. Evils from division of the English into so many little, divided, and disunited governments. If united, the English would be ten to one of the French. Speaks of the great value of the fur trade.—"The knowledge I have of that country makes me foresee that "

* 3 Charlevoix, 172.

"the English will be masters of it some time or other.* I could give very " plausible reasons for the prophecy." "They have already begun to ruine the " commerce that the French had with the savages, and in a short time they'll " compass its intire destruction. The French they will prize their goods too " high, though they are not so good as those of the English, and yet the English " sell their commodities cheaper."—"The French governors, they act with " the same view as many of those who are imploy'd in posts beyond the sea. " They look upon their place as a gold^{mine} given 'em, in order to enrich them- " selves ; so that the public good must always march behind private interest. " M. de Menneval suffer'd the English to possess themselves of Port Royal, be- " cause that place was covered with nothing but single palissado's. But why " was it not better fortified ? I can tell you the reason ; he thought he had time " enough to fill his pockets before the English would attack it. This governor " succeeded to M. Perrot, who was broke with disgrace for having made it his " chief business to inrich himself ; and after returning to France, went back again " with several ships laden with goods, in order to set up for a private merchant " in the country. While M. Perrot was governor, he suffered the English to " possess themselves of several advantageous posts, without offering to stir. His " chief business was to go in barques from river to river, in order to traffic with " the savages ; and after he was disgraced, he was not contented with a commerce " upon the coasts of Acadia, but would needs extend it to the English planta- " tion ; but it cost him dear, for some pyrates fell in with him, and, after seizing " his barques, ducked himself, upon which he died immediately." (sed quaere.)

"The three principal savage nations that live upon the coasts of Acadia, are " the Abenakis, the Mikemak, and the Canibas." "The baron of St. Casteins, " a gentleman of Oleron, in Bearn, having lived among the Abenakis, after the " savage way, for above twenty years, is so much respected by the savages " that they look upon him as their tutelar god. He was formerly an officer in " the Carignan regiment in Canada, and upon the breaking of that regiment " threw himself among the savages, whose language he had learned. He mar- " ried among 'em after their fashion, and prefer'd the forrests of Acadia to " the Pyrenean mountains that encompass the place of his nativity ; for the " first years of his abode with the savages he behav'd himself so, as to draw an " inexpressible esteem from them. They made him their great chief or leader, " who is in a manner the sovereign of the nation ; and by degrees he has work'd " himself into such a fortune, which any man but he would have made such use " of as to draw out of that country above two or three hundred thousand crowns, " which he has now in his pocket in good dry gold. But all the use he makes " of it is to buy up goods for presents to his fellow savages, who, upon their " return from hunting, present him with beaver skins to a treble value." "The " governors general of Canada keep in with him, and the governors of New " England are afraid of him. He has several daughters, who are all of 'em mar- " ried very handsomely to Frenchmen, and had good dowries. He has never " changed his wife, by which means he mean'd to give the savages to understand " that God does not love inconstant folks," &c.

"Port Royal, the capital, or the only city of Acadia, is in effect no more than a

* La Hontan was in North America from 1683 to 1694, and his book is printed in 1703.

" little paltry town, that is somewhat enlarged since the war broke out in 1689
 " by the accession of the inhabitants that lived near Boston, the metropolitan of
 " New England.* A great many of these people retired to Port Royal upon the
 " apprehension that the English would pillage them and carry 'em into their
 " country. There's excellent anchorage all over the Basin,† and at the bottom of
 " it there's a cape or point of land that parts two rivers, at which the tide rises ten
 " or twelve feet. These rivers are bounded by pleasant meads, which in spring
 " and autumn are covered with all sorts of water-fowl. In fine, Port Royal is
 " only a handful of houses, two story high, and has but few inhabitants of any
 " note. It subsists upon the traffic of the skins which the savages bring thither
 " to truck for European goods. In former times the Farmers' company had
 " magazines in this place, which were under the care of the governor."

(6.)

A census undated, but probably of this period, gives 854 inhabitants to Acadie.

There is a memorial dated 5 February, 1691, apparently addressed to the French government, and from internal evidence it seems to proceed from M. Perrot, the same who had been governor before Menneval. It begins by noticing that the English had burnt 28 houses, and the church at Port Royal, but that the mills and many houses escaped, and that they had not meddled with Mines or Beaubassin. It estimates the population of the three settlements named at 1000 or 1100 French. Says the English left none of their nation in command, but a French sergeant, with a council of inhabitants.

Proposes :—1. To collect 60 French soldiers who are scattered in the province, and suggests M. ———, a former governor, as most capable and interested in the country. to be in command. 2. To give the commandant a lieutenant, and send out arms, &c., and provisions and clothing for the 60 soldiers. 3. Pick-axes and tools, for fortifying Port Royal. 4. Ten guns—4 of 12 pounders, 4 of 8 and 4 of 4 lbs., with ammunition, ball, &c., and a gunner. 5. A surgeon, with a medicine chest. 6. To dismiss M. Petit, the curé, blaming him and Trouvé for the misfortune of the last capitulation. 7. To transfer the site of the fort and garrison to *la pré ronde*,‡ two leagues up the river, at the head of all the settlement, as a safer place. 8. To build a fort there of timber (pieux), capable of lodging 100 men, in which the captain, lieutenant, and the 60 men are to reside. Planks, nails and iron to be supplied ; or in lieu, a small sum of money, as plank and shingles can be found in the country. 9. To give them two batteaux, in pieces, with the rigging and utensils requisite. 10. To send a captain, lieutenant, and 3 or 4 half-pay officers, to command the Canibas and Abenakis near the river St. John, who are to be under command of the governor at Port Royal. The latter is to let them have some of his soldiers when he can spare them, to unite with the Indians against the English. One batteau can carry over 20 soldiers, being only 12 leagues distance.

* I suppose he means French settlers on the shores of that part of Acadie which was nearest to New England.

† Of Port Royal.

‡ Round hill, formerly Lovet's farm, is probably meant, up the river.

A frigate of 28 or 30 guns is to take out all that is required. Economy is pointed out, that instead of ninety soldiers, as formerly, sixty will do. That instead of a governor with 3000 livres, as before, M. P—— will be content as commandant with 2000 livres salary. In lieu of five priests costing the king 1500 livres, and four friars penitents at 800 livres, the last four will be sufficient, as they are men who attend to spiritual things and do not meddle with temporal. And that the lieutenant general of Port Royal may be reduced to 300 livres. Recommends that the frigate call at Chedabouctou for relief of sixty inhabitants there, and that she should pick up any craft she finds along the coast, for the benefit of Port Royal, and finally visit the Indians on the river St. John.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1692. In this year, 1692, governor Sir William Phips sent a ship of 48 guns and two brigantines, with eighty soldiers on board, to capture Villebon in his fort up the St. John river, (Nachouac?) where he was awaiting for help from France, which he looked for to establish himself at Port Royal. Villebon sent a small detachment of French and Indians down the river to watch the enemy's movements in landing. The sight of the French alarmed and disconcerted the invaders, who had probably calculated that they would surprize the French governor, and they gave up the project. [3 *Charlevoix*, 176.] During this summer, Phips, under special instructions from the English government, began the erection of fort William Henry, at Pemaquid, north of the Kennebec. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 68.] The place selected was twenty rods from high water mark, on the east side of the river, the tide rising there from fourteen to sixteen feet. The walls were of stone, cemented in lime mortar, the height on the south side facing the sea 22 feet, on the west 18, on the north 10, and on the east 12 feet. The round tower at the S. W. corner was 29 feet high. Eight feet from the ground, where the walls were 6 feet in thickness, there was a tier of 28 port holes. The place was completed in a few months. Two thousand cart loads of stone are said to have been used in this building. The fort was a quadrangle in compass 747 feet, and the interior 108 feet across. The cost is stated at £20,000. Late in the autumn from 14 to 18 cannon were mounted in the fort, six of which were eighteen pounders, and it was manned by sixty men. Phips at this

time sent colonel Church, who had been celebrated in king Philip's war, to Penobscot and Kennebec.

M. d'Iberville had left France with the design to attack port Nelson, in Hudson's bay, and had express orders from the court to that effect. He had embarked on board of the *Envieux*, a king's ship, commanded by M. de Bonaventure, and he was to find the *Poli* at Quebec, of which he was to take command himself; besides which the *compagnie du nord* had engaged to furnish two other vessels for the expedition. It was the king's intention that after taking Port Nelson, d'Iberville was to remain in charge of it, and send the *Poli* back to France, under her lieutenant. But the *Envieux* left Rochelle so late in the season, and experienced such contrary winds on her voyage out, that she did not cast anchor before Quebec until the 18 October. This was much too late to attempt any enterprise in Hudson's bay; and as it was thought a pity the vessels should lie idle, it was proposed to messieurs d'Iberville and de Bonaventure to undertake the siege of Pemaquid. This project they accepted joyfully, and made sail without delay for Acadie. There they met the chevalier Villebon, and it was resolved that the two king's ships should besiege the place by water, while the chevalier, at the head of the Indians, should attack it by land. This arrangement having been made, the *Poli* and the *Envieux* set sail for Pemaquid; but the two commanders having found an English vessel at anchor under the guns of the fort, and being destitute of any pilot acquainted with the coast, thought it unsafe to pursue their project any further. Whether they had neglected to seek such a pilot, or had been unable to find one, is left in doubt. The Indians had collected in great numbers, and were much discontented at the result, as they had reckoned on ridding themselves of so powerful and inconvenient a neighbor as the fort was considered by them. It was afterwards ascertained that the commander of the fort had been put on his guard respecting this visit, by the information Mr. Nelson had sent from Quebec by the two deserters. D'Iberville was spoken against by envious persons, for not pressing the siege; but it seems his chief hope of success lay in find-

ing the garrison unprepared, and that he acted judiciously in retiring. [3 *Charlevoix*, 177, 179.] In the same year Sir Francis Wheeler came with an English fleet of 24 sail to Placentia, but effected very little, and withdrew. [*Hist. British Empire in America*, 140, 144.]

1693. Fifteen English men-of-war arrived at Boston, from an attack on Martinique. The ships were in bad condition, and the men sick and in quarantine. Villebon understood from two Frenchmen who had escaped from prison in Boston, that Sir William Phips proposed to attack him with some of those forces, 800 men being mentioned as the intended party. Villebon was in no condition to resist them, but no such movement took place.

Villieu, a French officer, had distinguished himself at the siege of Quebec in 1690. Being then on half pay, he headed a body of volunteers. [3 *Charlevoix*, 125.] Being now appointed to a command at Pentagoët, he left Quebec in October, 1693, and spent the winter at the fort of Nachouac, on the St. John, where Villebon commanded. He was nominally in command of the company of the detachment of the marines employed in Acadie.

Major Convers marched with 400 or 500 English on Taconnick, on the Kennebec, this year, against the Indians, some of whom he surprized near Wells. In his return he built a stone fort, (pentagon), on the Saco river. M. Thury, the missionary at Pentagoët, endeavored to oppose this, but the Indians submitted, and made a treaty with the English, (August 11th, at Pemaquid), and gave hostages to secure it. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 73. *Magnalia*, 65, 85, 86.]

1694. April the 8. The king's ship, *la Brétonne*, with a corvette, sailed for Acadie. The company embarked 20,000 livres of goods. She arrived at St. John river, and left it the 2 July—cruised on the coast of Acadie—visited Placentia, and convoyed the fishing vessels thence home. The sieur Baptiste, privateer, took five English ketches on the coast of Acadie, and three other prizes. M. Bonaventure commanded the king's vessels on this coast for four years, ending in 1694. (There

is reason to think that Bonaventure was of the family of Nicolas Denis Sr. de Fronsac.)

May 1, M. Villieu left Nachouac for Pentagoët, to endeavor to put a stop to the negociations for peace, which the Indians were carrying on in their *talks* with the English. May 3, he got to Medoctec, where he conferred with the chiefs of that place. 9 May he had an interview with Taxous, a chief of the Abenakis. He met Bigot, a Jesuit priest, and held festivals with the Indians in several places. May 22, Villieu came back to Nachouac, with some Indians, to ask for soldiers. Villebon would only give him two men. They started again 25 May, and on the 27th reached Medoctec. There the two French soldiers left him, and went back to the fort. So he had no one but Indians with him, and had no provisions, Villebon having refused to give any. 3 June they arrived at Pentagoët. Matakondo brought news that the Boston governor would give up their prisoners on the 5 July. Thury helped Villieu, who had great difficulty to bring the Indians round, as their children were hostages at Boston, or in England. Taxous and Bigot were for war. Villieu stopped some days at Castine's house, and then went up stream in a canoe—upset, and hit his head against a rock. Villebon and father Simon stopped many Indians from joining him. On the 27th June he had *un festin de chien*, (dog feast), when all the Indians sang, except thirty of Matakando's party, but they and Matakando himself were all gained over by presents. On the 30 June, Villebon, Thury, a French interpreter, and 500 Indians, went down the river Kennebec, to get the Canibats to join them. He reconnoitred Pemquit fort in disguise. 10 July. Forty Canibats joined him; on the 11th, thirty more, and on the 16th, forty more. 27 July. They fell on the English settlements by surprize. They were almost starved to death themselves before this. They captured two ungarrisoned forts—killed 104 persons—made 27 prisoners—pillaged and burned 60 houses, and by the end of July the party got back to their homes. Villieu, after this affair, went to Canada. In his letter, date 7 September, 1694, de Ville Marie, (Montreal), he says, "The Indians, (les sauvages), at whose head you"

"ordered me to place myself to go against the English, have"
"concluded a treaty of peace with Intane Philps," (*sic*) (gov'r.
Sir W. Phips), "at the fort of Pemakuit last year, and left"
"hostages. The Englishman was to give up, on the 15 July,"
"the Indian prisoners he held, and at the same time to con-"
"firm this peace with all the nations, who were to assemble"
"for that purpose. Such was the state of affairs, my lord,"
"which I found on my arrival at Pentagoët, in May last,"
"when I went there alone to go against the enemy. But as"
"this peace had been concluded by only two chiefs, accom-"
"panied by some of their nations, who had even proposed to"
"sell their lands to the English, and receive the price, I ac-"
"quainted other chiefs and their nations who had not taken"
"part in the treaty, that I was surprized at this conduct, and"
"that I did not think that they would be willing to submit"
"to have a thing of such consequence transacted without"
"their participation; and having at the same time excited"
"their jealousy of the two other chiefs, and their distrust of"
"the English, for their having directed their assembling"
"together, with the design, perhaps, of getting rid of them"
"all in one day, I urged on them their duty to the king, and"
"the presents they got from him last year, and the benefit of"
"his protection, and told them of the orders I had to go with"
"them to war. This induced them to decide to march with"
"me, and those who had concluded the peace did the same"
"thing one day after. So that all these designs were over-"
"turned, and our enterprize has succeeded. Two small forts"
"and 50 or 60 houses have been captured and burnt, and"
"130 English killed or made prisoners. A more particular"
"statement, of all which I take the liberty to send you. I"
"have come to Montreal to report to M. de Frontenac. I"
"hope, my lord, you will be satisfied, as I have nothing so"
"much at heart as to please you, and to merit, by my servi-"
"ces, the continuance of your protection. I am going back"
"to my post at the fort of Natchouac, in Acadie, to winter"
"there, and receive your orders next year. I beg you will"
"have the goodness to take into consideration the loss I sus-"
"tained in the shipwreck of a vessel" (charroi) "which"

"brought me last autumn, with all my family, to Acadie,"
"and which exceeds 1000 crowns. I hope you will do me"
"the favor of granting four tons of freight in the vessel"
"which will be sent to Acadie next year, to bring me from"
"France my provisions and necessities, not being able to"
"get things from Quebec without extraordinary expenses,"
"and not often having an opportunity to do that. I am,"
"&c. &c., VILLIEU." Villieu and his Indian followers destroyed Dover, in New Hampshire—went to Piscataqua, and at Spruce creek, York and Kittery killed several persons, and scalped a girl. Micmacs, Malecites and Abenakis were concerned in this slaughter. Villieu took the Indian chiefs with him to Canada, to present the English scalps to count Frontenac. [1 *Williamson, Maine*, 640. 2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 82, 83.]

In this year, 1694, the sieur Robineau *corsaire de Nantes*, (privateer). had made considerable prizes—was forced to burn his vessel in the harbor of St. John, where he was attacked by an English ship, and to defend himself on shore. 17 September, Montigny, an officer of Villebon's garrison, went from Nachouac to Medoctec, to join a party of 39 Indians. They went on to Pentagoët, but were sent back on account of a contagion that had killed many of them. In November, 1694, Bomazeen, an Indian chief, with ten or twelve Indians, went to Pemaquid, with a flag of truce, which captain March, the commander of the fort, violated, on the pretext that they who had become friends by treaty could not come as enemies with a white flag, and he made Bomazeen and his party prisoners, and sent them to Boston, where they were confined in a very bad prison. [2 *Hutch.*, 83, 87, 88.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIV.

(I.)

The English began first in the attack on Placentia with five men-of-war, the *St. Albans*, a third rate of 66 guns, being commodore. They entered the harbor of Placentia the 15th September, 1691, and came to an anchor in the road the

16th. At this time the French governor was in great perplexity, having but 50 soldiers in the fort, and but a small stock of ammunition. Besides the fort was commanded by a mountain, from whence he was afraid the English would gall him. Not being able to spare any men from the fort, they marched 50 fishermen to prevent their landing, which made them alter their course, and land elsewhere. The English commodore sent out a small sloop, with a white flag, towards the fort, which was met by another on the same errand. The commodore desired the governor to send an officer on board him, who immediately complied, and sent the baron La Hontan and M. Castabella, (Costabelle ?) who were received with great civility, and well entertained. [*Paris mss.*]

(2.)

9 November. 1692, Jacques Petitpas, and Charles de Loreau, sieur de St. Aubin, inhabitants of Archimayan, in Acadie, were taken by the English, and, with their families, sent to Boston. The governor of New England sent them with two French deserters to capture M. St. Castin, keeping their families as hostages. They revealed the design for which they were sent, and gave up the two deserters. Villebon, the commandant of Acadie, d'Iberville and Bonaventure, gave them out of public funds, 554 livres, to assist them in getting back to their families, &c.

(3.)

A grant made 17 August, 1693, by Frontenac, (governor), and Champigny, (intendant), to the sieur Philipps Esnault, an inhabitant of Nipisiguit, in Acadie, of the river *de Pocomouche*, and four leagues of land in front on each side of the same, with as many in depth, including one league of land in front, heretofore conceded to one deGrais, who has withdrawn among the English, to hold to the said sieur Esnault, his heirs and assigns, for ever, as their own property, as a fief, &c. &c. Confirmed by Royal brevet, at Versailles, 15 April, 1694. [*Leg. Council papers*, v. II.]

(4.)

From Villebon's letter to M. de Lagny of 2 September, 1694 :—

“ There are three Indian nations in Acadie, the Canibas, the Malicites, and “ the Micmacs, each having a different language. The Micmacs occupy from “ Isle Percée, and even higher up the river on the way to Quebec, and extend- “ ing through the bay des Chaleurs, Ristigouche, Richibouctou, Bay Verte, Cape “ Breton, Campseaux, and all along the coast to cape Sable, Port Royal, Mines “ and Beaubassin. They look on all these places as their settlements at all “ times. The Malicites begin at the river St. John, and inland as far as la “ Rivière du Loup, and along the sea shore, occupying Pesmonquadis, Majais, “ les Monts Déserts and Pentagoët, and all the rivers along the coast. At Pen- “ tagoët, among the Malicites, are many of the Kennebec Indians. Taxous* “ was the principal chief of the river Kinibeguy, but having married a woman “ of Pentagoët, he settled there with her relations. As to Matakando, he is a “ Malicite. The Canibas are those settled on the river Kinibeguy.”†

* Taxous was the adopted brother of M. de Villebon, as stated in another letter.

† Whence they derive their name. There is a mission of this tribe two leagues from Quebec, conducted by Jesuit fathers.

CHAPTER XXV.

1695. It was proposed in 1695 to fortify St. John, at the mouth of the river. The old fort of four bastions so far existed, that the excavations were almost entire. It wanted deepening the ditches, raising the parapets, and putting in new palissades. It was supposed that 150 men would serve to protect both this and the fort at Nachouat, (called Nachouac, Naxoat, and now Nashwaak.) The fort of St. John would protect French privateers and French commerce. We find by Villebon's journal, kept by him at Nachouac, where he commanded, January 17, 1695, Baptiste (who was captain of a French privateer) had taken an English West Indiaman. On the 24th he brings part of his crew up the river, having secured his corvette. April 27, Baptiste went off on a cruise. May 3, Villebon sent a canoe to Boston, with the letters Montigny brought back, (probably from Frontenac, at Quebec, respecting exchange of prisoners.) May 15, Baptiste arrived with another prize. May 31, news that Baptiste was taken by an English vessel of 36 guns, and an armed sloop. In 24 hours after, the English frigate ran ashore, and had to give up her prizes to a Canadian privateer. In June, Villebon entertained a body of Indians and chiefs from Kennebec, Pentagoët, Medoctec and Madawaska. Long conferences are related in his journal. A tariff of goods was settled, and afterwards the chiefs were entertained at supper. In the same month an English frigate and sloop arrive at Menagoniche, (now called Manawagoniche), on business of ransom. Messages are exchanged with Nachouac. Eight prisoners are given up. The

English captain expressed a wish to meet governor Villebon, and drink with him, or to see captain Baptiste, whom he called a brave man; but these overtures were declined. In Baptiste's last engagement, the English had three men killed and thirteen wounded; and the rigging of the frigate was much injured. The corvette *La Bonne* sunk 48 hours after. They also lost their chief pilot and eight sailors, besides a brigantine and sloop, prizes, which were also sunk. August 12, Villebon heard that the Micmacs at cape Sable attacked an English fisherman, but did not take her; they killed one Englishman and wounded one. 10 September. This evening. Francis Guyon, privateer, arrived at the fort. He tells me (Villebon) that he has taken nine fishermen prizes, viz., seven open shallops and two decked vessels. He ransomed five for 1500 livres—gave one up, and has brought three in. 1 Octr., 1695, in a letter to the minister, Villebon states that his brother *des Isles* is away with the Indians on an expedition against the English. That Bonaventure has had a battle with an English frigate of 40 guns, and that 10 English were killed. He says, "I have been surprized, my lord, at what you say," "that I had refused soldiers to M. de Villieu. How can that" be likely, when I, myself, proposed the expedition, and "gave him every thing necessary?" He accuses Villieu of imposing on his lordship, and says, "I do not think an officer so difficult and unaccommodating can be found." He complains of the brothers d'Amours. "They are four in" number, living on the St. John river. There are given up "to licentiousness and independance for ten or twelve years" "they have been here. They are disobedient and seditious," "and require to be watched." (In another *mémoire* it is stated of the d'Amours, that though they have vast grants in the finest parts of the country, they have hardly a place to lodge in. They carry on no tillage, keep no cattle, but live in trading with the Indians, and debauch among them, making large profits thereby, but injuring the public good. In another statement they are called "*soi disants gentil hommes.*") Villebon says preparations are making for the intended attack in the spring on Pemaquid fort, and for securing Nachouac.

2000 *palissades*, 2000 *fraises*, and 600 *madriers* are getting made. (Platforms for guns to run on were made of planks, called *madriers*.) One of the Indian hostages kept at Boston since the treaty of 1693, was sent as a mediator to his people. In consequence of this visit, fifty canoes of Indians came to Pemaquid on the 20 May, 1695, bringing in eight captives. A truce of thirty days was made, and soon after the English commissioners met the Indian delegates at Pemaquid. The English refused to enter into any treaty until all the English in the hands of the Indians should be first given up, on which the conference broke up, and Bomazeen and other Indians remained prisoners in Boston. [2 *Hutch.*, 88.]

1696. In February, Egeremet, a chief from Machias, Toxus, a chief from Norridgewock, (Narantsouac), Abenquid, a sagamore of the same tribe, and several other Indians, came to Pemaquid fort, to treat of exchange of prisoners. Chubb, who commanded there, and some of his garrison, fell on them unawares, murdered Egeremet, Abenquid, and two others. Toxus escaped. One Indian was taken, and was found in irons in the fort when the French entered it. [2 *Hutch.*, 94.]

At this time the French government resolved on an attack to capture Fort William Henry, at Pemaquid, (or Pemkuit), chiefly with the view of confirming the French influence over the Abenakis, and other Indian nations in that quarter.

The conduct of this enterprize was given to *messieurs*. d'Iberville and Bonaventure. They arrived at the *baie des Espagnols*, in cape Breton, (Spanish bay, now Sydney), on the 26 June, 1696. [3 *Charlevoix*, 261. *Mss. journal of Sr. Baudouin, missionary. Paris mss.*] There they found thirty Indians waiting for them, with their families. They all confessed to the priest Baudouin, who baptized some of them and married others. Their comrades had already gone to war. These poor people had to pay so dear for everything, that, although they were free from drunkenness, they were but scantily clothed, after having killed five hundred moose this winter. They also found Frenchmen there, who brought them letters from M. de Villebon, informing them that three English ships, the *Sorlings*, captain Eames, the *Newport*,

captain Paxen, and the province Tender, were waiting for them at the mouth of the river St. John. On the 4 July they set sail, the Indians embarking with them. The French ships were the *Profond* and the *Envieux*, and had two companies of soldiers on board. They met fogs on the voyage, and when near cape Sable they heard the report of cannon, which they supposed were fired by the enemy's ships as signals to prevent separation. On the 14 July the French ships cast anchor in the fog, at the distance of five leagues from the river St. John. The weather clearing up at 2, P. M., they perceived the three English vessels to windward, bearing directly for the river St. John. When they were one league off, they observed the French vessels, and bore down on them. The *Profond* masked her warlike character, keeping her ports closed until within musket shot. Two of the English vessels came pretty near, and the small one fired at the *Profond*, and the other at the *Envieux*. The enemy seeing the *Profond* open her ports, kept to windward, (*tiennent le vent*), and not being able to resist the musquetry, endeavored to escape. The *Profond* tried to gain the wind on them, and the *Envieux* followed, contending with stormy weather. M. d'Iberville, in the *Envieux*, dismasted the smaller English vessel, which proved to be the *Newport*, of 24 guns. The prize falling astern, came almost aboard the bows of the *Envieux*, and lowered her flag. M. d'Iberville left her to be manned by M. de Bonaventure, who gave her to Baptiste to take her to the river St. John, at which place he was near losing her among the rocks where she run aground. The *Envieux* continued to chase the other ship, which was the largest, mounting 34 guns. The shot of the French ship passed beyond the chase, but night and fog closed their combat, which had lasted three hours, and the English ship escaped. According to Baudouin, who gives these details, there was no one in the French ships injured even by a wound, and he says that the Indians on board behaved well. The next day, 15 July, the French vessels arrived at the river St. John, where they found M. de Villebon and father Simon, with fifty Indians. They landed the effects which belonged to the king, being stores for the use of the fort at Nachouac, which had

been substituted for that of Jemsek. The fifty Indians who accompanied Villebon, and who were of the same nation with those who came from cape Bréton with d'Iberville, that is Micmacs, embarked on board the *Profond*, commanded by M. de Bonaventure, with father Simon, before the ship sailed.

It having been stated that one Alden, a Boston trader, was then at Port Royal, engaged in traffic, M. Dugué, a lieutenant of d'Iberville, was sent to that place in a vessel, with thirty men. Father Baudouin went with them, delighted, as he says, with the opportunity of meeting M. de Mandoux, (the curé), who was resident there since the departure of M. Petit. Alden, however, had left Port Royal before they got there. Baudouin pitied the inhabitants of Port Royal, as they were forbidden to deal with the English, while the French did not supply one quarter of the articles they stood in need of.

On the 2nd August the French ships left St. John, and on the 7th they arrived at Pentagoët, where they found M. de Thury and M. de St. Castin, with 130 Indians, waiting for them. M. d'Iberville gave an entertainment to about 300 Indians, the rest having already gone off to make war. He distributed the king's presents among them, to the value of 4000 livres, and told them he was going to attack Pemquit. They replied they would join his party with pleasure. On the 13th August, St. Castin and the Indians, M. Thury and father Simon, with *messieurs*. de Villieu and de Montigny, and 25 soldiers of Villieu's company, embarked in canoes to besiege Pemaquid. On the 14th they arrived and invested fort William Henry. The *Profond* and the *Envieux* arrived the same day, and two mortars, two cannons, with bombs and shot, were landed half a league from the fort. These having been got on shore, a summons was sent at 5, P. M., to the fort to surrender. [3 *Charlevoix*, 262.] Captain Chubb commanded the fort. He had 15 guns mounted, 95 soldiers, and plenty of ammunition and provisions. His reply to this summons was that "though the sea were covered with French vessels, and the" "land with Indians, he should not surrender unless forced to" "do so." On this reply, the Indians commenced firing. The fort also made a pretty good discharge of musquetry and some

cannon shot. The French and Indians slept around the fort that night. On the 15th August, Assumption day, M. d'Iberville landed two hours before day, (about 2, A. M.,) and after mass was said, the guns and mortars were placed in battery within half cannon shot of the fort, before mid-day. "*M. de*" "*Thury et le père Simon la parèrent belle, chacun travaillant à qui mieux mieux.*" Thury and father Simon assisting in fitting up with alacrity. After dinner the fort was again summoned. While the French were preparing their battery, they were fired on from the fort ; but about 3, P. M., all being ready, the French battery discharged five bombs against the defenders, at which the latter were visibly alarmed. St. Castin, who noticed this, went again to summon the English, and advised them to surrender, without which they could not be safe in case the place was taken by assault ; as the Indians would give them no quarter, in revenge for their brethren having been killed and made prisoners, (as they asserted), in a peaceful conference held with the English ; and that for this reason the Indians had been opposed even to summoning the fort. It seems that in the previous February, seven Abenakis had gone with a flag of truce to Pemaquid, to apply to captain Chubb for an exchange of prisoners. Of these seven, four were slain by the English, and three taken to Boston as prisoners. [3 *Charlevoix*, 233.] This story, whether well founded or not, was evidently believed by the French and the Indians, and must have naturally exasperated the latter, especially those of the same tribe with the sufferers. The menaces implied in the advice of baron St. Castin took effect, and the soldiers of the garrison insisted that Chubb should capitulate. The terms he demanded were that no person should be despoiled ;—that the captain and his garrison should be sent to Boston, and exchanged for the French and Indian prisoners detained there ;—and that they should be guaranteed against the fury of the Indians. All which being assented to, the fort surrendered at 5, P. M., and Chubb, with his garrison, marched out unarmed. Villieu entered the fort with sixty Frenchmen, and took possession. The garrison were carried in shallops to an island near which the French man-of-war lay, in order

that they should be protected from the revenge of the Indians. Father Baudouin went into the fort with the victors. Within was found a Canibat Indian in irons, half dead. It took the good father nearly two hours to file off the fetters of this poor captive, who was then carried to the French camp. Among the papers of the governor, a recent order was found, received from Boston, directing him to hang this Indian.

The fort was situated at the mouth of a river, on the shore of the sea. At high tide it was almost surrounded by water. Its form was that of a quadrangle, with four very fine towers. It had a gunpowder magazine, hollowed out of the natural rock, and a very fine *place d'armes* (parade ground) in the middle of the fortress. This fortress was very well built of good stone. The wall was 12 feet high, with a gallery above 12 1-2 feet thick. It had 16 cannon, from 12 to 8 pounds. (See description ante, 1692.) Hutchinson says (2 vol., p. 93) that there were no casemates or shelter for the men. The fort was not as strong as its appearance indicated. It was thought to have been capable of a longer defence. The magazine was protected by a rock, and only a small part of it was vulnerable by bombs. The lodgings for the garrison were excellent. It was well manned, provisioned and supplied with military stores. It is said to have been built and supported from 1692 at the cost of the province of Massachusetts. [3 *Charlevoix*, 263. 1 *Williamson, Maine*, 642.]

Agreeably to the capitulation, d'Iberville sent the prisoners to Boston, in a vessel of M. des Chauffours, that he had brought from the St. John river, and demanded of the council at Boston that they should send back to him Guyon and his people, and the Indians who had been captured by treachery, if they wished him to return the prisoners he had made in the taking of the Newport. The 17th and 18th August were employed in ruining the fort. On the 20th, the French sailed for *Monts déserts*, leaving Montigny, with three men, at Pemkuit, to await the return of their people from Boston. Montigny was directed to bring them on to *Monts-déserts*. The fort of Pemkuit having been demolished, its destruction was completed by fire. On the voyage to *Monts-déserts*, a young *garde-*

marine, called Dutast, an officer of the French, died of a pleurisy contracted in dragging up their mortars and guns at the siege, and his body was buried at sea. On the 22d August they reached Monts-déserts. Here d'Iberville, tired of the delay, and finding provisions running short, sent one hundred prisoners in a barque to Boston, reserving some of the more important captives, whom he landed under charge of M. de Villieu and twenty soldiers. On the 3 September the French sailed from Monts-déserts, but had hardly got out when they became aware of seven English vessels standing along the coasts. Night intervening, the French escaped, and d'Iberville went to cape Bréton, where he landed the Indians, and thence went to Placentia; but Villebon, who was going back to the river St. John with some of the Indians, was captured by the English squadron. On the 12th September, 1696, d'Iberville arrived at Placentia, and during the period between that and May, 1697, parties of 120 Canadians, under d'Iberville, who had royal orders to go there and carry on war, and a detachment from Placentia, under Brouillan, the governor of that place, captured all the English settlements, killed about 200 English and made 700 prisoners, burned St. John's, &c. Baudouin says also that many of the English were born in Newfoundland. He describes them as irreligious and immoral, and asserts that there was not one minister of any kind in all the English settlements in Newfoundland. He gives details of population, &c., in each settlement. The sum of all is : Captured English settlements—men, 1971 ; houses, 291 ; shallops, 442 ; codfish, 228,800. He also describes discord between Brouillan and d'Iberville, and charges the former with avarice and injustice.

On the 26 July, before the French vessels, the *Profond* and the *Envieux*, had left the river St. John, M. de Villebon wrote to the minister, dating *du bas la rivière S. Jean*, (lower part of the river St. John.) He says :

"My lord. M. d'Iberville having delivered me your grandeur's letter, in which you do me the honor to write, principally on the subject of rebuilding the fort at the lower part of the river, to go on steadily with that work with the forty

“soldiers and the sixty men of augmentation which his majesty has pleased to send. It was my belief that I could not undertake, with this small number of soldiers, a work which, though easy to repair, could not be effected as quickly as the enemy could get ready to oppose it. Messrs d’Iberville and de Bonaventure having orders, my lord, as you inform me, to go to Placentia at once after the expedition to Pemquit, I could not even reckon on the greater part of the soldiers who have come here under the command of M. de Falaise. There are among them good men, and many young people, from whom one cannot obtain much work; besides which, by your lordship’s orders, I am giving the twenty best soldiers of the two companies to M. de Villieu, who are to embark with him in M. d’Iberville’s vessel.”—The king’s ships should have arrived early to protect the work. The English frigates are expected out as convoy to the English ships loading with masts at Peskataoué.—“I had last fall commissioned le Sr. Dubreuil, a settler at Port Royal, to have 6000 feet of thick plank (*madriers*) made at a saw mill, and this as if on his own account. The two English frigates, which came there in the end of June, wished to know for what purpose the inhabitants required so much of this plank, and having some suspicions about it, they caused it to be burned. This has not prevented me going on with this work, as I have caused more to be made this winter near my fort.”—He recommends the granting of fishing licenses for the coast of Acadie to the English, at 100 livres per vessel. He thinks it will produce 10,000 livres. Although he has taken great pains with them, not above eight or ten of his soldiers have learned to manage a canoe. Thinks it better to send them *à la course*, (privateering?) and thus make them sailors. He says he offered d’Iberville to go as a volunteer to Pemaquid with his Indians. Found it did not please d’Iberville, and gave it up reluctantly. Is pleased with the return of M. Baudouin, the missionary, and is contented with the other missionaries.

“I have no more reason, my lord, to be satisfied with the sieurs d’Amour than I previously had. The one who has

“come from France has not pleased me more than the other two. Their minds are wholly spoiled by long licentiousness and the manners they have acquired among the Indians ; and they must be watched closely, as I had the honor to state to you last year.” He says also that famine prevails at Boston, and he has been assured that many families there have not eaten bread for more than four months past.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXV.

(1.)

1. A grant made by Frontenac, governor, and Champigny intendant to the *sieur* Michel Chartier, an inhabitant residing in Acadie, of half a league of land in front on each side of the river Descoudet, in the said country, by half a league in depth, with the adjacent islands, commencing on the south-west side of the land of the *sieur* de Saint Aubin, descending the said river, and on the north-east side at the unconceded lands opposite to the concession of the *sieur* Dubourchemin, to hold to the said *sieur* Michel Chartier, his heirs and assigns for ever, as a fief and seigniory, with superior, mean and inferior jurisdiction, and the right of hunting, fishing and trading with Indians, &c. Confirmed by royal brevet, at Versailles 19 May 1696. 2. A grant the same year to *sieur* Jacques François du Bourchemin, *écuyer*, *sieur* de l'Hermittière, lieutenant of a company of the marine forces, of lands on the river Oumaska. 3. Grant dated 20 June 1695, from Frontenac and Champigny to Bernard l'Amours de Plenne, of the river called Kanibecachiche (now written Kennebecasis) flowing into the St. John, with a league and a half on each side of said river, by two leagues in depth and the islands and islets adjacent. 4. Grant 20 June 1695, from Frontenac and de Champigny to the *sieur* Pierre Tibauteau, of the river of Kouakagouche, between the Monts-déserts, and Mejais (Machias) and of one league on each side of said river, by two leagues in depth, reckoning from its mouth, with the islands and islets adjacent, confirmed by *brevet du roi*, 9 May 1696.

(2.)

M. de Frontenac to M. de Lagny 12 Nov. 1695, informs him that Bonaventure in the Envieux, left the presents for the Indians at Pentagoet, and going to St. John, met an English frigate, had a battle ; all his rigging was shot away, and none to repair with. He left supplies at the river for Nachouac. He tried to accommodate the disputes between Villebon and his officers, Villieu and Montigni. He blames them all, but Villebon the least. He hopes he has brought them to a good understanding. “M. de Chevre has done an act of justice in assuming the”

protection of M. deVillebon, and he had need of his support, being attacked " by more powerful people than these two officers, and those whose credit and " intrigues are redoubtable." " P. S. I recommended to you, sir, in past years " the person named Baptiste, upon the good testimonials of M. deVillebon, but " have learned recently of language used by him, a little before he went to " France, which showed bad signs."—"They tell me he is a man married in " many places in France, and in Holland, besides the wife he has now in Port " Royal. M. deVaudreuil assures me he knows the one he has in France, and " that she lived near him in Languedoc. I thought I ought to inform you, as well " as M. de Chevry, that he may not impose on you, as he says he is gone to " France, to ask for another vessel in place of the one he has lost, that he may " more easily carry his wife and effects from Port Royal, to Holland or some " other enemy's country."

(3.)

The French in September 1696, with 6 ships of war, the Pelican, the Diamond, the Count de Thoulouse, the Vendange, the Philip, and the Harcourt, with five ships and other vessels attacked the several harbours, &c., near cape Spear, met with the Sapphire, an English man-of-war, commanded by captain Cleasby, to whom they gave chase, but he got safely into the bay of Bulls, where he landed and fortified the place in the best manner the short time would allow of. The English who lived in the bay came to his assistance, but on the approach of the French they all ran away. On the 11th of Sept. the whole French squadron came down upon the Sapphire and fired with the utmost fury. Capt. Cleasby made a gallant defence for some hours, having placed all his guns on the side of the ship next the enemy. The French at the same time made a descent, and having driven the men that were ashore into the woods, attacked the Sapphire on all sides. The captain finding it was impossible to maintain the ship any longer, retired with his officers and thirty-five men into the woods and set her on fire. Forty Frenchmen boarded her, thinking to extinguish it, but were all blown up, by the fire reaching the powder room. One hundred more of the Sapphire's crew getting ashore, made the best of their way to Ferryland, but were intercepted by the enemy, and all taken prisoners. Captain Cleasby and his company gained the harbor where he did his utmost to defend the place against the enemy, who now came to attack it. The 21st September they landed 600 men. After some firing the English surrendered. The French destroyed all the English settlements except St. John, Carbonear and Bonavista. [*History of the British Empire in America, pp. 141-142.*]

CHAPTER XXVI.

BENJAMIN Church had been a partizan commander in the war in 1675, in New England, called king Philip's war, and was after that engaged in a similar manner in the border fighting with the French and their Indian allies. Full details of his proceedings are given in a work written by himself, and which has been printed more than once. In his account of what he terms his fourth expedition East, he gives his commission from lieutenant governor Stoughton, appointing him as major, to command English and Indians, sent against the French and Indian enemy, by order of the Assembly of Massachusetts of 27 May, 1696. This commission is dated 3rd August, and the instructions on 12th August, in which last captain John Gorham is referred to as his adviser and assistant. A shallop brought some prisoners to Boston, and the news of the capture of the Newport, and the fall of fort William Henry. Church, being ready at this time, embarked with his men, at Boston, on the 15th August, (25 August, new style), and sailed for Piscataqua, where he was to receive an addition to his numbers. His whole force is stated at four or five hundred men. They appear to have followed the coast in open sloops and whale boats. They visited several places at Piscataqua, Penobscot and Kennebec, without meeting with any enemies but a few stray Indians. It was then resolved to proceed to Chignecto. Charlevoix, v. 3, 265, makes the English squadron of seven vessels from which the French men-of-war got off, to be the same that captured Villebon, and afterwards attacked Chignecto or Beau-

bassin, but it seems hardly probable the two frigates would have avoided Church's boats. As to Villebon's capture, it appears he shortly after got to his fort of Nachouac. Charlevoix says he was released on shewing a regular passport. However that may be, Charlevoix informs us that the English who went to Chignecto, or Beaubassin, landed 400 men, of whom fifty were Indians. That one Bourgeois, an inhabitant, went in a shallop to the vessel of the English commander, and shewed him a writing whereby all the inhabitants of Beaubassin had engaged at the time Acadie was conquered by Sir William Phips to remain faithful to king William, and had been received under his protection. Church appeared to respect this document, and coming on shore, went to Bourgeois' house; but his men treated the place as if it were an enemy's country. Many of the people hid their effects, and fled to the woods for safety. At the end of nine days most of the houses were destroyed by Church and his men. His Indians were the most merciful. Pillage was general, and a placard respecting trade, signed by count Frontenac, having been found outside the church, it was likewise burnt down. Having made many of them sign a new paper of allegiance to king William, Church reembarked his men and their booty, and, steering for the St. John river on the 29 September, arrived there the same day. (Church calls it 20th September, i. e. 30th, n. s.) Church himself admits that he made prisoners of the people of Beaubassin, and that their "cattle, sheep, hogs and dogs" were "lying dead" "about their houses, chopped and hacked with hatchets," although he says this was done without order from him. Church arrived first at a place a little north of St. John, which he calls Monogenest, (probably Manawagoniche or Mahogany.) After visiting the mouth of the St. John river, and taking a stray French soldier or two prisoners, Church found by information from one of them that 12 cannon were buried in the beach. These he obtained, and leaving St. John he met a squadron (Sept. 28, Oct. 8, n. s.) at Passamaquoddy, consisting of the Arundel, captain Higgins, and the Province Galley, captain Southwick, (Southack?) and a transport. Here he

was superseded in the chief command by colonel Hathorne, one of the council. The expedition now went up the river to Nachouac, and besieged Villebon in his fort on the 7 October, (17 Oct., n. s.) Villebon, after his return to his post at Nachouac, had sent an ensign named Chevalier, with three or four men, to keep watch at the mouth of the river. Chevalier was first alarmed by the appearance of a brigantine of about 60 tons, and the next day was attacked by some English, who had landed without his observation. On this he took to the woods, and went to notify Villebon of the enemy's arrival. Two days after, returning to the shore with two men, he fell into an ambuscade laid for him by some Indians of the English party, when Chevalier was killed and his two soldiers made prisoners. It was by them that the hiding places of the French were betrayed to Church, whose party was thus augmented by a new commander, three vessels and 200 men. On the 12th October, n. s., M. de Villebon received the news by his brother M. de Neuville, the youngest son of the baron de Bekancourt, whom he had sent down the river for intelligence, of Chevalier. Villebon wrote to father Simon, a Recollet, who governed an Indian mission not far off, to get as many of his neophytes as he could prevail on to join the garrison, and on the 14 October the friar brought in 36 warriors. Next day Villebon sent his brother Neuville again down towards the sea, and on the 16th he came back and reported that he had seen the enemy in great force about a league and a half below Jemsek, that is to say about half way from the mouth of the river to Nachouac. M. de Villebon had already put his fort in a good posture of defence. He proceeded, however, the rest of that day to throw up new entrenchments, in which he was fully seconded by his brother, by M. de Gannes, one of his officers, the sieur de la Côte, *ecrivain du Roy*, and by the sieur Tiberge, agent of the company of Acadie.* On the evening of the 17 October he caused the générale to be beat, (drum beat to collect troops), and all his garrison being under arms, he addressed

* The garrison of Naxoat at this time had been augmented to 100 men in all, in order to carry on the works of the fort.

them in moving terms, dwelling on the superiority of French troops, before whom an enemy usually gave way, and ended by pledging his honor that if any of them should be maimed in the combat, his majesty would provide for him during life. This speech was received with loud cries of *Vive le roy*, and just then the sieurs de Clignancourt and Baptiste arrived at the fort with ten Frenchmen, who had their dwellings below Nachouac, (Naxoat.) Villebon assigned to them the duty of heading the Indians and opposing the landing of the English, and enjoined them to send some one to him every day for orders. Things being thus arranged, every one went to his post; and as the barking of the dogs gave notice of the enemy's drawing near, every one passed that night under arms. On the 18th October, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, while the commandant was attending mass, he was informed that a sloop (chaloupe) had made her appearance, and that she was full of armed men. He immediately caused an alarm gun to be fired, and in an instant every one was at his post again. Two other sloops, armed like the first, followed shortly. They were suffered to approach within half the distance of a cannon shot, when they were fired on, and obliged to take shelter behind a point of land, where they put their men on shore. It was not possible to prevent this landing, though it took place almost within the range of musket shot, because the river was between the opposite parties. The English were heard directly cheering, and the French cheered in return. The English marched at once to a spot opposite to the fort, where the width of the river* did not exceed a pistol shot. At this place they encamped, and began without delay to work upon a demi-bastion (épaulement) to protect themselves from the fire of the fort. They then erected a battery of two field guns, which were ready to fire at the end of three hours. Then they hoisted the Royal standard, (le pavillon royal d'Angleterre), and in the evening they mounted a third gun, of a larger size than the two others, and nearer to the fort, but not being sheltered it was not much used. The two

* Naxoat is placed on the eastern side of the river St. John, in the map given in the E. & F. Commissaries' book, and so is Jemsek.

first guns were well served, but those of the fort better still. The firing of musketry was heavy on both sides, and the Indians of the two parties, being a little in advance on the river shores, contended with each other bravely. The coming on of night put an end to the engagement, and the Chevalier de Villebon, seeing the enemy preparing to light fires, as the weather was very cold, caused several alarms to be given in order to check them. Finding this did not answer, he had a gun loaded with grape shot, on the first discharge of which the English put out all their fires. Thus they passed a rough night, and at the break of day on the 19th the musketry of the fort began to fire on them. This fire was not returned until 8 or 9, A. M., and then only from the two field guns. La Côte, who had distinguished himself greatly in the evening before by firing rapidly and accurately, soon dismounted one of the field guns, and kept up such a severe fire upon the other that it was also abandoned in a little while. At noon the sieur de Falaise arrived from Quebec, using extreme diligence to take part in the defence of Nachouac, having on his way heard of the siege. A post of duty was accordingly assigned him. During the rest of the day the firing from the fort was well kept up. In the evening, the English lighted fires over a considerable extent of ground, and it was not doubted that they would decamp, and at a later hour they could be seen reembarking. Villebon proposed to the Indians who were under the command of Clignancourt and Baptiste that they should cross the river below the fort, and fall upon the retreating forces, but for some reason, not stated, they declined this service. On the morning of the 20th October the camp of the besiegers was found empty. Neuville was then detached to follow them; but after he had gone three leagues, he found them embarked in four vessels of about 60 tons, and going down the river with a favorable wind. He fired at them, to lead them to suppose that they were followed by the Indians, after doing which he returned to the fort.

The French loss at this siege is stated to have been one soldier killed, a second having his legs carried off by one of the French cannon, and a third injured by his fusil bursting

in his hands. (In this account of the siege taken from 3 Charlevoix, 268, 272, the English loss is not stated; but Villebon, ms. journal, May, 1697, says he was informed there were 20 or 25 killed and wounded; and in a letter dated 1 October, 1697, he says he has ascertained that the English loss in the attack on Nachouac, was 5 officers wounded, 8 soldiers killed and 12 wounded; and in their voyage back, 80 men of the crews died of sickness.) Hutchinson, Mass., v. 2, pp. 98, 99, gives a brief account of this siege. He says four of the small vessels went up the river and landed their men near the fort October 7, (17, n. s. ;) he also says, "Nor is any sufficient reason" "given for relinquishing the design so suddenly. It is probable that the forces were not provided with tents nor" "clothing sufficient to defend them from cold, which they" "had reason to expect to increase every day, and it is certain" "that old colonel Church was offended at being superseded" "in command." After the departure of the English, Villebon took the greatest pains to secure himself against further attack. He wrote* to M. Thury, and to a Jesuit missionary of Pentagoët and Kenebeki, informing them of the events of the siege, requesting them to animate the Indians, and to induce them to act against the English in the spring. In November, Bourgeois† and Arsenault, inhabitants of Beau-bassin, left the fort of Nachouac to go home, and Villebon instructed Bourgeois to notify the Indians of cape Breton to come to Nachouac in the ensuing spring. He also wrote, by M. Baptiste, who was going across the bay of Fundy, to the French at Mines and Port Royal, to send a supply of provisions. At the same time he sent over three invalid soldiers, to be fed at Mines, in order to spare his provisions. On the 23d November, Bellefontaine returned from Quebec, whither he had taken dispatches from the French court.

On the 1st December, at midnight, Villebon's house caught fire, but no great damage occurred. On the 4 December they began to cut pickets, to form a new enclosure for the fort, so as to place it in safety from 12 pounders. On the 10 Decem-

* Villebon's ms. journal.

† He is called Germain Bourgeois in another place.

ber, Villebon sent off two Indians to Quebec, with a report of the occurrences at the fort, and the capture of Villieu and his detachment, and requesting that their number should be replaced in the spring, as well as three officers required, expecting a new attack. On the 28th, a vessel with provisions arrived from Port Royal, with information that M. Baptiste had raised men to go on a cruise. There were two pirogues the English left on the coast, which he intended to employ. This whole month was devoted at Nachouac to cutting and bringing in pickets, in which, for some cause, they could not use the oxen they had, and hand-labor came hard on the soldiers.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1697. Villebon, the governor of Acadie, having succeeded in the defence of the fort of Nachouac, continued during the ensuing year, 1697, to strengthen his position, with great care and assiduity. In January the work of cutting and drawing pickets (*pieux*) went on incessantly until the 22nd. On the 23d, the first of them was put in the ground with incredible trouble, on account of the severe cold of the season and the earth being hard frozen. This work was carried on to the end of the month, on every fine day. On the 2d February, four *flibustiers*, (privateersmen), who were some of those Baptiste had raised in Mines, arrived at fort Nachouac. Baptiste could not come up the river himself, owing to the fatigues he had undergone. He had been 58 days in coming from Mines to the mouth of the St. John, which is only 25 leagues distant. Villebon says "He required a commission from me" "to go on a cruise with the two *pirogues* (a kind of canoes)," "left by the English, and twenty-one men of his crew. They" "took four men whom I sent him, with an order to give no" "quarter, except to women and children, and to burn every" "where he went. The rest of this month I made them put" "down pickets. On the 24th, the two Indians I had sent to" "Quebec on the ice arrived with despatches from *monsieur*" "*le comte de Frontenac* who expressed his satisfaction at the" "manner in which we had repelled the English, and that he" "would not fail, on the melting of the ice, to send twenty" "good soldiers, to replace those who had been taken with M." "de Villieu, and two officers from Canada," Villebon's official

journal, which is our authority at this period, is dated "*Au fort de Natchouat, le 2 October, 1697,*" and is among the Paris mss. The diligence and capacity of this officer are very apparent. He says: "The two Indians had left, fifteen leagues" "from here, two Frenchmen," (of the three I had sent in the autumn to carry the news of the retreat of the English), "scarcely able to walk from hunger. I sent a man to carry" "them provisions, and they arrived here on the 26th, in the" "evening." In March, he went on with picketing his fort. He had generally 15 or 16 sick out of his small garrison, through this winter. Baptiste had captured 6 fishing shallops (English) within three leagues from Casco bay. Famine prevailing in New England, he found no provisions, except fish on board them. The Bostonians threatened to capture and remove all the French from Acadie in retaliation for the French proceedings in Newfoundland in the previous autumn. New York, fearing an attack from Canada, had refused aid to Boston in the famine. Forty vessels from Virginia and Carolina, with provisions, were expected at Boston. Villebon wrote to the commandant at Boston, (April 21), demanding the release of Villieu and his soldiers, as captured in breach of good faith. April 29. He had finished the exterior defences of his fort of Nachouac. May 26, the *sieurs* de Becancourt, de Portneuf, and Robineau, three brothers of the chevalier Villebon, with a sergeant and 12 men, arrived (apparently from Canada) as a reinforcement to the garrison of Nachouac, and met their brother the governor on the 29th, when he returned from the mouth of the river, whither he had gone on the 24th. On the 21 June, M. de St. Cosme, curé of Mines, had brought fifty Indians of his mission to St. John, and went to the fort at Nachouac, where he received instructions from Villebon for taking them on to Pentagoët, dated 25 June, 1697. These instructions relate to the rations of the men, &c. July 10. Two canoes full of Micmacs arrived, and Villebon gave them powder, lead and rations, to go on to Pentagoët. July 17. Twenty-one Micmacs came, and were entertained and supplied like the others. July 26. He sent off seventy-two Indians of St. John's river, with the Recollet father, their missionary, to join

the others at Pentagoët, and ordered them to capture the people at Passamaquoddy, and other places in their way. He says, "These savages departed in a good disposition, and" "with the intention of giving no quarter in the enemy's" "places where they should pass; and I gave them 100 lbs." "powder and 500 lbs. lead, for *hunting on the sea shore* in" "going to Pentagoët. August 11th. I sent the sieurs Port-" "neuf and Clignancourt to Pentagoët, and wrote to sieur" "St. Cosme, and father Simon the Recollet, who had gone to" "conduct the bay of Fundi Indians to the number of two" "hundred, or thereabouts. I sent them the news I had from" "France, in order to tell the Indians and to exhort them not" "to grow tired, (ennuyer.) I sent them some tobacco, to" "make a feast and divert them a little. August 24. M. de" "Thury confirms to me the report I already had received of" "four small parties of our Indians having killed fifteen or" "sixteen English, and *burnt one of them alive*, on account of" "one of their chiefs being slain." (It seems that the Indians were to have met a French man-of-war at Pentagoët, and in this were disappointed; so, whatever was intended, the enterprize failed.) On the 9th September, two Micmacs came to the fort, and reported that seventy of their people had gone home from Pentagoët for lack of provisions, and the Recollet missionary had also returned home. 21 September. "Three" "Micmac savages arrived from Pentagoët, who had been of" "the last party, (where they had burned an Englishman)," "who brought me a scalp, and a letter from M. Thury, dated" "the 14 September, stating that seventy canoes had left," "including Micmacs, Malecites and Pentagouët Indians, and" "meeting at Kennebec, they counted three hundred men," "who intended to make at the English villages, and on their" "return would bring me some prisoners." Sept. 25. Becancourt, lieutenant des troupes de la Marine, left his brother's fort of Nachouac for Quebec.

Letter of M. des Chambault, priest, dated at Panawanskek, the 24th September, 1697 :

Sir. Having accompanied, as I have done, the party which has been made up from here, agreeably to your expressed

wishes, I have thought it was my duty to render you an account myself of the success that it has had, which I shall always do with brevity, the reverend father Simon going himself to carry you the news of it at greater length. We left this the 13 September, to the number of one hundred and twenty men, without counting myself as one. The design of our Indians was to go firstly to join those of Kanibekki, in order to form, all together, a large party, which might strike a considerable blow at the enemy. But arriving at Pemkuit, we perceived at a distance five English vessels that were coming under sail. It was already sunset, and we did not believe that they could then discover us, being at first hidden behind a large island, outside of which "(au large de la quelle)" they were passing. We sent during the night a canoe on the look out, which returned shortly and reported to us that the ships were anchored quite close to where we were, and were already landing their people. This made us think, that having discovered us, they had the intention of coming to attack us early in the morning. Our people on their side being prepared, went on first and attacked them, and at the commencement put their vanguard to flight ; but coming up to the main body of the enemy, were soon obliged to fly in their turn, and entrench themselves on high ground, where they held firm, until, being nearly surrounded, they withdrew further, and they fought thus at other advantageous positions, until, being forced by the enemy to retreat as far as the spot where they had left their canoes, they were all obliged to embark, though in full numbers, and without being compelled to abandon any of our baggage. In this engagement, which lasted at least three hours, we lost a young man, namely, the son of Renauld—and we had six wounded. The true number of the enemy killed cannot be stated ; but from all the marks we noticed of it, and by those that were seen dead, we think the number amounts at least to forty-five or fifty men, English and Indians, among whom were three or four of mark. We reckon the whole number of the enemy, as well on shore as in the vessels, at four hundred. They had brought on shore two horses, on which were mounted two persons of consideration. Those

who were fighting had a trumpet, which was played during the combat. When we had re-embarked, the ships came down on us under sail, and fired from their cannon at us ; but they presently gave up the pursuit, and stopped opposite the place where the battle occurred. We are much embarrassed to imagine what object the enemy had in this expedition, for the canoe which we left there to watch their proceedings has reported to us, that after having taken on board again all their people, which they did the same day, they almost immediately set sail to return home.

M. de Villebon, writing to the minister, 9 October, 1697, says that d'Iberville neglected to come from Placentia to the river St.^s John, as he should have done, preferring a fishing business there, in which he employed the English prisoners. He says he lost his best soldiers and his best canoe men when Villieu was taken. That he has sent M. de Falaise to command at Port Royal, where an officer was much required. He is of opinion that it would not be judicious to attempt to rebuild the fort at the mouth of the St. John river, unless he had more men and the support of ships of war. The garrison was insufficient. In this year, peace was established between France and England, by the treaty of Ryswick, ratified by king William 3, on 25 September, 1697. Acadie was again admitted to be French territory, and the boundaries were to be settled by commissioners.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVII.

(1.)

In this year 1697, a French fleet under the marquis of Nesmond was sent out to attack the English in Newfoundland and in New England, but they arrived late in the season from Brest at Placentia, on the 27th July, and abandoned the design. Charlevoix, 2 *Hutch. Mass.* 102-104.

(2.)

Governor Bradstreet of Massachusetts died at Salem 27 March, 1697, aged 94 or 95. He was 76 when first made governor. [2 *Hutch. m.* 105.]

(3.)

A squadron of men-of-war under admiral Neville, with 1500 land forces under command of Sir John Gibson, were sent to Newfoundland in 1697, and the French withdrew from the places on the south coast they had captured. Gibson in 1698, built a fort at St. John harbor, calling it Fort William, and left colonel Handaside there as commandant with one hundred men. Handaside was soon made governor of Jamaica, and captain Wm. Lilburn succeeded him. In 1701 he resigned. Captain Humphrey Haven, captain John Powell, and colonel Michael Richards successively commanded there till 1703, when capt. Thomas Lloyd was appointed. He was succeeded in 1704, by captain John Moody, who was succeeded by colonel Phillips about 1717. [*History of the British Empire in America*, pp. 143-144.] In 1719, colonel Gledhill was made lieut.-governor of Placentia in place of Moody, who had been appointed when Costabelle surrendered the place.

(4.)

Grant 23rd April 1697, from Frontenac and Champigny to the sieur Genaple de Villeneuve, of the space of land containing a league and a half front by two in depth, to bound from the seigneurie of Naxcouak, to the river of Skoutecpkek, with the islands, islets and flats within that extent.

(5.)

Treaty of Ryswick, September 20, 1697. Article 7. Restituet dominus rex christianissimus domino regi Magnae Britanniae, omnes regiones, insulas, arces et colonias ubivis locorum sitas, quas possidebant Angli ante hujus praesentis belli declarationem : et vice versa dominus rex Magnae Britanniae restituet domino regi Christianissimo omnes regiones, insulas, arces, et colonias ubivis locorum sitas quas possidebant Galli ante dictam ejusdem belli declarationem.

The lord the most christian king shall restore to the lord the king of Great Britain all the regions, islands, citadels and colonies, wheresoever situated, which the English held possession of before the present war was declared, and *vice versa* the lord king of Great Britain shall restore to the lord the most christian king all the regions, islands, citadels and colonies, wheresoever situated, which the French possessed before the present war was declared. N. B.—The territory between the Kennebec, and the St. Croix river, was now claimed by France, as part of New France, and by Massachusetts, as included in her charter. This treaty was proclaimed in Boston Mass. 10 December, 1697.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1698. In February, 1698, Andover, about 25 miles from Boston, was surprized by the Indian enemy. Seven inhabitants were killed—others captured, and many houses burned. Among the slain was captain Chubb, who had been commander of the fort of Pemaquid. [1 *Hutch., Mass.*, 106.] 20 July. M. de Bonaventure arrived with despatches to governor Villebon, and the treaty of peace. In the summer of 1698, a French frigate, on her passage from France to Port Royal, meeting with an English colonial fishing vessel near cape Sable, gave the master a translation of an order of the French king, directing the seizure of all English vessels found fishing on the coasts of Acadie, and the fisherman was told to notify others. M. de Bonaventure, in the *Envieux*, also boarded several other fishing vessels, and ordered them away. September 5, 1698, Villebon wrote, by order of the king of France, to lieutenant governor Stoughton, of Massachusetts, asserting the right of the French to all the country to the Kennebec, which they claimed as their boundary, the river to be free to both nations, and threatening to seize all effects of the English trading or fishing east of that limit. The French this year built a chapel at Narantsouac, on the river Kennebec, (called Norridgewock by the English.) Here the celebrated father Ralle was stationed as missionary to the Canibats and other neighboring Indians. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 111.] The English at this time designed to rebuild the fort of Pemaquid, and to settle on both banks of the Kennebec; and Villebon,

not able to oppose them by open force, sought to prevent it by the agency of the Indians.

At Port Royal, M. de Belleisle, (le Borgne), claiming to be seigneur of the country from Mines (now Horton) to isle Verte, (near St. Mary's bay, on the eastern coast), collected a duty of 50 *écus* from each English vessel that resorted for trade to Acadie; and Mandoux, the priest at Port Royal, and other missionaries, encouraged a trade with the English. The inhabitants at Port Royal wrote letters to the governors of New England, and to lord Bellamont, requesting the benefits of free trade. Mr. John Nelson arrived 24th Sept. at Nachouac. Alden, an Englishman, was five weeks trading with the Indians at Pentagoët, and they sold him all their furs. Villebon thought the presents to the Indians in time of peace, to be unnecessary. At this time the fort at the mouth of the St. John was rebuilding. Fishermen sent out by the company were placed at Chibouctou, (now Halifax harbor.) Villebon recommended their being employed in the seal fishery in the winter. The French soldiers under Villebon at this period were only 70 in number. A pirate appeared off St. John, and the fort then rebuilding was placed in a posture of defence. The population of Port Royal and Beaubassin was 753. [*Rameau, p. 129.*] In the autumn of 1698, famine existed in Acadie. One-third of the people had to live on shell fish; and Villebon, receiving no supplies of provisions, had to get Indian corn and meal from Boston.

1699. Villebon, writing from fort St. John, in Acadie, 27th June, 1699, says he had written to lord Bellamont about the boundaries and the trading of the English on the coast, and to demand that some French fishermen who had run away with a vessel and goods to Boston should be sent back. Lord Bellamont replied that the two kings having appointed commissioners to settle the boundaries, they must await their decision. He demanded the liberation of one David Basset, an English subject, kept prisoner in Acadie. Villebon says that the English continue to fish on the coast, but do not dry their fish on the shores, and their passports from the governor at Boston enjoin them not to trade. He visited the harbors on

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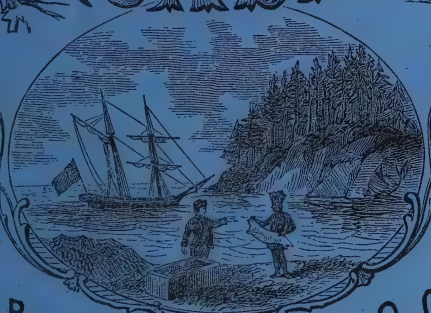
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PROVINCE OF NOVA-SCOTIA:

Be it remembered, That on this Thirteenth day of March, 1865, BEAMISH MURDOCH, of the City of Halifax, Esquire, has deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the Copyright of which he claims in the words following:—
“A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA OR ACADIE, BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE, Q. C.

JAS. H. THORNE.
Deputy Secretary.

the eastern coast—he found several English fishermen. He spoke three of these vessels, and told them to withdraw, and if he found them there on his return he would take them. Having been at Chibouctou, where the company had established fishermen, he ascertained that great part of them had withdrawn to Boston, because they were of the (Protestant) religion, and recommends that such be as little employed as possible. He says, that during all this year there has not appeared any pirate on the shores of Acadie, but that New England has suffered by a pirate of 42 guns and 250 men, which has withdrawn to the east of Newfoundland, where it ruined and burned the village of Fromouse, and four fishing vessels, and carried off a frigate of 24 guns. He says, in reference to the commerce and fishery of Acadie, that if rightly managed, this province is a Peru. He sends Basset to France in Courbon's ship. He says he is a dangerous man. In 1689 the sieur Para, governor of Placentia, sent him prisoner (as a sectary) *religionnaire*, to Bayonne. That on arrival he was ordered to be tried. That the *sieur* de la Boulaye, being *commissaire*, (judge.) Basset having friends, got a pardon, on condition of making abjurations, and settled with all his family at Port Royal; one Jouglas, a merchant of Bayonne, becoming his security in 1000 livres. Basset was afterwards at Rochelle, and took a cargo for government to Placentia and Port Royal. At Port Royal he obtained from governor Menneval permission to go to Boston, to bring his family thence; but when there, he staid. That in 1690 he went with the Boston squadron which captured Port Royal, and was guilty of great disorder there and insolence in the church, and robbed the shores in a vessel he commanded. Thence he went to Lahève, where he robbed and cruelly treated a family still living there. He took Chedabouctou, entirely ruined that post, and used everywhere more cruelty than the English themselves. In 1691 he was in the river of Canada, where he took a vessel belonging to the *sieur* de la Chesnay—robbed and burned three or four dwelling houses in the bay des Chaleurs, and afterwards he went along with the *flibustiers*, until 1697, when, coming to cape Sable to trade there, he was taken by captain Baptiste,

and brought to the fort of Naxoat, (Nachouac.) Villebon, having been ordered to collect experienced pilots, thought he ought to treat Basset gently. Basset promised to do his best, saying that the English had forced him to undertake with them the ruin of the coasts of Acadie ; and in 1698, Villebon permitted him to go to Boston, on condition of coming back with his family and effects. He was notified by Mr. Nelson on the 22 September, 1698, that Basset had deceived him, and that he would not return ; but on the 8 December last, Basset having arrived from Boston with merchandize, he has been arrested. Villebon says also that he had been at Chibouctou, to see the state of the company's affairs after the desertion of Paquinet and Daubré, who left but eight men and a surgeon, who has since been drowned. That M. de la Ronde had previously made an inventory of the effects left by the deserters. That the eight men who remained there, of whom three were Irishmen, had taken but 25 quintals of dry fish, alleging there was none at Chibouctou, and expressing a wish to go to Placentia to fish, which he did not approve.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVIII.

(1.)

The river St. George, about half way between Pentagoët and the Kennebec began to be spoken of as the boundary about this time. *Charlevoix*, 348, 349.

(2.)

Villebon, Bonaventure and L'hermite had agreed (1698), upon a plan of the fort at the mouth of the river St. John. 3000 livres had been granted. He, Villebon, was paying workmen 30 sous a day, labourers 20 sous, and the soldiers who work at it 4 sous a day over their pay, and a weekly allowance of 1 qr, lb. tobacco. The fort can only hold 200 men, but 100 are sufficient for its defence. There are 24 pounders on the bastions, and 36 pounders could be placed there, three on each bastion. Villebon sends home a mast as a specimen, 82 feet long, 31 inches diameter at one end and 21 at the other.

(3.)

4 Oct. 1698, Villebon says the English were trading in the spring in all the settlements. They take the beaver at 3 livres and 3l. 10s. for the pound English of

14 ounces, and 55 sous a pound for winter beaver. Alden traded at Pentagoët, bought furs and sold goods to a son-in-law of St. Castin, and three other Frenchmen. He has prayed M. Deschambault missionary at Pentagoët to drive away the English. LeBorgne and his brother-in-law de Pleine, play seigneurs at Port Royal, and grant licenses to the English at 50 livres the vessel. (Abraham Muis, called Pleinmarais, or Plemarch, who was living at cape Sable in 1686, (see census of that year,) as well as le Borgne had married daughters of Charles de la Tour.) The Bostonians wish to trade in coal, but it would be of little consequence, as Boston would not consume over four cargoes, beyond what they got from England in ballast.

(4)

The Envieux arrived at Rochelle 9th December, 1698, with dispatches. M. de Thury, priest, missionary in Acadie, proposes to be placed at the fork of two small rivers called the Aquixadi and the Pegitegiak (called by the Indians, Pegdiody,—five or six leagues from the basin of Mines, and asks government aid. (This may have been near the Windsor river. now called the Avon, formerly Pisiquid.) The river Aquixadi is said to go down to Chibouctou. For this settlement he asks a grant of land “between the bottom of the bay of Mines, and the river Aquixadi,” “which descends to Chibouctou, by two leagues wide or deep on each side of” “said river.” (Perhaps the St. Croix is the Aquixadi.) Villebon reports again favorably of the progress of his fort at St. John; but he has only 70 men. Ten or twenty are busied with the clay and mortar. The fort is fraised, (picketed) and when the bastions and curtains are *retailles* (smoothed over) outside, and the palissades placed which will be done in the spring, it will do honor to whoever will defend it. He has left Nachouac just as it was, leaving only two men to take care that nothing is spoiled by the savages. If a large fort is wished for, he recommends Pentagoët, on the river St. George, as the best place, and where Indian support can be at hand. The old fort at Pentagoët may be restored as easily as that at St. John. Baptiste has come back from Boston, where he was a prisoner. Villebon suggests he should be made captain of a small coast guard vessel. He would be a good land officer, and Villebon has made him captain of the Militia at Port Royal. He says Mandoux, curé at Port Royal, is refractory, and that he and Mathieu Guyon urge on trade with the English and get presents from them. Represents the want of priests. Father Simon is sick at Jemsec. There is one at Chibouctou, and M. Thury towards Mouscoudabouet. These are all. The fort and the three chief settlements are without priests. St. Cosme appearing to be Villebon's friend was removed. Le sieur decostre, says :—Neuvillette having found an English ketch at Port Royal, with one Benson, the owner, arrested vessel and owner without resistance, took the sails and put them on board la Galliarde, which he commanded, allowed Benson to sleep aboard his vessel, and the next day, while Neuvillette and Benson were drinking together at Labat's lodgings, the English ketch sailed off, and in the evening Benson escaped. Mentions a report that Mandoux and some of his parishioners had gone to Quebec to complain of Villebon. That an English ketch had been at one Petipas' at Mouscadabouet, and that the English were trading at cape Zambre. Decoste says that Bonaventure ordered away an English ketch that was fishing at Chibouctou. Falaise and DesGoutin send many complaints against Villebon.

(5.)

The count de Frontenac died 28 Nov. 1698. The Indian Sachem Madockawando died in 1698, the father-in-law of baron de St. Castin. [3 *Maine Hist. Society's Collections* pp. 124-139.]

(6.)

M. Tiberge writing from St. John, 21 June 1699, charges Bonaventure and the officers of his ship with trading, selling linens, cottons, needles, pins, ribbons, &c., at all the settlements he touched at, and buying furs in exchange. The officers of the garrison do the same.—— That beaver was sent from Villebon's chamber by night to Boston to be sold there. Pierre leBlanc, Guillaume Blanchard and Louis Alain at Port Royal did the same, sending beaver to Boston to sell. M. de Chaffour is interested in the same trade. He recommends the company to lower their profit on sales to 50 per cent., and on fishery supplies to 40 per cent., as a way of humoring the people. He also charges Castin with trading with the English.

Desgoutins, 23rd June, 1699, says Villebon "keeps the water within the " "fort for the exclusive use of his kitchen and his mare, others being obliged to " "use snow water, often very dirty."

M. Tiberge writes, Mandoux had been to Canada to complain of Villebon. Villebon brought Allain, an inhabitant, prisoner from Port Royal. for disrespect to himself, mentions other complaints against Villebon.

Villebon writes from fort St. John, 27 October, 1699 :—"Beaubassin is in " "need of a priest. There has been no fort chaplain these three years. Thinks " "an Irish priest would do well, as the Irish catholics at Boston might be induced " "thereby to remove here." Refers to Indian presents, 450 livres, recommends " "their discontinuance. L'Avenant, M. de Gabaret Lamotte, commander, came " "too late for a census, he will send one next year." The fishermen from Chibouctou are now fishing at port Razoir, (Shelburne.) M. Thury the priest is dead, which stops his project for an Indian settlement. Mandoux takes his mission, but does not know the Indian language. Besides they cannot be induced to give up their lands and settle in one spot. The work they would do on the land would not support them, it would be so little. It is their maxim to feast when they have food, and when without they suffer much. Being short of bread he could not make much progress with the fort. M. Pontchartrain has informed him, this fort is not to be kept up after Port Royal is fortified ; so it is of no use to go on with the demi-lune, &c. Of 3000 livres sent this year for fortifications, M. Fontenu has taken 750 for Placentia, leaving 2250*l.* applicable to Port Royal, as they have enough for what is wanted to be done at St. John, now a temporary work. He sent four men to Mines to a cliff for copper. They were ten or twelve days there. It cost 47 livres. Produced but little of it. Sends home specimens for examination. In the end of August, a pirate appeared on our coasts, and near cape Sable. She captured a vessel going from New York to London. The pirate was pierced for 46 guns, and had but 26 mounted. They killed cattle at port Razoir, but paid for them. He mentions a M. Diereville, who brought out letters of recommendation and promises to show him attention. Diereville appears to have been a botanist, for Villebon adds, "there are in this country "

"very curious plants which the Indians make good use of in their ailments." (Dièreville published a book giving an account of his visit to Port Royal, &c.) Villebon describes the farming, &c., at Port Royal. They feed themselves and have surplus to sell. Hemp and flax prosper. Some use no other cloth but homespun. The wool is good and most of the inhabitants are dressed in their own woollen homespun. Fruits, pulse, and garden stuff are excellent. Provisions are cheap. Wheat 40 sous a bushel. The bushel weighs 41 1-2 lbs. Beef is 2 sous a pound, cattle 40 to 30 livres each. Sheep, some weighing 100 lb. for 7 livres, to 7 livres 10 sous, and mutton 3 sous a pound. Lard 2 or three sous. A pair of chickens 10 sous, &c. Eggs 5 sous a dozen. Hares and partridges 4 or 5 sous a piece. Game plenty. "The founders of Port Royal knew the country well before they selected it as their fortress. They had forts at Port Latour, at Lahève, Muscoudabouet, where there is one now, (1699.) River St. Mary, yet fortified, and establishments in cape Breton. These all belonged to individuals, and when a good understanding existed among them, which was but rarely, they used to come to Port Royal to seek refreshments, as did those of Pentagouet on the west shore, which was also fortified, also the river St. John. But it is to be remarked, that except Port Royal and Lahève, where they cultivated land and carried on fishery, the other posts were only kept up for trading with the savages. Port Royal is then the general store of the country, and fortifying it protects Mines also, where corn is now raised, and cattle." States it as necessary against the English and pirates. He gives the details and proposed site of the fort and means of building. It should be for a garrison of 300 or 400 men.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1700. M. de Fontenu had been sent out by the king of France to examine into the circumstances of Acadie, and after an exact inspection of the country, he advised the government to abandon the fort of Nachouac. His reasons were that the frequent inundations of the river St. John, and the difficulties of navigation at its mouth, with the contracted space of its harbor, made any fixed establishments there open to objection. It was, in consequence, resolved to transfer the head quarters of the government and the garrison to Port Royal; but no pains were taken to make a strong post in case of war, nor were the advantages of Lahève or Canceaux attended to; places esteemed by many of greater commercial and military importance. [3 *Charlevoix*, 375, 876.] It is said in *Charlevoix* that three vessels could not anchor in St. John harbor without inconvenience to each other, but this seems exaggerated.

Captain John Alden, of Boston, addressed a memorial to his excellency the earl of Bellamont, dated Boston, April 9, 1700. He states, that for 30 years and upwards he has frequently made voyages and traded between Boston and Acadie, or Nova Scotia. That it was understood and acted on, by both French and English, that the river St. Croix, (and Passamaquoddy bay, into which that river falls), was the boundary between the two nations. The English fish in that bay, and make fish on its shore, in the time of peace, without hindrance from the French.

On the 5th of July, M. de Villebon, the governor of Acadie, died there. He was one of the sons of Charles le Moyne, seigneur of Longueil, near Montreal, of Norman extraction, who is called by Charlevoix the baron de Békancourt. M. de Brouillan, governor of Placentia, was appointed to succèd M. de Villabon. In the summer of 1700, M. de Villieu and M. de Fontenu, (commissaire de la marine), visited Port Royal, and, having assembled the inhabitants, gave them orders to get ready a quantity of palissades for the fortifications of the place. The command of the country appears to have devolved on M. de Villieu, from the death of Villebon until the arrival of Brouillan, in June, 1701. In the autumn of 1700, M. Bonaventure made a voyage along the coast, exploring for copper and iron mines, with little success. Two-thirds of the isle of St. Paul was granted to the *sieur* Lebert by Duchesneau, intendant, in 1676, confirmed as a fief and seignory by royal brevèt, 23 April, 1700.

1701. The earl of Bellamont, governor of New York and New England, died in March, 1701, at New York. Lieutenant governor Stoughton, of Massachusetts, died in July, 1701, after which the council at Boston exercised the government of that province. They claimed that the English had a common right with the French to fish on the coast of Acadie. They also claimed title to the province of Sagadahock. In January, 1701, Basset returned from Boston, and in March went back there. Villieu seized his effects at Mines. 25 June, Basset returned without his family, and Villieu on the 28th arrested him, and sent him to the river St. John. The next day, 29th June, Brouillan arrived and took charge. Brouillan, on reaching the coast, landed at Chibouctou, (Halifax harbor), on account of contrary winds. Of this place, he says, "This" "port is one of the finest that nature could form. It is true" "that to make it secure would cost rather dear, because its" "entrance is wide and very easy. I found there two or three" "hundred savages, who represented to me the grief they felt in" "having received the knowledge of the true religion, without" "having the means of cultivating it, bestowed on them. I" "gave them to understand that they should receive satisfac-

"tion on this subject by-and-bye."* To save time, as the wind was still unfavorable for getting out, he took some Indians with him, and went overland to Port Royal, visiting Lahève and Mines in his route. He recommends the building a fort at Lahève, "already fortified by its happy situation." He thinks it should be immediately occupied, and become the principal place in the province. On his way thence to Mines he crossed many fine streams of water, and noticed many good places for settlement, and excellent wood for masts. At Mines he found the people very comfortable and independent, possessed of a great number of cattle, and able to export or spare 700 or 800 barriques (hogsheads) of wheat (blé) yearly beyond their own consumption. He says "they lived like" "true republicans, not acknowledging royal or judicial authority," and it required a subsequent visit from M. de Bonaventure to bring them to order. He induced them to obey some judgments of M. des Goutins, which they had previously disregarded. Brouillan says "I proposed to those demi-republicans to make a road for ten leagues across the woods" "to get to Port Royal. They have engaged to execute this" "project as soon as the harvest is over. They can subsequently make a like one to Lahève. I arrived at this place" (Port Royal) "on the 20th of June, and I assembled all the" "inhabitants there two days after." In this meeting he urged on them the duty of supplying palissades for the fort, which they had neglected. He had been informed that the people had gone for orders to M. Mandoux, the curé of Port Royal, and he attributes to this the disinclination they showed to his proposal. They expressed apprehension that the province would be put under the control of a company, and openly declared, that in such an event, they would do nothing for its defence, but would rather belong to the English. Brouillan, however, by mild remonstrances, brought them round, and they agreed to do what he requested. Immediately after this he went over to St. John, where he "found the fort in good" "condition, but of little use for the glory of the king and for"

* The minister's marginal note directs a missionary to be sent to them.

“the preservation of the country. Besides these two essential things, this fort was extremely small, and commanded on one side by an island, at the distance of a pistol shot, and on the other by a height, which commanded it entirely, at the distance only of a hundred and odd fathoms,” (toises), “with the disadvantage of having no water to drink, without going to seek it beyond the torrent of the river St. John.” All these reasons have determined me to abandon it. I have caused all the fortifications to be razed, and have demolished the houses, of which the timber may be of use to us. I likewise had the planks (madriers) saved which were at the gun batteries. I should have had much difficulty in transporting all these materials in our barques, if M. de Moreille had not laden as much as he could on board the Gironde. The guns, arms and ammunition were also embarked in her, as well as the officers and men of the garrison.” He expresses his gratitude to the captain of the Gironde. He then shews the superiority of the site of the fort at Port Royal. He says, “It is scarcely possible that the enemy could make a descent, except at the foot of the glacis, under the fire of cannon, or in places where one could dispute the ground with them, foot by foot, even with the small force kept here, all the environs of the fort being marshy, and cut by good trenches of earth and ditches impracticable enough. I might have made a more regular fortification, had I not thought it more advantageous to avail myself of the ground as it is, which, without adding much to nature, forms a fine glacis around two-thirds of the place, elevated thirty-five feet from the level of the rivers which wash its foot to the palissade of the covered way; so that in raising, as I have done, the ground of the covered way four feet and a half, I find, by means of the declivity, a terrace of more than a fathom at the foot of the rampart, which will thus be raised more than eighteen feet, by casting there the earth taken out of the covered way.” Adverting next to the great extent of territory in the province, and its distance from Quebec, he suggests that the governor should have the dignity of lieutenant general of the

king. He urges his services for 32 years—his success in driving the enemy from Placentia, and his capture of the English forts in Newfoundland, his wounds, &c. ; says he has received no other recompense, and refers to his experience, vigilance and fidelity, all as reasons to obtain this distinction, and closes his letter thus : “ I avow to you, my lord, that ” “ independently of the Gascon vanity, of which the people of ” “ my country make profession, mine is delicate enough to ” “ prefer honors to my individual interest, not asking of you ” “ on this subject anything but wherewith to live simply, ” “ which I shall do nevertheless very badly this year, although ” “ I have taken up considerable loans, and I have used all ” “ possible economy in the expenses I have been forced to ” “ incur up to this moment.”

Brouillan, in a *mémoire* of 6 Oct., 1701, recommends the building the fort at Port Royal in masonry, and sends an estimate of 68,635 livres as the probable charge. Requests to have 1 master mason, 6 stone cutters, with their tools, 12 rough walling masons, 2 house carpenters, 1 lime burner, 2 brickmakers and tylers, 2 quarrymen, crowbars, hammers, &c. &c. He has built already a lime kiln and made a brick yard, the clay being excellent. He proposes to bring limestone from St. John ; recommends limestone to be sent from France as ballast. He requested augmentation of troops. (The minister ordered two companies, each 50 men, to be sent, in addition to the two companies there of 30 men each.) Brouillan recommends his nephew St. Ovide de Brouillan, captain at Placentia, to be major of Acadie ; also recommends for promotion Neuville, Tinville, Denis, (son of M. Bonaventure), des Chauffours and de Plenne. Sr., Baptiste and his own nephew, the chevalier de Noë, Puissens, Dupouy and des Salles, for promotion. He suggests the erection of a little redoubt at the entrance of Port Royal basin, where a guard could be kept to give notice of an enemy's approach. Thinks it useless to fortify Goat Island, (*isle aux chèvres*.) The inhabitants clear small spots, but hold large grants. The militia in and near Port Royal form six companies, but badly armed and destitute of ammunition. They were 328 in all, including

Port Royal, Mines and Beaubassin. Goods are sold at Port Royal much dearer than at Boston. The people at Placentia were allowed to trade with Boston, while those of Port Royal were not. The Port Royal people are more afraid of a company than of the English. The curé Mandoux is a man of intellect, but desirous to rule in temporal as well as spiritual affairs. The curé of Mines has 800 livres, salary. There is no priest at Piziguy (Windsor) nor at Beaubassin (Cumberland.) There being no fort chaplain, he has retained a Recollet from Placentia. Guay, who was fort chaplain, received 75 livres for a year's service. The missionary to the Malecites has removed, with Brouillan's consent, from Medoctec to Pesmokady, (18 leagues from Port Royal.) He speaks in praise of M. Gaulin, missionary at Pentagoët. He doubts about M. Bigot, missionary at Kinebequy, as the Indians there have made peace with the English—received presents from them, and buried the hatchet under a pile of masonry. He also says there is a missionary at Richibuctou. He sent to St. Castin, who came to Port Royal to explain his conduct in dealing with the English; and that he hopes through him to fix the Indians in that direction in the French interest. He says the presents he has given the Indians are handsome, as those of 1699 and 1700 have been added to the gifts of 1701. He has also sent them French flags for their forts, and a gun and a sabre for each man, which they accepted. He says the English sell their goods below value to buy the friendship of the Indians. He urges the building a fort at Lahève. The pirates ruin the people on the coast. "I send an account of the cannon I found at the foot of the river St. John, and at Natchouak, where I have sent to look for eight left there when it was abandoned." "Madame de Freneuse, requests" him to state that the death of her husband, a nobleman " (gentilhomme) of this country, was owing to ill health contracted in the king's service. He threw himself into the " fort of Natchouak when it was attacked." In consequence of this, the English burned his house and ravaged all that belonged to him. She had been left a widow with a large family, two of whom were now cadet-soldiers of the companies in this

garrison. She prays the king to please to grant her the small pension allowed in Canada to persons in her situation. It was a charity that would not extend further, there being no other widows in the country at present. Madame Louise Guyon had been the wife of Mathieu d'Amours de Freneuse. Brouillan objects to des Goutins, the judge, that being "related to more than half the people of the country," he is thereby disqualified to do justice. Basset's effects, (his vessel included), were valued at 4177 livres, 15 sous. He sends him to France in the Gironde, and begs for the proceeds of his effects for his own use. La Verdure, first captain of the militia of Mines, an old inhabitant, honest, loyal and poor, is debtor to Basset 1400 livres ; recommends its being released in his favor. Bonaventure had visited most parts of the province for information. Two places were yet unvisited, where lead mines are said to be. He thinks the fur trade injurious to settlement. Plank, wood, coal and fish could be exported to the West Indies, and masts procured for the navy. Recommends the whole Eastern coast to be granted in seigneuries. Asks for Rossignol and Petite rivière for himself. Bonaventure wishes a grant from the S. E. point of the Belle anse, as far as the river Chichimiskady. Brouillan asks for his nephew St. Ovide, if he is sent out, a grant from the N. E. point of port Mouton to the river St. Catherine, inclusive. M. Bereau Monsegur came to Port Royal, as agent of merchants of St. Jean de Luts and Bayonne, offering to settle a company.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIX.

(1.)

Captain John Alden, of Boston, in a memorial to His Excellency, the earl of Bellamont, dated Boston, April 9, 1700. He traded between Boston and Nova Scotia for above 30 years. The river St. Croix and Passamaquody bay was the boundary between the French and English understood and acted on.

(2.)

M. Brouillan. In 1685, the French fortified Placentia in Newfoundland. In 1690, it was taken by surprize by the English *flibustiers*. In 1692, Brouillan was

governor there. It was attacked in September by five English ships of war, who eventually abandoned the siege. LaHontan was commander of a detachment of the garrison. In 1696, the garrison of Placentia comprized only 18 soldiers, to whom 80 resident fishermen might be added on emergencies. Brouillan in the summer went with a flotilla, to attack the English settlements, doing them much mischief and capturing 30 merchant and fishing vessels, and on d'Iberville's coming to Placentia after the siege of Pemaquid, they with their joint forces besieged St. Johns, N. F., which place surrendered 30th Nov. 1696. Although the site was strong, the defenders were not soldiers, but poor fishermen only, who fought bravely and capitulated on favorable terms. The victors burned the buildings and abandoned their barren conquest. Bonavista and Carbonniere were the only places in the island that were not overrun by the French, but it was not long before the English recovered their positions. Brouillan and d'Iberville, quarrelled about the conduct of their expeditions. Charlevoix evidently favours d'Iberville and blames Brouillan. The latter had an angry temper and was incessantly in difficulties in consequence. [See 3 *Charlevoix*, 108, 171, 272, 288.] Brouillan was remarkably brave, diligent, and industrious. The defects of his temper and judgment kept him in difficulties with the officers who served with and under him. LaHontan, who had taken part in the defence of Placentia in 1692, was then casually on his way to France from Canada, and eventually sailed from Placentia on the 6th of October in that year, and arrived at St. Nazere in France on the 23rd of the same month. The king appointed him to be lieutenant in Newfoundland, an office subordinate to the governor of Placentia. He arrived there in that capacity on the 20 June, 1693. [*La Hontan v. I., p. 194.**] "After I landed, I "went to salute M. Brouillan, governor of Placentia, and declared to him how "glad I was to obey the orders of so wise a commander. He answered that he "was much surprized to find that I had solicited to be employed there, without "acquainting him with it in the preceding year; and that he now plainly perceived that the project about the lakes of Canada, (which I had mention'd to "him), was a mere sham pretence. I endeavored in vain to convince him to "the contrary; for it was not possible for me to undeceive him. Nevertheless "I landed my goods, and hir'd a private house till such time as I could build "one for myself, which I carried on with so much diligence that it was "finish'd in September, by the assistance of the ship carpenters, who were lent "gratis by all the Biscay captains."—"But now I return to the quarrel the "governor had with me. Fancying that I had solicited my employment without taking notice of him, he treated me with all manner of reproaches and "outrages, from the time of my landing to that of my departure, and was not "satisfied with appropriating to himself the profits and advantages of the free "company, that was given to me, but likewise stop'd, without any scruple, the pay "of the soldiers that were employed in the cod fishing by the inhabitants, and "made the rest work without wages. I shall take no notice of his extortion, "for tho' he has formally counteracted the ten articles contained in the orders "of Lewis the 10th, yet he had so many friends in all the courts that he could "not be found guilty. There's some pleasure in making presents in his way, "for by them he has made 50,000 crowns *per fas et nefas*, in the space of three "

* I have only had his work in the English translation, from which I extract in the old phraseology.

"or four years. I should never have done, if I offer'd to give you a particular " account of all the trouble and vexation he gave me. I shall only mention " three instances which crown'd all the rest. On the 20th of November, i. e. " a month after our fishermen set sail, while I was entertaining at supper some " of the inhabitants, he came mask'd into my house, with his servants, and " broke the glass windows, bottles and drinking glasses, and threw down the " tables, chairs, chests of drawers, and everything that came to hand. Before I " had time to get into my chamber and take my pistols, this insolent mob dis- " appeared very seasonably, for I would have loaded my pistols and pursued " them, if my guests had not hindered me. Next morning his servants fell " upon mine, who expected nothing less than to be thresh'd to death with " clubs." The Recollets interfering, appeased La Hontan. "The third trick " which he play'd me, at the end of three days, was this : He sent to arrest two " soldiers, whom I had employ'd to cut down some grass in the meadows, about " half a league from the garrison. They were seized while they were mowing, " bound and carried away prisoners, under the pretence of being deserters, be- " cause they had lain two nights out of the garrison without his leave ; and " which would have prov'd still more fatal to these innocent men, he had cer- " tainly caus'd them to be knocked on the head, on purpose to vex me, if the " Recollets and his own Misse had not earnestly interceded on their behalf." The Recollets made efforts to reconcile the governor and La Hontan, but altho' the latter made concessions, it could not be effected, although an outward show of reconciliation appeared. La Hontan says he ascertained, by a sight of papers Brouillan was preparing, which were also seen by the Recollets, that severe measures were contemplated, and he expected to be sent to France by the next vessels that came out, and to be imprisoned in the Bastille. To avoid this, he fled to Portugal in a merchant vessel bound to France, which left Placentia on the fourteenth of December, 1693, the master of which landed him at the city of Viana, in Portugal, from which he dates January 31, 1694, letter 25, and he says in it "from the year 1693 up to this very day, I have renounced all manner of " ties to my country."

(3.)

M. d'Iberville was one of the sons of Charles le Moyne, seigneur of Longueil, near Montreal. The family was of Norman extraction. D'Iberville was a captain in the French navy. He was occupied from 1700 to 1706 in founding a French colony at Biloxi and Mobile. He was born in 1662, at Montreal, and died 9 July, 1706. See Garneau, *History of Canada*, (Bell's translation), v. 2, p. 11. 1860.

(4.)

The population of Port Royal, Beaubassin and Mines, in 1701, was, by the census of that year, 1134. [*Rameau, p. 129.*]

(5.)

The garrison consisted (1701) of two companies, one of 28 men, the other of 29. Masts sent to France : 53 by the Gironde, 40 l'Avenant, 11 remain over,—in all 104 masts ; cost 5,665 livres.

CHAPTER XXX.

1702. King William the third died in March, 1702, and was succeeded by queen Anne. On the 4th May, o. s., 15th, n. s., 1702, war was declared by queen Anne, the emperor of Germany, and the united provinces of Holland, &c., against France and Spain. The Indians of Acadie seized three fishing vessels belonging to Massachusetts, of which two, if not all three, were restored, through the interposition of M. de Brouillan. [2 *Hutch, Maine*, 135.] The Bostonians had captured many French vessels on the coast. The French prisoners they had made were said to be treated very severely; and it was stated that they had orders from the queen not to allow any of them to be exchanged; and further, that they intended to hang captain Baptiste, an officer of the garrison of Port Royal—who had been made prisoner in the previous time of peace, and who had then failed to recover his freedom, on the ground of his being a pirate, (corsair.) On hearing this, M. de Brouillan sent an express messenger to Boston, to declare to the governor that he should exercise reprisals in case this menace was carried into effect. This saved Baptiste's life. The messenger reported to Brouillan that vessels from England were expected at Boston, on whose arrival they meant to besiege Quebec, and to cruise in the Saint Lawrence, to stop the entrance of French vessels. Brouillan immediately sent off the same messenger to M. de Callieres, the governor general of Quebec, to inform him of the intended invasion.

The bishop of Quebec, being this year in France, endeavored to engage the friars, called the Benedictines of St. Maur, to send missionaries to Acadie, but without success.

Mr. Stoughton, lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, died May, 1702. (M. de Callieres died in May, 1703.) 3 *Charles-voix*, 423, 424.

Brouillan made his fort of earthworks lined with turf and of a moderate extent to be defensible by his small garrison of 4 companies, probably not over one hundred men in all. He wished to have a fort at Lahève. He offered to take Boston, if ten or eleven men-of-war were sent him, and 800 men from Canada. He engaged the people to carry on fishery, and 15 or 20 barques would have been so employed, but the first one equipped was captured by an English corsair. He armed a vessel to oppose the English one, but lieut. Neuville, the commander, was killed, and the corsair escaped. A storeship was taken at Lahève. The Indians of Kennebec appear disposed to neutrality. The French do not buy their furs, so they are dependant on the trade with the English. On the report of an intended invasion, from 60 to 80 Indians came to Port Royal, and they had to be maintained while there. Brouillan built a house for an hospital, and had two surgeons, M. Sponty and another. He requested 4 masons, 2 lime burners, 2 brick makers, 1 quarryman, 2 turf cutters and 1 house carpenter. He complains of Villieu, as peevish—of Mandoux, and of the curé of Mines. Recommends Bonaventure, de Boulaye, Tinville and Pensens, for different posts. Des Goutins, as commissary, does his duty well. Alludes to a quarrel between the count d'Arquien and M. de Chacornacle; the latter is sent home to France. Brouillan expects complaints against himself, "as Acadie is a land of discord always." [*Letter of M. de Brouillan to the minister*, Oct. 21, 1702. *Paris mss.*] In the latter part of this year, Brouillan received information that the English intended to attack Port Royal in the coming spring. Grangeau arrived with his privateer and twenty-five men to cruise against the English, and Brouillan lent him a king's sloop to help him. Grangeau passed the islands of St. Pierre while the enemy was burning the place, and had learned from his prisoners that the English had eleven men-of-war on the north of Newfoundland and the coast of *Chapeau rouge*. The Indians offered their services. In addi-

tion to 4000 livres, the value of the annual presents from the king, Brouillan proposed to give them flour. He also planned to station look-out parties at Chibouctou and Lahève, that they might speak the French man-of-war in the spring, and give him news. He thought the eastern Indians in danger of making an alliance with the English. As the navigation of the bay of Fundy would be closed by the English cruisers, he would not be able to get limestone from St. John. The stone he had was difficult to cut, so he requested stone and limestone for the fort to be sent out as ballast. In his letter to the minister, 30 December, 1702, he says that Dechauffour is just returned from being prisoner to the English, and confirms what Le Fevre wrote him as to the design of the English to attack him. He urges a small succor of men, and of munitions of war. It appears to have been usual at this time for the officers, and others, to write once or twice a year to the secretary of state in France, then M. Pontchartrain. The governor of course corresponded with him ; so did M. de Goutins, in his double capacity of judge and of commissary. The agent of the French commercial company did the same. The curé wrote sometimes. Most of the army officers also wrote frequently. The government seems to have allowed the greatest latitude to all these correspondents, who give their views and opinions freely of public matters in the fort and colony—of the conduct and actions of the governor, and of each other, both in public and private matters. The individual services, grievances, wants, wishes and claims of the respective writers, are generally detailed with care. This correspondence became very voluminous. Sometimes an abridgment of it all for the current year was prepared, and the minister made marginal notes on it, directing the answers to be given, and measures to be adopted. Among the papers received from Quebec, copied from the archives of the French marine, the letters are mostly to be found, as well as some of the abridgments of their contents with the marginal notes of the minister. There is an incessant reiteration of complaints against the governors, beginning with Villebon, but culminating during the administration of Brouillan. Some of the char-

ges are seriously proffered, but very many of them degenerate into petty slanders and garrison gossip. Villebon kept a journal of all occurrences, from which facts of importance can be easily selected and arranged in narrative form. Brouillan, though full of details and remarks, does not seem to attend to dates or to the order of events. Brouillan is charged by M. de la Touche with ruling harshly. He says "Everybody trembles," "and no one dares to speak. Even those who write dare not" "sign their names, because they would be ruined inevitably, if" "known. Thus they say, one to another, in a low voice." He charges him with coveting a piece of land for a poultry yard, and using intrigues, menaces and coercion to obtain deeds from the owners, who considered its sale a great injury to them. "This acquisition of M. de Brouillan is called *l'isle*" "*aux cochons*, (Hog island.) In the deed of forty years ago," "or upwards, from the late M. d'Aulnay to Jacob Bourgeois," "it is bounded by the road and the river Dauphin, the number of feet in width being left in blank. The road did not" "suit Brouillan, as he wished to erect a building which he" "could see from the fort in perspective. To effect this, he" "proposed to continue the rue St. Antoine, and lay out a" "town in that direction. Three or four owners, whose land" "would be severed by continuing this street, opposed the" "notion : but he got Bonaventure and Goutin to take a title" "of the opposite lands from the lady of the manor, &c." Charges of immoral conduct are made against Brouillan and Bonaventure. The former is accused of affronts to officers, and of meddling for private gain with the trade in provisions. Bonaventure is charged with sending 110 quarts of brandy for sale to Boston in 1700—trading with Indians, and misconduct with *sauvagesses*. The Indians are said to have made songs on the subject, which they sing in the woods. There are many other petty charges in la Touche's letter. In another memoir of this year, supposed to have been written by Mandoux, the curé, it is said that "he took possession at his coming of the land of an individual to build there a *neinaquie-*" "*quoi*, (perhaps *jene sais quoi*), which land the owner did not" "wish to part with, as it served to support a large family." The

other charges made by la Touche are reiterated, as well against Brouillan as Bonaventure. Labat, engineer, and Villieu, complain of Brouillan. Villieu mentions his having undergone two year's imprisonment, and suffered much from fatigue in command of war parties both in Canada and Acadie, where he slept six months in the woods, without any other nourishment but some corn and fish, which failed him often when needed. Owing to all this, he had now a very severe asthma, that had confined him to an arm chair for more than three months in the summer of 1701, and as long as that in 1702. In another letter he prays for employment elsewhere—pleads his ill health—his sufferings in the woods, and thirty years' faithful service. Complains that he was not allowed to review his company. Children are put in as cadets instead of soldiers. Complains of several acts of injustice towards him on the part of Brouillan. De Goutin writes to the minister 20 Oct., 1702. He sends him 12 different accounts and documents, including accounts of pay of troops, provisions, ammunition, merchandizes, funds of fortification how expended, masts cut and sent to France, flour furnished to men-of-war, and an estimate for the year 1703. Describes Villieu's attempt to bring the settlers of Chipoudy and Precoutiac (Petitcodiac) to pay him rent as seigneur. (Elsewhere he calls it Peckoukiac.) "For fifteen years past the sieur de la Vallière has had neither "house nor home there, (n'y tient plus ni feu ni lieu), and "the inhabitants have had recourse during this time to Mr. "Nelson, an Englishman, to have a mill; and it was the late "Jacob Bourgeois who led there the first settlers, when the "chevalier Grand-fontaine commanded at Pentagoët, and "Pierre Arseneau took others there some time after." La Vallière claimed Mines, and thus obstructed its settlement for three years, until the intendant de Meulles came here, and on the remonstrances of le Borgne, set aside his pretensions. Pierre Theriot, Claude and Antoine Landry, and René leBlanc, then continued their settlements. Theriot "having where- "withal, and especially much wheat, which he had amassed at "Port Royal, distributed it among the others, who have re- "paid him without interest; and the sr. le Borgne, who was "

“seigneur of the place, contributed nothing.” He asks for a grant of Chipoudy, to Thibaudeau, and one of Peckoukiac, to Guillaume Blanchard. He describes the work they have done there: 700 toises of dike, corn mill, saw mill, &c. Villieu, as attorney of Vallière, has oppressed the tenants of Beaubassin. Des Goutins says he himself had served five campaigns in the regiment *de la Couronne*. He has to work sundays and holidays at the king’s stores, five or six hours in a place without a fire, in the coldest severity of winter. (Madame des Goutin was a Thibaudeau.) He says Acadie can furnish four cargoes of masts yearly.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1703. Among the manuscripts obtained by the record commission, there is a copy of a decree passed at Versailles on the 20 March, 1703. The title is—*Arrest du conseil d'Etat du Roy, concernant les concessions faites des terres de la province de L'Acadie dans la Nouvelle France.* (Judgment of the king's council of state, concerning the grants of land made in the province of Acadie, in New France.) This document, which is very voluminous, recites and refers to a great many grants and other transactions, and previous legal proceedings. D'Aguesseau, Amelot and Deshaguais, commissaries, are named as advising the decree. The chief points in the judgment are—That the province of Acadie shall remain reunited to the Royal domain, in its whole extent. It then sets aside the claims of the duke de Vendôme, le Borgne, Latour, Roublet, Brevedent, &c.; but in consideration of le Borgne's outlays, grants to him Pentagoët, &c., with ten leagues on each side of the river, to the river St. George, the boundary of New England. (André le Borgne du Coudray was party in this cause.) To Latour and his family, born in and always residing in Acadie, the king gives Vieux Logis at cape Sable, with six leagues square, and the islands in front; also port Latour, with four leagues on each side, and six leagues in depth. Both grants of cape Sable and port Latour to be equally divided among—1. Charles de St. Etienne de la Tour, and his heirs. 2. Anne Melançon, widow of Jacques de St. Etienne de la Tour. 3. Marie St. Etienne, widow of Alexander le Borgne de Belleisle. 4. Anne de St. Etienne, wife of Jacques Muis d'Entremont. 5. Marguerite de St. Etienne, wife of Abraham

Muis de Pleinmarais, and their heirs. His majesty then grants the seigneurie of Port Royal, to begin at 2000 geometric paces (pas) from the fort, extending five leagues up the river, embracing two leagues wide on each side of it ; also the seigneurie of Mines, extent six leagues, with mines and minerals. Both seigneuries are to be divided into seven equal parts, as follows : 1. Charles Latour. 2. Madame Melançon, (Anne), widow of Jacques Latour. 3. The widow of le Borgne de Belleisle, Marie de Latour. 4. Madame d'Entremont, Anne de Latour. 5. The widow Pleinmarais, Marguerite de Latour. 6 & 7. The 6th and 7th parts to the children of madame Belleisle, widow, to be divided among them in such manner as they shall think fit, in an amicable manner on the spot. All these fiefs shall be held under his majesty as of his chateau of Port Royal.

The five children of Latour, by madame d'Aulnay, (according to their statements in 1703), were parties to this suit, viz. : 1. Jacques, the eldest, who died about 1699, represented by his widow and four children. 2. Charles, unmarried. 3. Marie. madame Belleisle, who had then (1703) seven children, of whom two daughters and one son were married, and had issue. 4. Anne madame d'Entremont de Poubomcou, had 9 children living, 4 sons and 5 daughters. 5. Marguerite, madame d'Entremont de Pleinmarais, had seven children living. (In 1732, of the four children of Jacques Latour—1. Agatha, Mrs. Campbell, and 2. Anne Marie, Mrs. Porlier, were in Acadie ; 3. a son, and 4. Jeanne, madame Pontif, had retired to the French dominions. Charles Latour had also retired to the French dominions.) [Lieut. governor Armstrong's letter to the board of trade, dated Annapolis Royal, 10 June, 1732.] The fiefs of Port Royal and Mines were partitioned, according to this Royal decree among the widow and children of M. de Belleisle, and those of the late M. de St. Etienne.

Pedigree of the family of Latour :

Claude Turgis de Saint Etienne, sieur de LaTour. His son was Charles Amador de LaTour, who, by his first marriage,

had children, viz.. Jeanne, born 1626, married to Martin d'Aprenstiqué, and sons. In 1653, Charles Amador de la Tour married Jeanne Motin, the widow of M. d'Aulnay, of which marriage five children survived, viz. :

Marie,	born in	1654.
Jacques,	"	1661.
Charles,	"	1664.
Anne,	"	1664.
Marguerite,	"	1665.

1. Marie was married to Alexandre le Borgne de Belleisle. Their children were :

Emanuel,	born in	1675.
(a) Marie,	"	1677.
(b) Alexander,	"	1679.
Jeanne,	"	1681.

And two more.

In 1703, M. de Belleisle was dead, and his widow had seven children, of whom two sons and one daughter were married, and had issue.

(a) Marie le Borgne was married to Louis Girouard, dit le Ru. They had children, viz. :

Louis Girouard,	born in	1705.
Mary Ann Girouard,	"	1707.
Pierre Girouard,	"	1718.
Cecile Girouard,	"	1721.

(b) Alexandre le Borgne was married to Anastatia St. Castin 4 December, 1707.

(c) Anne le Borgne was married to Jean de Fonds 5 March, 1707. They had children, viz. :

Joseph de Fonds,	born	1708.
Michel de Fonds,	"	1710.

2. Jacques de LaTour, born 1661. (Died about 1699.) Was married to Anne Melançon. They left four children, viz. :

(a) Agathe de Latour, who was married firstly to lieutenant Edmond Bradstreet, by whom she had a son, Jean Baptiste Bradstreet, born 21 Dec'r., 1714. She was married again to ensign James Campbell, and became again a widow.

(b) Anne Marie de Latour, who was married 1 Sept., 1712, to Jean Baptiste Porlier, by whom was born Claude Cyprien Porlier, born 27 April, 1726.

(c) A son.

(d) Jeanne de Latour, married 19 Nov., 1703, to Jacques Pontif, chirurgien. Their daughter, Jeanne Pontif, was baptized 9 November, 1706.

5. Charles de Latour, born 1664; was unmarried in 1703.

4. Anne de Latour, born in 1664; who was married to Jacques Muis, sieur de Poubomcou. In 1686 they are stated to have three boys; and in 1707, to have four sons and five daughters: of which children—

(a) Jacques d'Entremont, in 1723, was married to Marguerite Amiraute.

(b) Philippe d'Entremont, married Therése de St. Castin, 4 Dec., 1707.

(c) Anne d'Entremont, married ensign de Saillan, 18 July, 1707.

(d) Jeanne d'Entremont, married to M. de Chambon, 11 Feb'y., 1709.

(e) Charles d'Entremont, married Marguerite Landry, 1 Sept., 1712. They had a son, Charles, born in 1716.

(f) Joseph d'Entremont, married Cecile Boudrot, 14 Oct., 1717. They had a son, Joseph, born in 1719.

Marie Muis, daughter of Jacques Muis and Anne St. Etienne, was married 12 January, 1705, to François du Pont du Vivier.

5. Marguerite de Latour, born in 1665, who was married to Abraham Muis, dit Plemarch, or Pleinmarais. In 1703 she was a widow, and had seven children living. 27 June, 1705, she was again married to sergeant J. F. Villate. The children of Marguerite, by her first husband, Abraham d'Entremont: Marguerite, born 1681; Charles, born 1683; Philippe; Madeleine, (married April, 1707, to J. F. Channiteau); Marie Joseph, (married to René Landry, October, 1717); Anne, buried in 1704, at 6 or 7 years old; and another child.

The chevalier de Callieres, governor general, died at Quebec, 26 May, 1703. The marquis de Vandreuil, who had distinguished himself in 1677 at the surprize of Valenciennes by the king's musqueteers, of whom he was one, was appointed to succeed him.

Joseph Dudley, a native of Massachusetts, arrived 11 June, 1703, at Boston, with a commission appointing him governor of Massachusetts, Maine and New Hampshire. Lord Cornbury was at this time governor of New York. On the 20 June, 1703, governor Dudley held a conference at Falmouth, upon Casco peninsula, with Indian chiefs from Penobscot, Kennebec, Norridgewock, Androscoggin, Saco and Penacook. Two hundred and fifty Indians, who came in sixty-five canoes, were present. The proceedings ended in great assurances of peace and friendship between the French and English. The settlers in the eastern parts of New England were thereby lulled into a false security. (At this time the population of New England was counted at 150,000.) After this, some mischief was done by Indians at Kennebec, and a small party of English retaliated by plundering St. Castin's house at Pentagoët. [2 *Williamson, Maine*, 41, 42.] The Indians who had met governor Dudley in seeming friendship in June, at Casco, appeared in arms, to the number of 500, under French leaders, by order of M. Vandreuil, on the 10 August, and attacked the English frontier settlements from Casco to Wells. M. de Beaubassin, lieutenant, (probably the son of la Vallière), was the leader, and they besieged colonel March, and his garrison at the fort in Casco. In those affairs the English lost 155 men killed and prisoners. Charlevoix makes the number of English killed to be 300. The English were induced not only to retaliate, but to offer large rewards for prisoners and for scalps. The skirmishes and depredations were continued through the autumn, and even in the winter season. A petty war was also going on at this time between the French and English settlements in Newfoundland. The horrors and atrocities perpetrated in this savage border warfare were incessant. Many details are to be found in Church's book, already mentioned—in Belknap's history of New Hamp-

shire, and other early American works. Belknap, (N. H. 282, 283), gives a most accurate and graphic description of Indian warfare, as then conducted. Their skulking behind trees and bushes,—never shewing themselves in open fight,—their night attacks,—their slaughter of the unarmed,—their murders of women and children,—their torture of prisoners. These, and other like features of their usual mode of fighting, are well pourtrayed. So is the practice of giving them presents and arms to induce them to war upon and destroy the English,—a practice not confined to the periods when hostilities existed between the two crowns, but followed by the French in America, and especially by the governors at Quebec, while profound peace existed between France and England. From the same quarters came the pressure on the missionaries to train and lead their Indian braves to war against the English. While Ralle, Le Loutre, and one or two others were conspicuous in this work, the Quebec governors expected of all the missionaries that they should take an active part in it.

The English, whose frontier settlers were constantly exposed to such suffering and terror, imbibed a strong and rooted desire to expel the French power from America; and their exertions, often put forth with that view, were at length successful in the war of 1756–1763, when Acadie became finally and entirely an English province, and Canada was conquered as well as cape Bréton.

M. de Brouillan, in his letter of 29 Nov., 1703, says that the king had granted last year 20,000 livres for the fortifications of Port Royal. This sum was expended at Rochefort, (except 2600 livres) in supplies for the colony. The balance being insufficient to carry on the work, the governor issued paper money as he had seen it done in Canada. (This was considered wrong, and forbidden by the French government.) Brouillan hopes to complete the works of the fort in 1704. The inhabitants work cheerfully at it, and he pays a small allowance to the soldiers for their work. He had distributed the king's presents to the Indians. The people at Port Royal subscribed 800 livres for building a new church. He asks 100 pistoles for this from the king, which is granted. Brou-

illan proposed himself to the meeting as *marguillier d'honneur*, (honorary church warden.) He tells the minister that Pelerin, whose lands he was accused of taking wrongfully, declared he had no complaint or demand to make, and that he and his wife were satisfied. (The ministerial note is "to explain to" "him that this deceives no one, but that he should correct" "himself, and to tell him so smartly" *vivement*.) He recommends that Alain be paid for the plank (*madriers*) which Villebon bargained for, and which were burned by the English. Being informed that the people of Mines said "If the English should appear they would join them," he sent a detachment of the garrison of Port Royal there, under *sieur de la Boularderie*. This had a good effect upon the 'republicans,' for they sent a working party to assist in building the fort. La Verdure had acted as a chief man at Mines, the governors addressing all their orders to him to have them executed. He recommends his being continued, (to which the government agreed.) He proposes to supersede des Goutins as judge, as his wife's relations are so numerous. The note of the minister is, "pass that for the present." He has granted to *sieur Perroscan des Sables d'Olonne*, the place called port Mouton. He has employed the king's workmen, paying them as a private individual. (He is forbidden to do so any more.) Villieu's health is so bad that for fifteen months he has not been out of his room fifteen days. M. Juin, a private person from Bourdeaux, came to this coast for privateering purposes. He took some canoes, with which he went to the New England coast, and captured three English barques. Two of the prizes came into Port Royal, but Juin himself being in the third with his English prisoners, the latter killed him and retook the vessel. Another man coming from Placentia on a similar errand with a double shallop, Brouillan gave him the king's corvette *La Gaillarde*, on condition that the king should have one-fifth of the prizes. She took a prize, and the one-fifth was paid to des Goutins. Has a wound in his cheek, affecting his health by a bone coming out. Is recommended to go to the waters of Barége. Asks leave to go to France next autumn.

Brouillan, this year, is accused of torturing two soldiers, by burning matches on their fingers—of interfering with the engineer, and causing over expenditures,—of exacting fees from the prisoners in the guard house, viz., 30 sous on an inhabitant, 10 sous on a sergeant or corporal, and 4 sous on a private, for release,—for sending his servants to the surgeon Pontif's house, under pretext of a *charivari*, and making a disturbance, (Pontif was married 19 Nov., 1703),—of an improper connection with madame Barrat, who followed him to France and to Acadie. The letters of des Goutins, Pontif, the engineer Labat, M. de Chacornacle, and the bishop of Quebec, give the details of these charges. Some appear well founded, while others are frivolous, and they all seem to originate in the jealousies and rivalries that arise in a small and isolated community.

Bonaventure, who had been captain of a man-of-war on the station, and was now an officer of the garrison in the confidence of governor Brouillan, and who seems to have belonged to the family of Denis de Fronsac, had at this time fallen into an illicit connection with madame Freneuse. She was the widow of Mathieu d'Amours de Freneuse, who had died from suffering and fatigue encountered in the defence of Nachouac, in the siege of 1696. A child was born from their intercourse, 7 Sept., 1703, and baptised by the name of Antoine, (register of parish of Port Royal.) Great scandal arose out of this affair, insomuch that the bishop of Quebec was induced to write to the minister at Paris, and request an order to send madame Freneuse to her children, who were in Canada. Bonaventure wrote for leave to go to France to justify himself; or if not, that a pass might be given to his wife and family to come out to him.

M. de Latour asked the government for rent for the reserved 2000 geometrical feet included in the fort, it being within his lands.—In this year letters to the minister were sent from 14 different individuals of the small garrison of Port Royal, all filled with complaints, grievances, and requests for pay or promotion.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXI.

(1.)

M. du Brouillan, 4 Oct., 1705. "M. de Vaudreuil, to whom I had given information of the good understanding which our Canibats and Malecites, Indians, had with the English of New England, has thought fit to send some Canadians to Kinnebequi, to try and induce these Indians to break with these Bostonians, who daily learned through them all that was going on at Quebec and here. They departed from their village the 20th of the month of August, and on the 26th fell upon the English who inhabit the shores of Casco bay, and Houel and of Saco, which they put to fire and sword" (ont mis à feu & à sang) "during several days. This expedition has put Boston and their countries into a veritable consternation. They say that the Iroquois remain neutral, and even shew a leaning to our side."

(2.)

In 1703, Sir John Leake arrived in Newfoundland with several ships of war—destroyed three French men-of-war, and upwards of 30 merchant ships in the bay of St. Peters, where the English, under the command of colonel Richards, landed, attacked, took, and levelled with the ground, the French fort in that bay. [*Hist. B. Empire in America. p. 144.*]

(3.)

The following letters possess an interest from their contents as connected with the state of these countries at the time they were written. The writer, Southack, was appointed in 1720 one of the council at Annapolis Royal when that body was first constituted under governor Philipps. These letters were published in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society, vol. 3, Portland, 1853, pages 344-347.

Casco Bay, Maye the 10: 1702.

Sr. this morning at 4 o'clock I came to saille being dissatisfied in my Dreme Last Night & Turned up the bay with in 2 Milles of Copones Island the wind at E S E. very strong Gale and much Raine & this wind I have had 3 Days to Geather with Raine and foage so I could not Pessead Estward. Sr. att 7 clock in after Noone came a board of me from Majr. March one Newman master of a sloop that was taken this morning at Copones Island a bout 9 clock in the morning by 2 Indians connews being 3 french men and 3 Indians. Newman and his men being a Shore att Work they shott one of his men Ded, this they carred away they Plundered the Sloop of all Provisions and Closs & bid the said Newman Goe Down to Casco fort with his Sloop, which he Did. 2 hours After came a Nother Sloop by the said Island, Whear the french & Indians ware but they said Nothing to Them but came Down to Casco fort. Sr. I have had servall Indians on board of Mee Sence I have benn hear & I have showed Them the Prisners and the Goods they Took from the french and Indians Estward & all the hole intenc of my Voyage & they one and all ware Very well Statified the

Govt. should Take soe much care of Them. Sr. at 9 Clock Night I came to Saille & want Doun to fort & went a Shore to Majr. March 11 clock at night to Agree about Same Matter to fih the Ded man ofe at 2 clock at morning I came ofe being a violent storm at E. S. E. & much Raine. 11 instance 4 Clock this morning I took Newman Sloop & one Shallope & Major March & Our 35 men on board of them & Soe Came to Saille and Turned up Bay for Copones Island the small vissells for Showell water and the Galley to Gard them. Sr. hear is one Indian a Shore which we are Sending to the Sagmores to Signefie what has happened & to Give us a metteinge forthwith.

Pleass yr. Excellency.

My sentiment of this Accction is that these three franch men & 3 Indians Came a Perposs from the Estward to Ballance what Capt : Chadwell had committed in those Parts which the Majr. & I shall no in a Small Time : & I shall imbrass the first Winde & Watter to saile Estward & I shall Give yr Excell : acct : of all my Prossedengs by all opp'ts Soe I most affectionately Kiss yr. Excellency hand and Rest

yr. Verely humbl and Ready Servitor,

CYPRIAN SOUTHACK.

to Gov'r. Dudley.

Honorable.

Sr. the 11 Maye at 2 clock After Noone we Gott ofe the Dedman from Cosine's Island & No Sine of any franch or Indians about the Bay at 7 clock after Noone Came Down to forte & the next morning we bueared the man at our heap of stones.

Sr. Sence I Rrett to yr. Excellency I have had sune Discours with Newman Mr. of the Sloop Taken & one of the franchmen Took him by the hand and Said what Shear brouther Captain I am a Captain as well as you : & by the Description Newman gives me of him Chadwell says that it is the captain of the Barke they Burnt at Passamaquoddy & Sume of his men. Sr. Chadwell farder says that when he Took the Barke the captain & five Franchmen & 2 Indains Gott a Shore in to the Woods. Which I believe to be Same men that took Newman.

Sr. the 15 Instance at 4 clock After Noone came in to this Port a Marblehead Shallop this morning from Saccadhaook haveing Layine wind bound their 14 Days & that he had not sen any franch or Indians all the Time they ware their : Nor heard of any but that all the Inhabtances their ware Very well haveing a Shallop their a fishing & Every Day up Kenneback River a Gunning but See no body.

Sr. Pray Pardon me I am of the mind Since the Govt. of Port Royale have been at soe Great Charge in Getting in all the Indians from Shanctio, Menness & Cape Salles (Sable) & all the Places Agesant & in Cloathing of them In Expection of the English Attacking Port Royall, but now finding by the English Prisoners that their is no such Attempt to be made.—of the mind that in Mounth of June hee will send sune of those Indians this sid the baye to Due us sune Mischiefe, but they cann not come into yr Excellency Govferment with Outt the Knowledge of Estrenn Indians. Sr. Magrs. March & I shall Give Estrean Indians Such a Charge in Givenn Due Information to yo'r Excellency of any Strang Indians or franch that shall come in to yr Excellency Govfint. or Ells they all bee come Gilty.

the wheather have Been soe bad that wee have had no Indians Down as yett
but expect them in 3 Days Time : they are Verv busey in Planting.

Sr. No More but come faire weather I shall be Sailing.

Yor. Excellency faithfull Servitter,

CYPRIAN SOUTHACK.

Casco Bay, Monday

May the 17 : 1703.

from on board the

Maj'ty's Ship Proviance

Galley att 6 Clock This

morning.

For his Excellency Joseph Dudley, captain general & Governor in Chief of her
Maj'tys Proviance Massachusetts Bay, &c.

For her Majty's Especial servess.

He, Newman or Norton.

Just now a fair Wind & am Sailing.

Sir yours

C. S.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1704. About the end of May, 1704, an expedition left Boston to scour the Eastern coast, and punish the Indians and the French. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 143.] It consisted of the Jersey, captain Smith, of 42 guns—the Gosport, captain Rogers, 32 guns—the province Galley, fourteen transports—thirty-six whale boats, and a scout shallop. On board these were five hundred and fifty men, (inclusive of some Indians), under the command of colonel Benjamin Church, a celebrated partizan, already noticed for his proceedings at Beaubassin, &c. in 1696, who was now making, what he terms in his book, his fifth and last expedition East. With these forces he ranged the coast, visiting Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, killing and making prisoners of the French settlers. Among the prisoners made are named a M. le Feboure, or Lafaure, and his sons—M. Gourdan, Sharkee—Castin's daughter and her family, (her husband and father being absent in France, where Castin had an estate on which he lived after he left America), and a Canada Indian,—M. Lotriell and his family. A monsieur Chartiers escaped him. This armament divided in the bay of Fundy, the men-of-war proceeding to Port Royal, while Church and his soldiers went in their smaller vessels and whaleboats to Mines. There he caused the dykes to be cut, to destroy the marsh lands. For this piece of mischief, Church is not himself solely answerable. It was expressly enjoined on him in the written instructions from governor Dudley to burn and destroy the enemies' houses, break the dams of their corn grounds, make what spoils he could, and bring away prisoners. After spending

some time in this neighborhood, Church and his army embarked again, and meeting the ships of war, they all rendezvoused at the entrance of Port Royal basin. There it was decided, by all the officers of the expedition; both naval and military, that it would not be prudent to attack the place, and they signed a paper to that effect, dated 4 July, 1704, (15 July, n. s.,) which Church gives in his book.

It would seem that M. de Brouillan, although he had before received information of an intended attack, had paid but little regard to it,—and that he was in some measure taken by surprise, owing perhaps to his confidence in the new fortifications. On the 2 July, at sunrise, it was observed that there were English ships in the basin, [3 *Charlevoix*, 439], that they had even landed troops, carried off the guard at the entrance, which consisted of only three men, and taken as prisoners two of the inhabitants, and two boys who were fishing at the entrance. The English made a descent at the distance of about a league from the fort, with about fifty men—carried off one family, pillaged three others, and having heard musket shots, re-embarked in haste. By noon on the 2 July, the number of the enemy's ships had increased to ten, viz., the Jersey, 48, Gosport, 32, the Province Galley, 12, and seven brigantines, which were anchored about two leagues from the fort, at the entrance of the (inner?) basin.

On the 4 July, Brouillan was informed of this invasion, and on the 5th, that all the inhabitants of Port Royal had been summoned to surrender, with threats of giving no quarter, and that the English stated their troops at 1300 men, besides 200 Indians, a number that seems exaggerated. Brouillan finding that the English squadron made no further approach towards the fort, sent out detachments, which had some skirmishing with the English, (*Charlevoix* says an English lieutenant colonel was killed, Hutchinson that lieutenant Barker was killed at Mines), but the English accounts do not speak of any fighting having occurred at or near Port Royal; nor is it likely, after the resolution not to attack the place was adopted, that any large force was landed. The English re-embarked

such men as were on shore, and sailed off on the 20th or 21st July.

Colonel Church, with his transports and men, again parted company from the men-of-war, and went to Beaubassin, (Chignecto), where he landed 28 July, n. s., and skirmished with the inhabitants. The latter retreated, taking away with them whatever they could carry off, and Church destroyed and wasted the settlement, "did them what spoil he could," according to his instructions. On this occasion he burned twenty houses, killed one hundred and twenty horned cattle, besides sheep, but did not touch the corn. After three days' stay on shore, he set sail again, and visited the coast at Mount Desert, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, &c., and thus found his way back to New England.

In the winter a party of two hundred and fifty English and twenty Indians, under colonel Hilton, who had served under Church, went on snow shoes to attack Norridgewock (Narant-souack), but they found only a chapel and some wigwams empty, which they burned. [2 *Williamson's Maine*, 49.]

M. Bonaventure, lieut. du roi, wrote to the minister, 12 Dec., 1704. He complains of calumny, and declares himself innocent, and prays that a *commissaire* may be sent at his expense to take information. He had gone to Mines, when the English came to Port Royal, and heard of it at sixty leagues off. (This seems an over-measure of the distance.) "M, de Brou-
"illan, who is going to France, will inform your Excellency"
"of the bad state of the fort, which is almost all shaken." He blames the engineer for putting in the fascines improperly. He says that there are only eight officers left in the garrison, all young, and of little experience in war. Some of them had shewn insubordination. "The soldiers are not more inured"
"to war. The recruits who have come last year and this, are"
"so bad, that part of them have been necessarily sent back." He recommends that a ship of 40 guns be sent out early, to be here before the last of May to oppose an enemy's landing. Brouillan has granted him a piece of land near Lahève; he wishes to have it confirmed to him. Asks for an ensign's rank for his son, who has already served three campaigns at

sea in a king's ship. He, Bonaventure, has made several voyages to inspect the coast and look for mines, without any extra remuneration.

18 December, the Loire sailed for France, having, it seems, M. Brouillan, passenger. M. Bonaventure took command of the troops the same day. He then reviewed the troops, consisting of 185 men, of whom 52 appeared to be weak and infirm. These invalids he quartered for the winter among the inhabitants, under charge of a captain and an ensign. Being well fed, and warmed, and free from care, they grew strong and fit for service. [*Bonaventure's letter to the minister* 30 Nov'r., 1705.] The harvests of 1703 and 1704 in Acadie were bad.—The fort remained unfinished. About 100 fathoms of the rampart had tumbled down, and mutual blame was cast by Brouillan and the engineer Labat on each other.—At this period Brouillan seemed to have contrived to be at variance with most of the people about him. He writes severely against Goutins. He accuses Chacornacle, Labat, Tibierge and others of caballing against him, and of producing mutiny and desertion among the soldiers. Chacornacle and Latour had quarrelled on the voyage from France, and Brouillan placed both in arrest, Chacornacle in the fort and Latour in his own house. He punished ten soldiers for refusing to work on the fortifications. (They seem to have disobeyed because their additional pay for the work had been stopped.) He got the idea in his head that some of the soldiers had formed a plan to stab and rob him, and then to go off to Boston in a barque belonging to the king. He says he and his domestics had to watch all night, as he could not rely on the sentinels. At a review of the garrison, he drew out three of those he called mutineers, and harangued them on the intended assassination. He also put Labat, the engineer, under arrest. He caused proclamation to be made (*battre un ban*) at the head of the troops, forbidding the soldiers from stealing from the inhabitants, under pain of death.. He arrested a soldier charged with stealing, and was holding a court martial on him, when des Goutins interposed as judge, and claimed the prisoner. This claim of jurisdiction the court admitted, and des Goutins set the soldier

free without punishment, Brouillan says "thus encouraging" "robbers and mutineers." He makes charges against des Goutins as commissary, but they seem groundless insinuations. "All arms, ammunition, &c., sent since 1701, have been paid" "for out of the fortification funds; also a vessel of 12 or 14" "guns was built out of the same." [*Brouillan's letter to the minister, abstract, dated Versailles, 5 March, 1705.*] Brouillan complains that des Goutins kept back all information about money from him. Referring to madame Freneuse, he says he had no opportunity of sending her to Quebec, or to oblige her to go and live on her alleged property, which has been reunited to the Royal domain, although she had a good title, and has received no compensation. This has deprived her of the means of supporting herself and her five or six children. He could only send her to Mines, to put her at a distance from M. de Bonaventure.——Brouillan says that he thought his character and birth would have protected him from such a charge as that of having sold wine and brandy retail, and he closes his reply to the minister thus :

"Behold my lord, on this article and all others, the truth," "entire and pure, which may be believed on the honesty of the" "sieur de Brouillan, after his having served the king 36 years" "without having had a reproach, who now finds himself obli-" "ged to defend himself before your *Grandeur* by informations" "procès verbaux and certificates to clear his life and morals," "to prove that the woman Barat never lodged with him, or" "caused scandal; that he has wronged no man, and that if" "he could not manage to bring into order a few busy bodies," "it has not been his fault, that he should forget the soldier's" "trade, or not have met the enemy for a long time. It might" "be said, on seeing him with such a rubbish of papers, that" "his mind had taken a turn for law and chicanery, and as" "that would not suit him, and is not to his inclination, he" "begs my lord to establish his integrity."

BROUILLAN.

Fait à Versailles le 5 March, 1705.

There is some ground for thinking that while de Brouillan was really the honest, brave Gascon soldier he professed him-

self, yet he had an inaptitude for civil command, and an extreme irritability, disturbing his mind,—and that he conjured up ideas of assassination, conspiracy and cabal, with little foundation. The wound in his cheek he speaks of may have added physical to mental torture. He might be, and no doubt was, brave, generous and kind to his friends; but there lurked apparently in him a tendency to play the tyrant, and the petty quarrels and scandals of a remote, small garrison, gave unfortunately too much cause of provocation to so sensitive a governor.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXII.

July 20, 1704. Died at Marshfield, Peregrine White, aged 83 years and 8 months. the first born in Plimouth colony. [*2 Hutchinson. Mass., 148.*] The descendants of this person are among the gentry of the county of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, being the offspring of loyalists who removed to this province in the time of the American revolution.

August 18–29, 1704, about 140 French and Indians from Placentia landed in the harbor of Bonavista, N. F., where they burnt four English vessels and destroyed the settlement and fishery. [*Douglas Summary, 294. History of the British Empire in America, 145.*]

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1705. On the 3 January, at 11 o'clock, P. M., father Felix, the almoner of the fort of Port Royal, requested Bonaventure to have the gate opened for him, in order, as he said to administer the sacraments to a sick man. He did so, and even with eagerness. The next day he was much surprized to learn that the priest had gone out only to marry le sieur Duvier, nephew of M. Gourville, against the will of his relatives and of the governor. Bonaventure orders M. de Falaise on his part to hinder the celebration of this marriage. He arrived in good time, and returned with du Vivier, whom Bonaventure blamed severely for his conduct, and urged him to give his word of honor not to marry without the permission of the court, or at least of that of M. Vaudreuil. He requested two days to consider, after which he told Bonaventure that he could not pass his word, alleging for his sole reason that the clergy (*les pères*) wished him absolutely to marry. Bonaventure, having exhausted his remonstrances, ordered du Vivier not to go out of the fort, and gave orders at the gate that the girl should not be let in. The fathers then wrote Bonaventure a letter, which, he said, was full of abusive language, (*pleine d'injures.*) His reply was to forbid them in the king's name to do anything of the kind. Scarcely had they been forbidden, when they married him. (François du Pont du Vivier, *enseigne de vaisseau et capitaine, &c.*, was married by frère Justinien Durand, to Marie Muis de Poubomcoup, 12 January, 1705. 25 April, 1705, their daughter was baptized, being born the same day.—Register of Port Royal.) The

priests replied to Bonaventure that when they had undertaken to do anything, no one was capable of turning them from it, not being willing to depend absolutely on any one. Bonaventure notified father Felix that his presence might be necessary at the fort, and requested him to remain there. His reply was in the negative, and that he cared for Bonaventure as little as for the mud on his shoes, and that he made no account of his forbiddings or permission. F. Felix left at once for a place 30 leagues off, where the relations of the girl lived. (This must have been at Poubomcoup, now called Pubnico), as Bonaventure suggested, to obtain applause for the marriage he had effected. He did not return till the end of two months—said one mass at the fort, and then went off to Chibouctou, from which he did not come back until the arrival of the vessel, (the king's ship.) Bonaventure says, "I cannot contemplate" "without pain the pitiable state into which the officers plunge" "themselves, who take into their heads such marriages—mar—" "rying girls without property, without birth, who entirely" "derange their affairs, and weaken the attachment which" "they should have for the service of his majesty." This remark seems strange, for the young lady in question was granddaughter of Charles Amador la Tour, and daughter of sieur d'Entremont, seigneur of Poubomcoup. M. Belleisle, seigneur of Port Royal, M. Charles la Tour and M. des Goutin sign the register of the marriage as witnesses.

Bonaventure also states that eight of their people who were prisoners at Boston made their escape in a vessel which they carried off. They reported an intended attack of the English on Port Royal, only waiting aid from England—that MM. de Chauffour and Baptiste were close prisoners in the fort on the island, and that an exchange of prisoners was denied until Vaudreuil should send back those he had at Quebec. They brought two Englishmen, prisoners, with them. Bonaventure bought this prize, and sent her with despatches to Subercase, at Placentia.

Bonaventure sent an inhabitant with four soldiers to Mines, to bring back the king's bark *la Gaillarde*, lading it with wheat. The soldiers got drunk and misbehaved, and Bonaventure sent

an order that they should not go on board ; but they coaxed the '*habitant*,' and he let them into the vessel. When there they compelled the sailors to take her to Boston, where they gave themselves up to the enemy. He is anxious to have those soldiers brought back and punished.

He says a small privateer from Boston had burned the dwellings and almost the inhabitants who had begun to settle at port Razoir, (Shelburne), and Lahève. He remarks on the want of protection to settlers on the Eastern coast.

The chief of the Indians of Pentagoët arrived at Port Royal with a Boston bark that he had taken. He had two bark canoes and twelve men to effect this capture. Bonaventure was obliged to give them brandy—to promise them powder and lead, and to supply them with a feast, at which the Canibas and the Micmacs met and fraternized. The Micmacs promised to join them in war, and the Canibas gave the Micmacs the prisoner, whom the latter were going to *eat*, (apparently ?) until Bonaventure appeased them by a gift of four pots of brandy. He states that he now has 33 prisoners taken by privateers and by Indians on different occasions. He proposes to send an officer with a party of soldiers to Grand-pré, and to build a fort (*reduit*) there. He has given to the church at Mines, as the royal gift, *un ostensorir, un calice, un ciboire et un ornement complet*, (ostensorium, pyx, chalice and complete ornaments for the Eucharist), in order to replace what the English had taken off. (Probably when colonel Church was there in 1704.) Bonaventure says, "I do not think the inhabitants" "of St. Malo, or of other places, would engage to settle a" "place like Chibouctou until they see that his majesty has laid" "the foundations of a fort." He had ordered the seigneurial rents of *la banlieue* (the suburbs) to be paid to des Goutins for the king, in opposition to the claims of M. de la Tour and other seigneurs, and recommends that this money be given for an hospital in Port Royal. He complains of the accusations against madame de Freneuse and himself. Wishes to be tried and punished if found guilty. Asks if it be just that the lady should be banished as a wretched criminal if she be innocent. She cannot go to live at the river St. John, which is wholly

deserted. She has the children of the sieur des Chauffours, her father-in-law, (perhaps it should be brother-in-law, see census of 1686), who has been nearly two years a prisoner at Boston. She is bringing them up as her own. Although she has little property, by her great management she maintains all her family. Prays that he, and not she, may be removed. Send him back to the navy, and let her remain.—Such are his remarks on this delicate subject. It seems to me that he was unaware of the baptism of the boy having been formally entered in the church record.

He suggests that the Indians should be taught fishing and trades, as the New Englanders had done with their Indians ; and that if they were settled, it should not be too far from the fort, in case their aid should be wanted for defence.

In Sept'r., 1705, M. de Brouillan died at sea, (on his return from France to Port Royal), near the entrance of Chibouctou bay (Halifax), on board the king's ship *le Profond*, commanded by M. Cauvet. His body was buried in the sea, but his heart was taken out ; and on the 2 October, the *Profond* arrived at Port Royal, where Bonaventure caused the heart to be interred on 3 October, with suitable honors, near the cross on the cape where it was intended to build a chapel.—Des Goutins writing to the minister, 4 December, 1705, repels the charge of being the head of a cabal against Brouillan. He says "three or" "four friends, honest men, united by friendship for the plea—" "sure of society, incapable of any kind of duplicity, on" "account of their refusal to fall down and worship the Beast," "have been called caballers. I know that it was dangerous" "to provoke a tyrant, at least if one is not in a position to" "ruin him, and that it is base to speak of it after he is no" "more. On this account, my lord, I shall not tell you that" "the public were unable to conceal their joy at his loss." He speaks of his own services, and says he has six boys, the eldest is 16, and assists him in all his duties.—The sieur St. Aubin died in the beginning of this year, at the house of an inhabitant, who had received him through charity. Bonaventure, he says, has not spared his purse or his provisions for the comfort of the soldiers. He exclaims against the purchase of Villieu's

house for the king at 3 or 4000 livres. It cost only 850 livres. He says the country is well rid of Villieu, who could always be sick to escape duty, while he was at work at home at carpenter and joiner's work. Bourgeois and Allain, who were sent to Boston for French prisoners, brought back only two Frenchmen and part of Castin's family, whom they left at Pentagoët. Bonaventure, as commandant, going out of church to light a bonfire on the public square, made des Goutins take a torch to assist in doing so. This honor caused envy, jealousy and discord. Madame Freneuse is going to France. She has remained near a year up the river with an inhabitant. The frigate la Biche was launched 1 December.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXIII.

(1.)

Subercase set out from Placentia over land 15 January, 1705, with 450 men—soldiers, Canadians, filibustiers and Indians—to attack the English settlements in Newfoundland. Each man carried his arms, a rug, and 20 days' provisions. 26 January they reached Renous and little harbor. They besieged St. John for five weeks. It was defended by capt. Moody and 40 soldiers. They had to raise the siege for want of powder, much having been spoiled in fording four rivers. They burnt all the houses round the harbor. On 5 March they decamped, and on their retreat burnt Ferrillon, and made the people prisoners. They carried off 140 prisoners in all, besides doing much mischief in the small settlements. [3 *Charlevoix*. 442. *Douglas' Summary*, 294. *Hist. B. Empire in America*, 145.]

(2.)

Le vaisseau du roi, le *Profond*, commandé par M. Cauvet est arrivé au Port Royal le 2 Octobre. Il m'apprit que la 22 Septembre, M. de Brouillan était mort à l'entrée de Chibouctou. T'ai rendu à son cœur, qui m'a été apporte les honneurs que j'ai cru devoir lui appartenir.

[*Letter of M. Bonaventure.*]

Ce troisième jour d'Octobre de l'année mil sept cens cinq, a été enterré le cœur de messire Jacques François de Brouillant, gouverneur de la province, auprès de la Croix du cap, ou l'on doit bâtir une chapelle. Il est decédé quinze jours auparavant dans le vaisseau nommé le *Profond*, à une journée de Chibouctou. Les funérailles se sont faites avec les cérémonies accoutumées par moy sousigné faisant les fonctions curiales à Port Royal de l'Acadie.

F. JUSTINIEN DURAND,

Recollét missionnaire.

[*From the register book of Port Royal.*]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1706. In this year, 1706, a small vessel was sent from New England to Nova Scotia, as a flag of truce, and William Rowse was directed to effect an exchange of prisoners. After a long stay there, he brought back seventeen prisoners, and on a second voyage thither returned with seven more. Rowse, Samuel Vetch, (afterwards a colonel and governor in Nova Scotia), John Borland, a merchant of Boston, Roger Lawson, John Philips, junior, and Ebenezer Coffin, were accused of carrying on an unlawful trade with the enemy, and supplying the French with ammunition and stores of war. Even governor Dudley was implicated in these statements. Instead of a legal trial, the accused were brought before the council and assembly, who assumed the jurisdiction. Governor Dudley was declared innocent, by a resolution. His son, Paul Dudley, was attorney general, and conducted the prosecution. The result was, that bills of pains and penalties were passed by the legislature against all the accused, who had been kept in close custody. By these acts, William Rowse was sentenced to pay a fine of £1200, and to be incapable of holding office. Borland was fined £1100; Lawson, £300; Vetch, £200; Philips, £100; and Coffin, £60. All of these were to stand committed until the fines and costs of prosecution were paid. Six separate acts passed to enforce this judgment. The acts were all set aside by the Queen in Council, at Kensington, 24 September, 1707, as being an usurpation of the powers of the ordinary courts of justice. The fines that had been paid were also ordered to be restored. Rowse had suffered eighteen

months imprisonment for want of security. [2 *Hutchinson, Mass.*, 154, 160.] The only proof against Dudley was that at the request of the governor of Port Royal he had allowed 100 m. of nails to be shipped. On the 18 September, 51 prisoners were received from Boston at Port Royal, among whom were d'Amboise and his family, and M. Gourdault, who had some claims to the lands of the late M. St. Aubin. They were in a condition of absolute destitution. Subercase was appointed governor, and he and des Goutins appear to have got on amicably. Madame Freneuse had been away, but returned to Acadie in this year. Subercase sent her to a distance from Port Royal.—Des Goutins says: "There has not yet been" "so much wheat collected in this country as during this year." "The inhabitants see more than ever the necessity there is" "of attending to the uplands, and that if they had done so at" "first, and worked as much on them as they have done on" "the marshes, they would be incomparably more advanced," "and would not have been subject to the inconveniences" "that happen to the marshes. The tide was so great on the" "5th November last, that it overflowed all the marshes of" "this country without exception, an occurrence that had not" "taken place within the memory of man. This determines" "them to think of the uplands. They know now that the" "marshes, when abandoned, will yet produce hay, whereby" "they may increase the number of their cattle, and obtain" "manure for the uplands."—Bonaventure was dissatisfied that he had neither been confirmed as governor, nor promoted or reappointed to his former naval command as he had solicited. He says of Subercase, "His generous and obliging manners" "attach every one to him in this country." Bonaventure complains of Louis Allein for duplicity respecting the exchange of prisoners, interfering by false representations to the governor at Boston. He further says, "This is not the only fault" "he has committed. In the time of M. de Menneval he had" "the audacity to take M. Perrot by the cravat and the hair," "and pull him to the ground at the very gate of the church—" "to strike madame Belleisle, the lady of Port Royal, and to" "treat her in so unworthy a manner, that the priest who was"

"at the altar was constrained to quit it to tear her out of his " hands. He is one of the most wicked men that are here." "I have sent him to M. Vaudreuil, with the declarations that " have been made against him on this subject." Bonaventure says: "Mr. Nelson, merchant at Boston, being indebted to " me in the sum of 5000 livres, which I had lent him at the " time of his imprisonment in France, wishing to make pay- " ment, had sent me by the packet boat, for 1300 livres, goods " consisting of cloth, scythes and pots." These he sold at 15 per cent. advance. This was in reply to charges of smuggling, trading, &c. He asks for the cross of St. Louis, which Brouillan had—for a letter of *garde marine* for his son Bonaventure, and for leave to reside at Lahève, if it should be fortified, so as to be near his grant of land.

M. de Subercase to the minister, 25 Decr., 1706: "That "which concerns the sieur des Goutins on the subject of the "pillage of the treasure in 1690. Port Royal having been "taken in that year, by a species of capitulation they sur- "rendered, with the fort, and agreed to give account to the "English, and deliver to them every thing as it stood. M. des "Goutins, as he was treasurer, and foresaw that he would be "called to account, as he was in fact, entrusted the king's "money that was in his possession in the hands of an inhabi- "tant, who concealed it in a pot in a corner of his garden, "without the English having any knowledge of it. The Eng- "lish called on M. des Goutins to shew the expenditure of the "money which the king had sent out that year. He gave "them an account, with which they were contented. In the "year following, M. des Goutins having returned to Acadie "with the sieur de Villebon, they proceeded in company to "the inhabitant's house, who dug up the pot in their presence, "and the money was counted. Out of this sum enough was "taken to pay the salary of the sieur de Portneuf, lieutenant, "and the balance was placed in the hands of the sieur de "Bonaventure, who carried it to France, and by order from "the court paid it over to M. de Lubert." He then explains fully several charges made against des Goutins and Bonaventure, shewing their integrity therein. He intimates that a

false zeal of the clergy had created hatred and slander in the colony, and engendered disrespect to men in office there. The hatred has been great against Bonaventure, and without good cause. He thinks him weak as regards the fair sex, and apt to ridicule others in his own defence; but the proceedings against him have been conducted in an unchristian spirit. He blames Mandoux for meddling with temporal affairs. "The church for a long time past has held here the right of" "commanding, or at least of sharing the temporal authority," "and preserves always the dogmas of the ancient capuchins" "who formerly ruled despotically. We have two Recollets," "one is our almoner, the other our curé, who I think are very" "honest men and good friars, and who assure me they are" "disposed to cut up by the roots the tares which truly are" "very abundant in their mission." He asks that Villieu, *cidevant major de l'Acadie*, may be employed out of the province. His health is bad, and he wrote a disrespectful letter to M. Bonaventure, undoubtedly under the influence of fever.

In the spring of 1707 an expedition was sent from New England against Port Royal. Two regiments of militia were raised for the purpose, under colonels Wainwright and Hilton, the chief command being given to colonel March. The troops embarked at Nantasket, a place in Boston bay, on the 24 May, n. s., in twenty-three transports, convoyed by the Deptford, man-of-war, of 50 guns, captain Stukeley, and the Province Galley, captain Southack, and furnished with a number of whale boats. Colonel Redknap was the engineer. They arrived at the entrance of the basin on the 6 June. Subercase had a guard there, consisting of fifteen men, who had only time to get off under cover of the woods, and by the time they reached the fort the enemy's fleet was seen coming to anchor about a league from the place. The next day colonel March landed with seven hundred men on the harbor side, a league below the fort, and colonel Appleton with three hundred men on the other side. (Such are the numbers in Hutchinson, but Charlevoix calls them 1500 and 500.)

The French were taken by surprise, so secretly was the expedition prepared, and they were consequently much alarmed.

Subercase, however, by his shew of confidence, restored the courage of his people. He then urged them to oppose the advance of the enemy in the woods. This was the more necessary as there were breaches in the work requiring repair. It seems to have been a fatality at this place that its governors, however capable and vigilant, were almost always taken unprovided for an attack.

Subercase, as soon as he perceived the hostile fleet, notified the inhabitants to come in to his assistance, but those living nearest did not get in until the evening of the seventh. As fast as they came in he sent them off, part to the right and part to the left, to skirmish with the enemy under cover of the woods, so as to retard their approaches, in which they, the French, were successful. On the eighth of June almost all the inhabitants had come into the fort, which enabled the governor to strengthen the detachments he had sent out. He ordered them not to advance too far, but to keep it in their power to regain the fort if too hardly pressed. They were driven back, but not until they had killed many of the English. It was the smaller body of English that first drove in the French skirmishers, to whom the governor sent canoes and boats to expedite their retreat. He then despatched them to join the party which was engaged in keeping back the larger English force. This body was headed by a Canadian gentleman, M. Denys de la Ronde, *enseigne de vaisseau* and brother of M. de Bonaventure. (He seems to be a relative of governor Nicolas Denys.) After taking measures to arrest the progress of the smaller English corps in their crossing the river, the governor Subercase went himself to join M. Denys. On the afternoon of that day they had a smart engagement, in which M. Subercase's horse was killed under him. The French lost one man killed and one wounded, but the English loss was greater. The great superiority of numbers on the part of the invaders compelled Subercase to retreat, which he did in good order, and without being pursued. Two days then passed without any movement on the part of the English. On the third day they approached the fort within a short distance, and prepared to attack it. As the garrison was not sufficient

to defend the fort and the houses in the vicinity, the governor burned down several of the buildings which he could not guard, and in which the besiegers might have sheltered themselves. The following night, that of the tenth of June, the trench was opened, and it was not possible to prevent it. On the eleventh the governor sent out eighty men, inhabitants and Indians, who divided themselves on both sides of the river, and getting into ambush in the woods, stopped the progress of the English, who had been detached to kill the cattle. The baron de St. Castin even advanced with six of the Canibas, in sight of the enemy, killed six of their men, and then rejoining his troops, charged the English with such resolution that he forced them to go back to their camp in great disorder. Early on the morning of the sixteenth of June a great movement was perceived in the trenches, and the governor suspected that the besiegers were forming some design for the coming night. In fact, about ten, P. M., as the governor was finishing his rounds, he was informed that a dull sound like that of men marching was heard. He enjoined his people to keep profound silence. The English began the attack by a heavy fire of musketry, but at too great a distance. Under cover of this fire, they sent on four or five hundred men to attack the breaches, which they thought to find in a worse state than they actually were. A few soldiers of the garrison having deserted to the enemy, they calculated on many more doing the same, but in this they were disappointed. The cannon of the fort playing briskly, induced the assailants to abandon the idea of an assault, and the troops that had pushed on with that object, finding the fire too heavy for them, retired. But between eleven o'clock and midnight, the governor perceived that the fort was invested on all sides—that the enemy were posted in the ravines and little vallies that environed the place, and that they were entrenched there so as to be secured from cannon shot. This sight disturbed him in reality, but he stood firm, and the English became in their turn apprehensive of some mine being prepared. Not daring then to come close to the ramparts, they tried to set fire to a frigate and some smaller vessels that were at anchor under the guns of the fort. Find-

ing too much resistance there, they crept behind some buildings that remained standing—regained their trenches, and before day went back into their former camp. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 165. 4 *Charlevoix*, 17–21.] The next day, which was the 17th June, as soon as the tide would permit, they re-embarked, leaving 80 of their people dead in different places, besides several who were found afterwards near their camp. They had burned all the dwelling houses below the fort, besides several of those that were above it, and carried off from the farms all the cattle, but the greater part of these were retaken.

The saving of Port Royal on this occasion is attributed to the timely arrival of sixty Canadians, who had got to the place twelve hours before the English fleet anchored in the basin. The inhabitants, who for three years previous had received scarcely any succor from France, were for the most part ill enough disposed; and M. de Subercase wrote to the minister, that if it had not been for the presence of the baron St. Castin he knew not what would have been the result. He added that the Micmac Indians were all naked, and that the Canibas and Malecites would be in the same condition, but for a trade they carried on through the Mahingans with the English, who gave an *écu* for every pound of their beaver, and they obtained the European goods at cheap prices. Thus the enemies of France supplied the necessities of her most faithful allies, while the French allowed them to suffer the want of the necessities of life.

Bonaventure was precluded from taking part in this defence by an affection of the legs, as he states in his letter to the minister, of 5 July, 1707. After quitting the siege, the English fleet and troops went to Casco bay. Colonel March wrote thence to governor Dudley that he should stay there for further orders, and threw the blame on his troops and officers of refusing to assault the place. The report that preparations were making at Boston for a public rejoicing on the presumed capture of Port Royal, is said to have induced him to stop. A great clamor arose at Boston against March and Wainwright, and Appleton was also blamed. Stukely, the captain of the Deptford, defended the conduct of the troops. Dudley deter-

mined to persevere, and in July sent three commissioners, colonels Hutchinson and Townsend, and Mr. Leverett, who embarked with one hundred recruits and some deserters. When they got to Casco they found 743 men there, but seemingly dispirited and unfit for service ; but the governor had given express orders to proceed. Accordingly the English fleet and army reached Passamaquoddy about the 18 August. On Sunday, the 20 August, they got to Port Royal. March was sick and dejected, and declined the command, which was given to Wainwright, the next senior officer. The troops landed on the side opposite to the fort. On Sunday afternoon the English fleet was seen coming in and anchoring in the basin in good order, and out of the reach of shot. This unlooked for visit caused great consternation in the fort. Though the garrison had been reinforced by the crew of a French frigate, under the command of M. de Bonaventure, it was said to have been thought rash to resist so great a force. Subercase was, however, not affected by this panic, and his resolute conduct brought his followers gradually back to a greater firmness of mind. His first difficulty was to reassemble the inhabitants, many of whom lived seven leagues away from the fort, but the slow proceedings of the English afforded him leisure enough for this purpose. They put off their landing until the day after their arrival ; and the governor, not being certain as to the place where they would come on shore, deemed it best to keep not only his garrison, but the inhabitants who came in, all together.

On the 21 August, at 10, A. M., twenty-four shallops or pirogues, all filled with English soldiers, put off and landed these men on the side opposite to the fort. They marched at once across the woods, and encamped about a quarter of a league above the fort, on the opposite side of the river. Subercase then ordered out a party of about eighty Indians and thirty inhabitants, to follow the line of the river, cross it half a league higher up, and place themselves in ambush in such situations, that in case the enemy sent out detachments to destroy the dwellings in that direction, they might fall upon them easily. The English troops remained all the 22d in

their camp, to fortify themselves there. On the evening of the 23d they detached a party, (Charlevoix says of 700 or 800 men, but it was probably much less), who marched, preceded by a guard of ten soldiers, commanded by a lieutenant. This officer not taking the precautions necessary in a wood with which he was unacquainted, fell into an ambuscade, and was killed, and so were eight of his guard. The two who remained were made prisoners, and were led to the governor's presence. From one of them he learned that the enemy had embarked their artillery in two small vessels, intending to carry them above the fort, under cover of night. Upon this information, he gave directions that fires should be lit along the river during the time the tide was rising, and this measure prevented the English artillery from being carried up. The detachment mentioned, on the defeat and destruction of their small advanced guard, did not venture to move on further, but returned to the encampment. On the 24th, no person came out of the camp, owing to the constant alarms given by the garrison of the fort.

The condition in which the English were at this time is described in a letter from colonel Wainwright to the commissioners, dated August 14, (25 n. s.) [*2 Hutch., Mass., 169.*]:—
“Our not recovering the intended ground on the opposite”
“side is a mighty advantage to the enemy; in that they have”
“opportunity, and are improving it, for casting up trenches”
“in the very place where we designed to land and draw up”
“our small forces. Yesterday the French, about eight of the”
“clock, forenoon, on the Fort point, with a small party of St.”
“John's Indians, began to fire on our river guards, and so”
“continued until about three, afternoon. There appeared”
“about one hundred Indians and French upon the same”
“ground, who kept continually firing at us until dark. Sev-”
“eral were shot through their cloaths, and one Indian through”
“the thigh. About four in the afternoon I suffered a num-”
“ber of men, about forty or fifty, to go down to the bank of”
“the river, to cut thatch to cover their tents. All returned”
“well, except nine of captain Dimmock's men, who were led”
“away by one Mansfield, a mad fellow, to the next plantation”

“ to get cabbages in a garden, without the leave and against ”
“ the will of his officer. They were no sooner at their plun- ”
“ der but they were surrounded by at least one hundred ”
“ French and Indians, who, in a few minutes, killed every ”
“ one of them,” (could this have been the affair of the 23rd.,
in the French narrative ?) “ their bodies being mangled in a ”
“ frightful manner. Our people buried them, and fired twice ”
“ upon the enemy, on which they were seen to run towards our ”
“ out-guards next the woods, which we immediately strength- ”
“ ened. Indeed, the French have reduced us to the same ”
“ state to which we reduced them at our last being at Port ”
“ Royal—surrounded with enemies, and judging it unsafe to ”
“ proceed on any service without a company of at least one ”
“ hundred men.” The letter then goes on to give a dismal
account of the sickness and despondency of the besiegers.
Even the Indians who were with them threatened to leave.
Colonel Wainwright complains of the small number of his
forces, also of having a *bad cold* himself. He concludes thus :
“ If we had the transports with us, it would be impossible, ”
“ without a miracle, to recover the ground on the other side, ”
“ and I believe the French have additional strength every ”
“ day. In fine, most of the forces are in a distressed state, ”
“ some in body and some in mind ; and the longer they are ”
“ kept here on the cold ground, the longer it will grow upon ”
“ them ; and I fear the further we proceed, the worse the ”
“ event. God help us.” Captain Stukely had promised to
lead one hundred of his men, but the bad state of affairs indu-
ced him to withdraw them before the 25th.

On the 25 August, the bombs discharged from the fort com-
pelled the English to quit their encampment, and they then
took post opposite to the fort ; but Subercase gave them no
rest in this position, as he saw their endeavors to erect bat-
teries there of cannon and mortars. On the 26th, they remo-
ved half a league lower down, when the governor sent out a
detachment which killed three of their sentries, and obliged
them to decamp a third time. They then encamped out of
reach of the cannon of the fort, but were still harrassed by
several small bodies of French. On the 29th, the English

seemed busy entrenching themselves ; but on the 30th, at four P. M., they all re-embarked. Subercase suspected their intention to make a landing on the other side of the river, and he sent over all the men he had to that side. On the 31st, at sun rise, the English troops went on shore, (on the Fort side), under protection of the guns of their fleet, and at once began their march. Before them was a point of land covered with woods, in which the baron de St. Castin lay in ambush with one hundred and fifty men. He suffered them to approach within pistol shot, and then fired three consecutive vollies. They bore the fire with an intrepidity which he had not expected, and appeared resolved to force a passage at whatever loss, but eventually they desisted, and a little while after they were seen on the retreat. Subercase next sent out *le sieur de la Boularderie*, (Louis Simon de St. Aubin le Poupet, chevalier de la Boularderie, *enseigne de vaisseau et capitaine d'une compagnie, &c.*) This officer took with him one hundred and fifty men to reinforce St. Castin. Subercase followed in person with one hundred and twenty more, leaving the fort in charge of M. de Bonaventure. He then advanced to observe the enemy, and he remarked that they were filing off towards the shallops waiting on them. He ordered Boularderie to follow them, and if they attempted to embark, to charge them. This officer, burning with impatience to engage his opponents, marched too fast, and began the attack with only sixty or eighty of his men at the utmost. He jumped into one of their entrenchments, carried it, and killed some of the English. Excited by his first success, he cast himself into a second entrenchment, where he received a sabre cut in the body and another in his hand. St. Castin and Saillant took his place ;—a severe hand to hand conflict with hatchets and the butt ends of muskets ensued, and the enemy (to the number of 1400 or 1500 men, as stated by Charlevoix), retreated at least 1500 paces towards their shallops. Meanwhile, some of the English officers, ashamed of the retreat of their men before inferior numbers, rallied them and brought them back on the French, who then were retiring towards the woods, because St. Castin and Saillant had both been wounded. (Antoine de Saillan,

enseigne de compagnie, was married 18 July, 1707, to Anne Mius de Poubomcou, and died of his wounds, 8 Sept., 1707, see parish register of Port Royal.) The French seeing the enemy coming back, faced round and showed so much resolution that the English did not venture to come to close quarters, but fired several vollies at them, and withdrew again. Subercase availed him of this opportunity to withdraw his wounded and rest his troops. At the end of an hour he sent one Granger, an inhabitant and a very brave man, to head Boularderie's detachment and attack the English, who did not wait for his coming up, but embarked hastily and in confusion. The same day the greater part of the fleet hoisted their anchors and went out of the basin, and on the first of September the whole English fleet were outside. The French supposed that they cast their dead into the sea, in the bay of Fundy. [4 *Charlevoix*, 24-29.] The French estimated their loss in this (August) siege, which lasted fifteen days, at three men killed and wounded. The English acknowledged sixteen of their men killed, and as many wounded. The officers of the Deptford were blamed for neglect of duty. [*History B. Empire in America*, p. 177.]

While the English colonists were so eager to conquer the French possessions in this quarter, their own government appears to have been supine and indifferent as to their comfort and protection. The French king's ships, which arrived at Port Royal a little while after the siege was raised, brought out no merchandises either for the use of the inhabitants or for the Indians. This embarrassed the governor, who had made large promises to both at the time of the siege, in order to secure their help in defending the place, and he was now left without means to fulfil his engagements. He stated, in his letter to the minister, that he had been under the necessity of giving away his shirts and bed clothes, and generally everything that he could possibly dispense with, to relieve actual misery among the poorest of the people. He added that no time was to be lost, if it was intended to make a permanent settlement in Acadie, a colony that would become the source of the greatest trade to the kingdom. That New England had that year sent

out a fleet of sixty ships, laden with codfish, for Spain and the Mediterranean, and that a larger fleet was soon about to sail for the West Indies ; and that the English, while defeated in their attempt to conquer the province, were nevertheless drawing great riches from it, while the French had no advantage whatever.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXIV.

(I.)

ABSTRACT OF LETTER.

M. des Goutins to the minister, 23 December, 1707 :—

Allein claimed from the king 1100 livres for his house, which Bonaventure had pulled down as being too near the fort ; and 999 livres for materials supplied the crown. Des Goutins calls it an old house of 28x22 feet, covered with boards, enclosed with planks of 4 inches thick, half rotten—a chimney of earth—a very bad floor below—a partition of plain boards, and two closets of boards not moulded. It never cost Allein more than 400 livres, and 350 l. would pay him well for it. As to his other demand, he can receive it from M. de Fontaineau by sending his power of attorney, the money lying in his hands. But he shows that 400 l. out of the 999 is an unfair demand. He states that 43 families are destitute of blankets and of iron pots, owing to losses on the English coming and their taking to the woods, and the supply of these articles has been exhausted for months back. The issue of paper money was unavoidable. Subercase is doing everything to call it in. They had no pots, scythes, sickles, knives, nor iron, in the country—not a hatchet, nor a kettle for the Indians, nor salt for the inhabitants. They would be lucky if the enemy would sell them goods again for their beaver, but Subercase is opposed to it, and the people will not deal with the enemy. The dry season stopped all the saw mills. Des Goutins has to keep his accounts, &c., in a little office without a chimney, exposed to the cold. The people from Mines and Beaubassin had to go home without procuring the clothing they expected. Des Goutins had to give away his cloak and two justaucorps, keeping one suit only. He had a bale of goods in the ship, which was thrown overboard. With respect to the church, the house of M. de Villieu, which had been used for that purpose, having been burnt, they were reduced to the chapel of the fort, and as that was part of the lodgings appointed for the *lieutenant du Roi*, it had been given up since the arrival of madame de Bonaventure, and a chapel has been fitted up in one end of the new casernes, which answers for chapel and parish church ; but it is so small that it is barely sufficient for the people of the fort ; and as there is but one mass performed, the half of the people are at the door. He then gives

an account of a wreck near cape Fourchu, which three sons of le sieur de Pobomcoup had visited, &c. "The sieur Jacques Mius de Pobomcoup is a native of this country, son of sieur Philippe d'Entremont, native of Normandy, deceased seven years ago, at the age of 99 years and some months. He had not lost a tooth. He had been major under the late mons. de la Tour, governor of this country. Since that he, for 18 years, was *procureur du Roi*, until old age rendered him incapable. The sieur du Pobomcoup is married to the demoiselle Anne de la Tour de St. Etienne. Of this marriage there are four big boys, four big girls, and a little girl of ten. This sieur has a share in the seigneurie of Port Royal, conjointly with the messrs. de la Tour and other co-seigneurs. Since the war he has carried on no commerce, and if he had wherewithal to carry on the fishery, he, his children, and the inhabitants of that neighborhood might do so without risking much, even in the severest war. The English do not go near his settlement on account of the Indians, and they would not fit out an expedition expressly to attack him." He refers to the siege. "You know, my lord, the first siege had exhausted us after the example of M. de Subercase. His house was open to everybody. The sick found everything necessary there, and he caused their broths to be made in his presence. This put them in the spirit of doing their best, and those who did not act were much mortified in missing the opportunity." He praises highly M. Consolin, *aide d'artillerie*, and M. Jacquet, master gunner. He transmits census of Port Royal, Mines, Beaubassin, and Cobequette, (a new settlement.) Subercase has sent that of the Indians, and of the inhabitants of cape Sable, and the East coast. (It is to be regretted that we have no copy of this census.) We send to France 35 English prisoners;—there remain here yet, 18. Mentions provisions sent to Port Royal per captain Morpain, *armateur de St. Domingue*, (privateer of St. Domingo.) "I have spoken to M. de Subercase on the subject of the dame de Freneuse. He answered me positively, and word for word, that it is a fine conversion, and that the priests were content with it, and charmed with her conduct. This has extremely surprised me, and not to contradict M. de Subercase, but it is not consistent with their having petitioned him fifteen days ago to make her go away. He incessantly thunders and cries, and M. de Subercase has said to me more than twenty times in the course of the year, that he was going to send her to a distance—that M. de Bonaventure had broken his word to him."

Des Goutins praises his own son, now beginning his twentieth year. Says he was distinguished in the siege, and has helped him without pay in the king's stores for three and a half years, begs a lieutenancy and keepership of stores for him. "The distinguished youth of this country would no longer have room to say that employments are for them alone, and they will know that virtue will suffice to attain to them. This would give me room to bring up more easily my numerous family of six boys and four girls, who would join their vows to those of their father for the preservation of your Excellency."

Port Royal, 23 Dec'r., 1707.

Pierre de Morpain, commander of the marquis de Beaupré, was married 13 August, 1709, to dlle. Marie d'Amour de Chofour, daughter of the late Louis d'Amour, ecuyer, and sieur de Chauffour, and of the late dame Marguerite Guyon. (Reg. parish Port Royal.)

(2.)

A French and Indian party attacked Haverhill, on the Merrimack, on the 9th Sept.. 1708, n. s., killed, as the French state, 100, as the English, 42—took many prisoners, burning and plundering. De Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville commanded the party. They were met by the English on their retiring,—nine or ten French killed, and some prisoners recovered. [*2 Hutch.. Mass., 172, 173.*]

(3.)

Grant 2 May, 1707. to Charles Morin, on the river Listigouche, in the bay of Chaleurs, made by Vaudreuil and Raudot, of two leagues square, &c. Confirmed by royal brevet of 20 May, 1708.

Grant of 4 May, 1707, to sieur Thomas Lefèvre, of two leagues front, three leagues in depth, from point Meniquet to the river St. George, in Acadie, (the original grant of which from Callière and Beauharnois had been burnt.) Confirmed also by royal brevet of 20 May, 1708.

(4.)

Par devant nous Jean Chrisostome Loppinot, conseiller procureur du Roy et notaire royal à L'Acadie y resident au Port Royal et temoins cy bas nommés furent presents Mr. François Duvivier enseigne des vaisseaux de sa Majesté et capitaine d'une compagnie franche de la marine en garnison au fort Royal de l'Acadie et dame Marie Mius, son epouse par luy autorisée à l'effet des presentes, lesquels ont reconnu et confessé avoir vendu, cédé, quitté, transporté et delaisé des maintenant & à toujours, promis garentir de tous troubles et empechements generalement quelconques à Jean Francois filanc, habitant du Port Royal à ce present acceptant, retenant pour luy, ses hoirs et ayant causes, savoir est un emplacement de terre, sur le bord de la riviere du Dauphin y tenant d'un bout et ayant de front sur la ditte riviere, soixante dix sept pieds, d'autre bout allant en pointe jusqu' aux piquets de Pelerin d'un coté à la terre de mons'r. de la Boularderie borné par une roche sous laquelle est trois morceaux de machefer et par en bas, à un petit piquet, la ditte roche mise et posée par monsieur de Labat, Ingenieur pour le Roy à l'Acadie, et d'autre coté au sieur Louis d'Amour et le sieur de Chofour à prendre à la mesure de defunt St. Onge, qui lui appartient presentement qui est à trois pieds de la maison dont cy dessous va être fait mention et ou ils ont pareillement planté des piquets. Et en outre luy vendent la maison qui se trouve sur la ditte terre en l'etat qu'elle est. Cette vente et cession faite moyennant le prix et somme de deux cents livres que les dits vendeurs confessent avoir reçus du dit sieur Aquereur, dont ils le quittent et déchargent. en en outre à la charge des lotz et ventes. Les dits vendeurs luy garantissant la ditte terre sur l'hypoteque de tous leur biens present et à venir, promettant et obligeant et à ce renonceant. Ce fait et passe au Port Royal ce trentieme du mois de Mars mil sept cents sept en presence du sieur de Belleisle, seigneur en partie de l'Acadie, et de Alain de la Motte marchand demeurant au Port Royal temoins qui ont avec les parties signé à la minute des presentes demeurant divers nous :

LOPPINOT.

Pr. Inclus du Greff.

Scelé ce 31 Mars, 1707.

I, the before named John ffrancis fflanc, hereby transfer and convey my right to the before mentioned premisses & priviledges thereunto belonging in favour of Mr. Samuëll Douglass, gunner in the garrison of Annapolis Royall, his heirs and assigns for ever. As witness my hand and seal this 25th of May, 1733.

J. FFLANC.

Signed and sealed before us, October the 30.

GEO. MITCHELL.

WALTER ROSS.

WM. SHIRREFF, Sec'y.

Before me, Jean Chrisostome Loppinot, counsellor, *procureur du Roi*, and royal notary in Acadie, residing there at Port Royal, and the witnesses under named, were present monsieur François Duvivier, ensign of vessels of his majesty, and captain of a free company of the marine in garrison at fort Royal in Acadie, and the lady Marie Mius, his wife, by him authorized to the effect of these presents, who have acknowledged and confessed to have sold, yielded, quitted, transferred and released from the present time and for ever, promised to warrant from all troubles and hindrances in general whatsoever, to Jean François fflanc, inhabitant of Port Royal, at this present time accepting and retaining, for him, his heirs and assigns, that is to say, a lot of land on the bank of the Dauphin river, measuring at one end fronting on said river seventy-seven feet, on the other end running to a point as far as the pickets of Pelerin; on one side reaching to the land of monsieur de la Boularderie, bounded by a rock, under which are three pieces of *machefer*, (iron dross, scoræ from a smithy), and downwards to a little picket, said rock having been put and placed by M. de Labat, engineer for the king in Acadie; and on the other side to the property of sr. Louis d'Amour and the sieur de Choufour, to be bounded by the ruins of the house of the deceased St. Onge, which now belongs to him, which is three feet from the house hereinafter mentioned, and where pickets are also planted. And besides they sell him the dwelling house which is on the said lot, in the condition it is now in. This sale and cession is made for the price of two hundred livres, which the said vendors acknowledge they have received from the said purchaser, and acquit and discharge him from the same, subject to the charge of *lots et ventes*. The said vendors warranting him the said land, on hypothecation of all their effects, present and future, promising and obliging, and to this purpose renouncing.

Thus done and passed at Port Royal, this thirtieth of the month of March, one thousand seven hundred and seven, in presence of the sieur de Belleisle, part seigneur of Acadie, and of Alain de la Motte, merchant, dwelling at Port Royal. Witnesses, who have with the parties signed the minute of these presents, remaining with me.

Sealed this 31st March, 1707.

LOPPINOT.

Pr, inclus du Greff, (as entered in the registry.)

CHAPTER XXXV.

1708. After the two sieges in 1707, Subercase, in the year following, had only to encounter rumors of invasion. In consequence of this, he got the man-of-war, the *Venus*, anchored fast under the fort, and employed her crew, the soldiers of the garrison and the inhabitants, in repairing the works. Two-thirds of the Canadians who were in the *Venus* deserted. The *Loire*, ship of war, arrived, without bringing any goods for the inhabitants; but a prize taken by the *Venus* supplied an abundance for the French and also the Indians. Subercase told the Indians that the presents they received would be in proportion to their merits. This induced sixty or eighty of them to take up the hatchet and to kill five or six English on the frontier. He says the only way to lead the Indians into war is by furnishing them with goods, as the English attract them to their side by selling them goods cheap. An Indian of Beaubassin found along the shore a sum of 4000 or 5000 piastres. Subercase induced him to send him part of it. Indians must not think you fear them. Twenty-two years' experience had taught him that they act best when treated firmly. "The" "missionaries pretend that whatever wrong the Indians do" "they learned from the French. For my part I am persuaded that the least wicked of the Indians is much more so" "than the worst of the French." This remark shows how deeply prejudiced a man of ability may become. The unhappy Micmac was stimulated by white men to a ferocious and cruel border war, bribed and hired to perpetrate midnight murders of whole families in the frontier settlements, and to devastate

the fishing settlements of the English in Newfoundland. Of these horrors and atrocities, Subercase, by his own statement, was an active instigator. Yet he would condemn the illiterate Indian, while in his own nation such noblemen as the d'Amours were disgracing the French name.

During this whole summer the governor had to support more than two hundred and fifty extra hands, both French and Indian, chiefly for repairing the fort. He made a powder magazine, capable of holding 60,000 lbs. of powder, which he considered bomb proof. He erected a building of 80 feet long by 33 in depth, one half of which was to be fitted up for a chapel, the remainder to become lodgings for the almoner, the surgeon, and M. de Goutins. The barracks which had been begun, were completed, and the interior finished. In August, governor Dudley wrote from Boston to Subercase. He defends himself from the charge of ill-using prisoners. He claims the territory of Kennebec and Pentagouët, as English, and denies that the Indians of that region belong to the government of Acadie. Referring to the siege of Port Royal in 1707, he says: "I am much surprized at what you state on" "the subject of the entrails of M. de Brouillan, which are" "buried near your fort. It was a dead man who was found on" "a declivity of a hill where my troops had resolved to post" "themselves, was the cause of it. For seeing the cross so" "near, they opened the earth at the foot of the said cross to" "bury this corpse, and in opening the ground they perceived" "a box, and not knowing what it might be, not being accus-" "tomed to see a coffer of this kind, they looked inside it, so" "that you ought to regard this as the effect of curiosity and" "mistake."

"On this subject, I must give you the particulars of an" "attempt of M. de Brouillan. About five years since I had" "gone to Casco bay to make an agreement with the Indians" "of my government. There came to that place two French-" "men of Port Royal, to whom M. de Brouillan had promised" "two hundred pistoles to kill me. These Frenchmen came" "to Casco bay, disguised as Indians, and were present when" "I was making my agreement, but their hearts failed them"

"in what they had undertaken. Some time after, one of the " "two, being a prisoner, and brought here, acknowledged it " "to me in my house on his knees ; and if since that time the " "heart of M. Brouillan comes out of the ground, you and all " "his friends ought to consider its grandeur for me," (*en doivent considérer la grandeur pour moi.*) "I hate inhumanity, and " "even punish it." He says Allain attempted to induce negroes at Boston to run away. That being afterwards captured, and coming to Boston destitute, he, Dudley, assisted him, and sent him home. He says he gives up to each French governor the prisoners belonging to his government only. He acknowledges a present of wine from Subercase. In a letter from Costabelle, the governor of Placentia, to Subercase, 3 November, 1708, he says : "M. Rouville has performed marvels on the " "side of Boston, with a party of 200 men. He took a fort " "from the English, putting them all to the edge of the sword " "or the tomahawk," (*hache*), "and in his retreat he forced an " "ambuscade of about 200 English, of whom but three or four " "made their escape." Subercase, in writing to the minister in December, says : "An expedition, said to have been conducted this year by the Canadians and Indians on the river " "Maramet, (Merrimac?) situated between Salem and Pesca- " "dout, (Piscataqua), where, it is said, the French cut the " "throats of four or five hundred persons, without giving quar- " "ter to women or children." He says the inhabitants of Acadie are terribly afraid that the English will take revenge on them. Subercase doubts the truth of the story.

Subercase thought the fisheries of Acadie of more value than those of Newfoundland. He says that 300 New England vessels had fished this summer on the banks and shore of Acadie, and they all had an abundant catch. He says the land is good and fertile, and produces every thing that France does, except olives. There is an abundance of grain, and an inexhaustible supply of wood of all sizes for building. All along the coast there are fine harbors, easy of entrance. He proposes Lahève as a chief port and place for building vessels, and another place as a post at St. George's river. The people here, he says, are excellent workmen with the axe and adze. They

only want a few master shipwrights and caulkers to set them right. He mentions another port, about three leagues from the little passage of Canceau, called Mocoudom, (Country Harbor ?) and another at English Harbor, in Cape Breton, (Louisbourg.) He urged the forming of companies in the French sea ports—to settle colonies here, &c. He would invest a million in it, if he had it, in this, as a sure business.

Subercase, in a letter to the minister of 25 December, 1708, proposed that a swift sailing man-of-war, of 56 guns and 450 seamen, should be sent out to cruise with the *Venus*. She would make a million yearly in prizes—would probably capture the Boston frigate—enable him to fortify Lahève; and if, as he believes, settlers came here in consequence, he would, with these helps, capture Rhode Island, which, he says, is inhabited by rich quakers, and is the resort of rascals and even pirates. He says Costabelle ought not to detain the *Venus*, as she was sent out for this coast in lieu of *la Biche*, (the Hind), which had been built at an immense expense out of the colony funds. (Below is written, “all this might be good, but the difficulty is as to vessels and money. Begin. Let the two governors of Acadie and Placentia be agreed as to the *Venus*.) The English vessels took wood and water along the eastern coast. One went into port Razoir (Shelburne) in October—burnt a man’s house—carried off the man, and sent him to Subercase with letters from the governor of Boston. Subercase prepared to build a vessel, to be finished in the ensuing summer, according to orders he had received from M. Begon, the intendant of Canada. (Michel Begon de la Picardière, intendant of Canada 1712 to 1726.) He says: “I never in” “my life received an order to send away from here the dame” “de Freneuse, until I got one by the arrival of the *Venus*.” “This I did not fail to execute eight days after, even before” “the rivers were free of ice. She is in Canada since the” “month of May last. I can assure you, on the faith of a man” “of honor, that M. de Bonaventure wished it as much as any” “one, at least as far as I could judge by his conduct before” “and since the order came.” Bonaventure’s wife was living at Port Royal at this time, as we find by a baptismal entry

11 Nov., 1708. Dame Jeanne Jannier, wife of sieur Denis de Bonaventure was present as godmother to Magdelaine de Goutin, daughter of Matthew de Goutin, lieut. gen'l., (i. e. Judge.) "I think, my lord, that I should not act as an honest man if" "I did not inform you that nothing can be so wicked as all" "they have said against him" (M. de Bonaventure.) "Altho' " "I am his servant and his friend, I should not have haggled" "about it a quarter of an hour if I had room to suspect him" "of a want of fidelity to his majesty; and I can swear to you" "besides that the illness he suffered when the English were" "here was very real, as he had his leg swollen to the size of" "his thigh, and I saw it dressed (*panse*) ten times. What" "has vexed me most in all is this, that I have seen these acts" "of calumny take their flight from a quarter whence the in-" "fluences of love and charity ought alone to proceed, and" "that they have pushed the matter as far as hell could desire," "having brought upon the stage devotees to whom M. de" "Bonaventure never spoke in his life. I may swear to you," "my lord, on the word of a man of honor, that I ascertained" "as exactly as it was possible for me to know, if there had" "been any children of madame Freneuse. I have learned," "as everybody knows, that there is one who is large and fat," "and who is marvellously healthy. I have not heard any one" "express a suspicion that she had had another; but only" "father Patrice, superior of this mission, told me on coming" "here, that they suspected him of having had the dame de" "Freneuse bled in the foot, and that if this matter were pur-" "sued it might lead to serious results. The vehemence of" "his manner led me to doubt the assertion he made, and a" "little while after I saw him vexed at what he had said to" "me, even begging me not to believe it;—that these were" "rumors that had been current, but that they were without" "foundation; that in fact the scandalous connection he had" "had with the said lady had led some persons to push their" "remarks a little too far." Des Goutins says: "The dame" "de Freneuse went to Canada in the month of July last, and" "we have learned that she arrived there. It is positively" "known that M. de Bonaventure has had a child by this"

“woman. They are bringing it up at an inhabitant’s, at the”
 “upper part of the river. It is very true that M. de Bonaven-”
 “ture was alone present at the birth of the child, and that”
 “being embarrassed, he called in the demoiselle Barrat and”
 “her maid servant. They ran to tell the late M. de Brou-”
 “illan, who was then at supper, and who was there imme-”
 “diately. They sent this child the same day to the upper”
 “part of the river, to the house of an inhabitant, where it”
 “now is.”

It was intended to build a war vessel at Port Royal in the ensuing spring. Subercase complains that scandal has attacked both his religious faith and his loyalty. He says that Brouillan never spent a sous on his grant on the coast, 7 or 8 leagues from Lahève. Pensens, his legatory heir, asks for it, but Subercase wishes to get it himself. The crown had promised 4000 livres to build the church and *presbytère*. Subercase thinks they had better not build a church until peace.—There was a sum of 500 écus granted annually by the king for missions : 100 each goes to the curés of Port Royal, Mines and Beaubassin ; 100 to Gaulin, missionary for the Micmacs ; and 100 at the disposal of the bishop.—He praises Gaulin, and says he ought to be better paid, having no tithes or fees. He recommends M. de St. Castin, who is kept out of his estate in France, under pretence of illegitimacy, although he has the certificates of the missionaries and full evidence of his heirship. “This”
 “poor boy has to do with the first *chicanier* of Europe, and”
 “lieutenant general of the town of Oleron, in Bearne, who”
 “for long years enjoys this property. He recommends St.”
 “Castin to be made lieutenant general of Pentagouët, with a”
 “salary, as he is very useful there.” (These lieutenant generalships were not military but judicial offices.) Subercase reports of his officers that two or three were insane, and one or two others useless or unmanageable. He says : “I am”
 “in despair to find myself in such a situation, and by the”
 “account I give you, you will know, my lord, that I have”
 “been in as much need of mad houses as of barracks ; but”
 “what gives me more trouble than all, is, that I fear that the”
 “evil spirit of this country may cause my brain to be turned,”

"in my turn." He says that three-fourths of the soldiers are boys from Paris, whose parents have sent them out for misbehavior. In this year Subercase caused 2,228 livres to be distributed among the most necessitous of the inhabitants, to buy cattle, to replace those that were killed when the English came here. Loppinot, *procureur* du Roi, complained that his salary was only 100 livres, while his predecessor, Dubreuil, had 300. He estimates his losses by fire in the English invasion at over 10,000 livres.

1709. M. de St. Ovide, king's lieutenant at Placentia, nephew of the late M. de Brouillan, set out on 14 December, 1708, with one hundred and seventy men to attack the English fort at St. John's, N. F. He arrived there on the 1st January, 1709, [4 *Charlevoix*, 43, 2 *Garneau*, 21], and reconnoitering the place by moonlight, resolved to attack it. There were three forts, one recently built. The two older ones were carried at once, and the new one surrendered in twenty-four hours. M. Costabelle, the governor of Placentia, sent an order to blow up the works, which was accordingly done. Carbonnière was the only place left to the British in the island, and a corsair of Placentia, Gaspard Bertran, was sent against it. He failed in this enterprize, and was killed. His men, however, captured a well laden British ship. [4 *Charlevoix*, 65, 67.]

Mr. Vetch, who had been in England in 1708, soliciting aid for the conquest both of Canada and Acadie, was made a colonel, and returned to New England in the spring of 1709, to make preparations. He brought with him her majesty's commands, dated 28 February, 1708-9, to Rhode Island, &c. Rhode Island raised 200 men. [*Rhode Island Records*, vol. 5, p. 32.] Colonel Francis Nicholson, who had been engaged in the frontier war with the Canadians and Indians this year, went to England in the autumn, and urged the necessity of reducing Acadie.

M. de Subercase meantime had engaged the services of the *flibustiers*, (freebooters, or privateers), who did great damage to English commerce on these coasts, and he urged on the French ministry to fortify Lahève, and to send out a frigate or two to cruise on the coast ;—but the freebooters deserted him

when he stood in the greatest need of their assistance, and the French government failed to aid him in the way he had suggested to them. The prizes taken by the freebooters caused a temporary plenty in the colony, and put it in his power to make presents to the Indians. At the end of March a *corsaire* left Port Royal, (where she had wintered,) on a cruise; and returned twelve days after, with four small prizes, in part laden with wheat and Indian corn. The prisoners taken reported that a great armament was fitting out at Boston, where 2000 or 3000 men had been raised, independant of those expected from New York, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Subercase sent notice by an express to Vaudreuil, whose replies left him, as he says, nothing to hope on that side. The *corsaire* was about to go on another cruise, when a soldier, who had been struck with a cane by the captain, shot him. The soldier was tried by a court martial and executed. Another *corsaire* of St. Domingo arrived, and starting from Port Royal, returned after ten days' absence, having made nine prizes and destroyed four more vessels. Morpain commanded this privateer, and being attacked by a coast guard vessel from Boston, made a prize of her and brought her into Port Royal. The English captain was killed, and one hundred men of her crew were lost, while Morpain had but five killed and six or seven wounded. The prisoners he took were over one hundred. They stated that there were at Boston six large ships of war—two thousand men of that government encamped upon an Island—transports and refreshments all ready, and fourteen vessels of war expected from England, said to be intended to conquer Canada. Subercase sent M. de Tourillon with this news to Canada, and assembled 140 Indians and 75 men from Mines, and induced Morpain to remain, and even to take a wife in the place. (13 August, 1709, married to Marie d'Amour de Chofour, daughter of the late Louis d'Amours.) Morpain had been there in 1707, and aided the defence of Port Royal, and also left a quantity of flour there, which was much needed. He recommends that a commission of *lieutenant de frégate*, or a gratification and a medal, be given to Morpain. For three years past the king's ship had brought out no goods, and most of

the provisions they had had come from prizes. A vessel was sent to Martinique with masts and other wood, and some cod-fish out of the prizes. Two privateers from Placentia had wintered at Port Royal, and a privateer from Martinique arrived there. Subercase, speaking of the privateers, says:—"They have desolated Boston, having captured and destroyed" "thirty-five vessels. If we had had the *Venus*, Boston would" "have been ruined, for very certainly their trade would have" "been entirely interrupted. They have had during the whole" "year a scarcity of provisions, because our *corsaires* and" "others from the islands" (West Indian) "captured from" "them nearly six barques, the greater part of which were" "laden with cargoes." The galley from Boston twice attacked a French privateer, but lost 20 or 25 men, while the *corsaire* lost 7 or 8. A great number of English prisoners were collected at Port Royal, but in the autumn they were sent to the English colonies. In all 470 prisoners were sent to New England. Subercase was informed that the Bostonians were using every possible exertion for the invasion and conquest of Acadie, and trying to induce Scotchmen to take an interest in it. Vetch had been sent to England, as an agent, and expected mountains of gold from the enterprize. Among other projects, they had one of seizing on Lahève, and making a post there, and but for the high price of provisions he thinks they would have done so. He says that at least a thousand vessels arrive every year at Boston, whose inhabitants enrich themselves on the French territory, as the basis of their commerce is the fish they take on these coasts, which they send to all parts of the world. He offers to sail the *Venus* at his own expence, as a privateer, if she cannot be sent here at the king's expence, and thinks it would make his fortune. He requires for the colony chiefly lard and flour. He says, "We" "have had here a species of pestilence, which manifested" "itself by the purple" (spotted or purple fever.) "We have" "lost only about fifty persons, as well soldiers as inhabitants," "and *flibustiers*. Both classes were in a continual debauch," "as rum was here for nothing." *Eau de vie de canne et de sucre étoient ici pour rien.* "Every one could pay for it with"

"two sous." He had built an hospital within musket shot of the fort. The calling in the paper money had checked trade. As to specie, he says : "The madness of people here is to "bury all they have of it." At present every thing is plenty, except clothing, "of which, nevertheless, to make a good "deal, they have more facilities than any people in the world," "flax and hemp growing here almost to a marvel. I look "upon them, and they are really the most happy inhabitants "of the earth. They are wholly relieved from the mischiefs "which the English inflicted on them two years ago. I have "employed them, eight days each this spring, to cut down the "woods which were too near us on both sides of the river." He has given the Indians powder and lead, nearly as much as in other years.——The Jesuit missionaries have aided him greatly.

Having previously stated the insufficient strength of the garrison, he now urges it strongly, being certain of an attack on the place in the spring. He suggest that the man-of-war might bring all the spare troops from Placentia to Port Royal. He complains of Loppinot. The admiralty fees on a prize made by the *Venus* came to 1700 livres. A prize taken by M. la Ronde had been confiscated to the use of the admiral, as la Ronde had not a commission from him. "It is of the last "importance that we should be succored, at the latest in the "month of April. I beg pardon, my lord, if you find erasures "in my letter. I am at the last of my stock of paper, and "without a secretary, and for two months past suffering from "pain in the teeth, which leaves me not one hour free, and is "just now severer than ever," &c.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1710. We have now arrived at an important era in this history. An expedition had been for some time in preparation in the English colonies in America for the invasion of Port Royal, and views of conquest both of Acadie and Canada began to be seriously entertained, as the only mode of relieving the frontier English settlers from the sudden surprizes of the Indians, and from the mercies of the tomahawk and scalping knife. The most conspicuous person in urging and leading this movement was Francis Nicholson. This gentleman had been lieutenant governor of the province of New York in 1689, when Jacob Leisler took possession of the government at the close of James the second's reign, the revolution having changed the British dynasty. Nicholson was accused by the insurgents of having threatened to burn down the city of New York. In 1690, he was lieutenant governor of Virginia, the assembly of which province voted him a gratuity of £300, and the crown permitted him to accept it. While there he promoted the interests of the church of England. In 1692, he was appointed lieutenant governor of Maryland, and administered that government for six years. In 1698 he was sent back to Virginia, as governor in chief. In this high position he viewed with uneasiness the proceedings of the French and their Indian allies and dependants against the interior and frontier settlements of the English. Although the latter were more numerous than the Canadians, yet being divided into many unconnected provinces and disunited by jealous and distrustful feelings, no concerted action or system of defence

could be established for their protection. Nicholson warmly advocated a confederation or union of the British provinces for defensive purposes, and deemed it the interest and duty of the other colonies to assist in erecting one or more fortresses in the northern part of the state of New York, as a barrier against hostile incursion. His views were fully sustained by king William the third, as far at least as to recommend each colony to contribute its quota for general defence, but were unpopular in Virginia; and all his efforts at that time failed, while he lost much of his personal influence in consequence. In 1704 he was recalled, but sent back again. He was called ambitious, impetuous, &c., but his intelligence, ability and courtesy were distinctly admitted. [*New York Historical Documents*, v. 2, p. 10. *Grahame's Colonial Hist. of the U. States*, v. 2, p. 6 to 28.] He now (1710) held the military rank of colonel, and he, as well as colonel Samuel Vetch, had gone to England to promote the expedition for the conquest of Acadie. In May, 1710, Vetch arrived from England at Boston. (This officer had, in 1705, taken soundings of the most difficult passages of the river St. Lawrence, and had been, while in England, pressing on the government the idea of conquering Canada.)

July 15, 1710, (26 July, n. s.) The Dragon, commodore Martin, the Falmouth, captain Riddle, a bomb ship, and with them a tender, arrived at Boston from England. Colonel Nicholson, with some British officers and colonel Redding's marines, came out in the Dragon. On the 30 July the assembly of Rhode Island voted to send 143 men, of whom 43 were Indians, with three months' provisions, on the expedition to Port Royal. In all they voted 200 men, to be under lieutenant colonel John Cranston.

On the 18 September the armament sailed from Nantasket, in Boston bay. It consisted of the Dragon, the Chester, captain Matthews, and the Falmouth,—fourth rates; the Leostaffe, captain Gordon, and the Feversham, captain Paston,—fifth rates; the Star, bomb, captain Rochfort, and the Massachusetts province galley, captain Southack, with fourteen transports in the pay of Massachusetts, five of Connecticut, two of

New Hampshire, and three of Rhode Island. These, with the tender and five transports from England, made the number of vessels employed amount to thirty-six. (Charlevoix says, 4 v., p. 61, that there were four ships of sixty guns each, two of forty guns, one of thirty-six, and two bomb gallies, besides the transports.) Nicholson was general of the expedition, Vetch adjutant general. There was a regiment of marines under colonel Redding, and four regiments commissioned by Queen Anne, and armed by her gift, who had been raised in New England, that is, two of Massachusetts, one of Connecticut, and one from New Hampshire and Rhode Island. Their colonels were Sir Charles Hobby,—Tailer of Massachusetts,—Whiting of Connecticut, and Shadrach Walton, of New Hampshire. The grenadiers of Walton's regiment were commanded by Paul Mascarene, afterwards governor at Annapolis. All the governors of New England were instructed to give assistance to this undertaking. (One transport, captain Taye, ran ashore at Port Royal, and was lost, and 26 men drowned.) *2 Hutch, M.*, 181. On the 24 September, n. s., the fleet reached the entrance of Port Royal basin.

M. de Subercase writes thus to the minister :

1 October, 1710.

"My lord. I had the honor to write to you on the 24th" "of September, to inform you that the English occupied the" "entrance of our basin, where they still remain, and I have" "no doubt they will stay there while the navigation remains" "open, or at least until the 15 December, calculating thereby" "to famish us and starve us out. I also had the honor to" "report to you, my lord, that our garrison was in the best" "disposition in the world, because it then appeared so ; but" "now I hear the soldiers murmuring every where, com-" "plaining that they are entirely abandoned. This murmur-" "ing has been followed by five desertions, three of the Cana-" "dian detachment, and two of our garrison ; and I am sure" "that if I had not caused the canoes to be removed, there" "would have been thirty deserters by this time." (Subercase is blamed for sending away recruits and Canadians which

Vaudreuil had supplied. 4 *Charlevoix*, 60.) "If the ship we" "expect to succour us comes, this inquietude will pass off;" "but if we receive no succour, I have every reason to fear" "something fatal," *funeste*, "as well on the part of the inha-" "bitants as of the soldiers. Both are in despair at not seeing" "the arrival of their necessities, and they form a cruel idea" "of what we shall have to suffer this winter. I shall do all" "that depends on me; but indeed, my lord, I beg you to" "believe I cannot perform impossibilities. I am as if in a" "prison, into which I can bring nothing and from which I" "can send nothing, and the harvest has been very bad at" "Port Royal. Besides that, I have not a *sou*, and our credit" "is exhausted. I am engaged for considerable sums. I have" "found means by my industry to borrow wherewithal to" "subsist the garrison for these two years. I have paid" "what I could, by selling all my moveables. I will give" "even to my last shirt; but I fear that after all, my pains" "will prove useless, if we are not succoured during the month" "of March or early in April, supposing the enemy should let" "us rest this winter."

The following written summons was sent by general Nicholson to governor Subercase :

3 October, 1710. You are hereby required and commanded to deliver up to me for the Queen of Great Britain, the Fort at present under your control, which by right belongs to her said Majesty, together with all the territories which are under your command, by virtue of the undoubted right of her Royal predecessors, and also with all the guns, mortars, magazines of war and troops likewise under your command, otherwise I shall exert myself with diligence to reduce them by force of her Majesty's arms. Given under my hand and seal at arms, the third day of October, in the ninth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Queen Anne, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, *annoque domini*, 1710.

(Signed)

F. F. NICHOLSON.

(There is a difficulty as to the date of this document, as the capitulation is dated 2 October.) The English kept up a blockade for several days. The garrison during this time slept on the ramparts which had been hastily repaired. On the 5 October the English fleet (said then to comprise fifty-one sail) entered the basin and anchored opposite the fort. On the 6th they landed on both shores, the larger body of men on the Fort side. Subercase did not oppose their landing, nor send out any parties to obstruct their movements, because he could not depend upon either the inhabitants or the soldiers, and he was persuaded that any men he might send out of the fort would not come in again. [4 *Charlevoix*, 62.] He despaired from the first of preserving the place for the king, and had no other end in view than an honorable surrender. He had less than three hundred men under his command, while the enemy were estimated at three thousand four hundred, besides the sea forces. (There is a tradition that Nicholson passed his troops by night in small vessels, by the fort and round Hog Island, up the narrow part of the river, landing somewhere in the rear of the spot where the late Judge Thos. Ritchie's mansion is built, and gradually made his approaches in front of the site of the present court house of Annapolis.) The English, on landing without opposition, marched straight up towards the fort, but having been fired on and lost some men, they retired. The next day, the 7th, they passed a brook, (supposed to be the l'Equille), which turned a mill, at a place where two hundred men, if properly posted, might have almost destroyed them ; but Subercase, seeing them busied in planting batteries and plying the fort with bombs from a galliot, had not anticipated their march in that direction. The fire of the galliot did not effect much damage to the fort, but it served to cover the passage of twenty-two flat-bottomed boats, in which all the cannon, mortars and powder the English required were carried up past the fort.

On the 8 October, Subercase compelled the English to retire from the position they occupied, and where they sought to erect batteries, by the steady fire of his cannon. On the 9th, the cannonading went on until mid-day, and the besieged

threw some bombs into the English camp, causing much disorder. Rain coming on, stopped the firing until the evening. The two English bomb-ships then approached the fort, and fired 42 bombs of 200 lbs. weight. The besieged also tried to fire some carcasses, but they all burst in leaving the mortar. The English had a vessel laden with them, but it perished at the entrance of the port, with all the crew of forty men. (The English account of the loss of a transport, captain Taye, and 26 drowned, is possibly but a different version of the same occurrence.) Oct'r. 10. The English worked at their trenches and batteries, and towards evening began again to fire bombs, and continued this all night, but only two fell into the fort, doing no great damage. Five others burst in the air. A splinter from one wounded an officer named Latour, dangerously, and another carried off a corner of the magazine, On the same night, fifty of the inhabitants and seven or eight soldiers deserted, and on the next day, the 11th October, all the remaining inhabitants presented a petition to the governor, calling his attention to their condition, worn out with being on foot day and night. Their ill humor and discontent with the governor had deprived them of courage, and they feared that no quarter would be granted if they waited till the English had completed their batteries.

On the 12 October, (1 Oct., o. s.,) Forbes and Redknap, the English engineers, had their three batteries open, of two mortars and twenty-four cohorn mortars, mounted within one hundred yards of the fort, and commenced firing;—the French returning shot and shell at the same time. [2 *Hutch.*, 132.] Subercase, finding that the soldiers were as much depressed by fear as the inhabitants, summoned a council of war, in which it was resolved to seek a capitulation. M. de la Perelle, *enseigne*, was sent to general Nicholson. He first asked leave for the women to go out of the fort, but this is supposed to have been refused. Perelle remained in the English camp, and general Nicholson sent colonel Redding with full powers to treat. Subercase received him on the glacis, and conducted him to his own lodgings, where he remained a long time shut up with him in his cabinet. On coming out, the gover-

nor said to his officers that all was settled, and on the next day colonel Redding, and a captain Matthew, who had served as hostage for Perelle, went back to the camp, where general Nicholson signed the capitulation. 16 October, the garrison came out of the fort, to the number of 156 men, according to Charlevoix, (v. 4, p. 65), but according to Douglas, (p. 309), 258 men, all in a miserable condition, *délabrés*, in rags and tatters, with their arms and baggage, and all the honors of war; but the six guns and two mortars, named in the third article of the capitulation, could not be brought out, for want of cattle to draw them, as the inhabitants had taken all theirs into the woods to a considerable distance. Under these circumstances, the governor, by the advice of his officers, kept only one mortar, selling the others to the English for 7,499 livres, 10 sols, to pay the king's debts.

The fort was found so completely destitute of provisions, that general Nicholson had to order the distribution of food among the French. It caused him some regret that he had given terms to those who would have soon been under the necessity of surrendering from famine. The garrison, and such of the inhabitants as chose to go with them, amounting in all to 481 persons, male and female, were shipped for Rochelle, in France. Major Livingston was sent by Nicholson, and the baron St. Castin by Subercase, to the marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, to inform him of the fall of Port Royal. [*Douglas Summary*, 309. 2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 184. 4 *Charlevoix*, 65-67.] Livingston went about the middle of October from Port Royal to Penobscot, where he was very kindly entertained by Castin, at his own house. They ascended the river in canoes, and were detained some days by the Indians; but at length, after dangerous adventures in the woods, where they were near perishing by hunger, they got into Canada. The letters which Livingston carried to the marquis claimed that all the French inhabitants, who lived beyond cannon shot of the fort, were prisoners at discretion, and threatened reprisals on them, unless the Indians were withheld from murdering the settlers and their families on the frontiers of New England. The marquis sent a reply, in which

he questioned the right of reprisals on persons who had surrendered on terms. He denied any instigation of cruelty on the part of the French. He palliated the conduct of the Indians, and blamed the English for refusing his former offers of neutrality. As to the exchange of prisoners, which had been proposed, he expressed his readiness to act, and requested the number held by the English, and a place for their exchange, to be notified to him by his messengers returning. This answer he sent by messrs. de Rouville and Dupuy, to governor Dudley, and he wrote to M. de Pontchartrain, the minister, that he had sent these gentlemen, two of the best partizan officers of Canada, that they might obtain a personal knowledge of the enemy's country.

On the 28 October, general Nicholson, having left a garrison at Port Royal, (now named Annapolis Royal in honor of queen Anne,) which garrison consisted of two hundred marines and two hundred and fifty New England volunteers, under colonel Samuel Vetch, as governor of the place, returned to Boston. The men-of-war and transports returned also.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXVI.

(I.)

Extracts from an unsigned *mémoire* on the island of Cape Breton in 1709.—
[*Paris mss.*]:

“ This post, well established, would render the king master of North America, ”
“ and consequently of all the trade in fish, which is of signal riches.”

Recommends that the king should undertake it, and not a company, and that a governor, staff, and all requisite officers, with eight companies of sixty men each, be sent there, the annual charge of which it computes at 103,301 livres, 10 sous. To have a good fort, cannon, carriages, ball, ammunition, &c. An hospital for the soldiers, with friars hospitalers, expense 10,000 livres per annum. Jesuit fathers, charge 6000 livres per annum. Recollets, to be almoners of the fort and curés of the *banlieue*, expense 3000 livres per annum. For the instruction of young girls, 4000 livres per annum. With regard to the town, it will suffice that it shall be at first enclosed with pickets, (*pieux*), making redoubts of masonry at certain distances. The cost of fortification is put down at 300,000 livres the first

year, and 150,000 livres per annum afterwards. From the various marginal notes on the sketch of this project, it appears to have been very seriously considered.

—In another *mémoire*, undated, the island of cape Breton is said to be ninety leagues in circumference, situated between 45° and 47° N. L., triangular in shape, lands lofty, harbors good, with coal mines. "The greater part of the lands are " "little suited for cultivation. The best are near Canseau, where the late M. " "Denis had a very fine residence, called little St. Peter's. The cod fishery is " "large." *Une fort belle habitation nommée le petit St. Pierre.*

(2.)

The different governments of New York, Connecticut, East and West Jersey, and Pennsylvania, addressed the Hon. colonel Francis Nicholson, in 1709, to take on himself the command of all their troops against Canada, by land. The Governor and Council of Rhode Island addressed him on the same subject, June 27, 1709. Governor Cranston, of R. I., wrote to him at the same time, eulogising his loyalty, courage, zeal for the gospel, generosity to the Protestant churches, &c.; and on 30 Sept., 1709, the assembly of R. I. sent their governor, &c.. to meet Nicholson and Vetch. [*Rhode Island colonial records, vol. 4, pp. 73, 74, 78, 79.*]

(3.)

Subercase, in his letter to the minister 3 January, 1710, speaking of the affair of the *corsaire* captain, "who, while preparing for the cruise, had a difficulty " "with a soldier, to whom he gave two blows of his cane. This unhappy sol- " "dier, without complaining of this to any one, and without any one knowing " "anything of his design, took his gun, went to the house of the *corsaire* captain, " "whom he found in the recess of a window, and shot him in the head, the cap- " "tain dying instantly. The soldier was arrested and placed in a dungeon. This " "occurrence caused here a great alarm, because it was thought that different " "soldiers of the garrison had inspired him with the desire for revenge, and that " "they would support their comrade. The sieur des Goutins, *lieutenant général*, " (a judicial, not a military title), "came to present me a petition, praying me " "to cause this wretch" (*malheureux*) "to be executed by military law. This I " "did not fail to do, and two days after I caused a court martial" (*conseil de guerre*) "to assemble, where he was condemned to have his head broken"—*avoir la tête cassée*—(to be shot?) "for want of a hangman, and his body cast " "into the common sewer. On the day of the execution, the missionary father " "gave me notice that the soldiers intended to mutiny, and that he was obliged " "to let me know. I did not take the alarm as warmly as it was spread in the set- " "tlement. I caused the troops to assemble, and made the detachment myself " "which was to escort the culprit, and chose out of the ranks those who had been " "pointed out to me as the chief mutineers to form the firing party"—*pour lui casser la tête*—"which I caused to be done without any one saying a word, and " "then I made another detachment of those who were thought the worst men, " "and made them take the body and carry it on a scaffold" (*échafaud*) "in sight " "of the passers by."

(4)

Articles of capitulation agreed upon the surrender of the fort at Port Royal, &c. betwixt Francis Nicholson, esq : general and commander-in-chief of all the forces of her sacred majesty Anne, queen of Great Britain, &c., and monsieur Subercase, governor, &c., for his most christian majesty :—

1st. That the garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating and colours flying. 2. That there shall be a sufficient number of ships and provisions to transport the said garrison to Rochel (Rochelle) or Rochefort, by the shortest passage, when they shall be furnished with passports for their return. 3. That I may take out six guns and two mortars, such as I shall think fit. 4. That the officers shall carry out all their effects, of what sort soever, except they do agree to the selling of them ; the payment of which to be upon good faith. 5. That the inhabitants within cannon shot of Port Royal shall remain upon their estates, with their corn, cattle and furniture, during two years, in case they are not desirous to go before, they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to her sacred majesty of Great Britain. 6. That a vessel be provided for the privateers belonging to the islands in America, for their transportation thither. 7. That those that are desirous to go for Placentia, in Newfoundland, shall have leave by the nearest passage. 8. That the Canadians, or those that are desirous to go there, may, for during the space of one year. 9. That effects, ornaments, and utensils of the chappel and hospital, shall be delivered to the almoner. 10. I promise to deliver the fort of Port Royal into the hands of Francis Nicholson, esq., for the queen of Great Britain, within three days after the ratification of this present treaty, with all the effects belonging to the king, as guns, mortars, bombs, ball, powder, and all other small arms. 11. I will discover, upon my faith, all the mines, fugasses and casemates. 12. All the articles of this present treaty shall be executed upon good faith, without difficulty, and signed by each other, at her majesty of Great Britain's camp before Port Royal Fort, this second day of October, in the ninth year of her majesty's reign. Annoque domini, 1710.

FRANCIS NICHOLSON.
SUBERCASE.

Memorandum. The general declared that within cannon shot of Port Royal, in the fifth article above said, is to be understood to be three English miles round the fort, to be Annapolis Royal ; and the inhabitants within three miles to have the benefit of that article. Which persons, male and female, comprehended in the said article, according to a list of the names given to the general by M. Allein, amounts to 481 persons. [2 *Hutchinson, Mass.*, 182, 183.]

(On the 11 September, 1732, lieutenant governor Armstrong and the council appointed the 11th of October to be the day for choosing deputies, in commemoration of the reduction of the place. There is some difficulty about these dates, owing to the difference in the style. The 2 October, old style, would be the 13, October, new style.)

(5)

The following document was given by Subercase. [*E. & F. Commrs.*] :—

We, Daniel Dauger de Subercase, knight of the military order of Saint Louis, governor of Acadie, of cape Breton, of the adjacent islands and lands from cape

des Rosiers of the river St. Lawrence to the west of the river Kinibeki, promise to have passports given to messieurs majors Richard Wallins and Charles Brown, to return by land or sea to old England, after having conducted us to Rochelle or Rochefort, whither they are to go, by order of Mr. Francis Nicholson, general of the troops of the queen of Great Britain, in New England, in conformity with the capitulation made between him and us on the surrender of the fort of Port Royal, in Acadie. Done at the said place, the 23d day of October, 1710, and we have hereunto caused to be affixed the seal of our arms, and the same to be countersigned by our secretary.

DE SUBERCASF.
FONTAINE.

(6.)

Nicholson was governor of Nova Scotia in 1713, and was governor of South Carolina from 1721 to 1725. Probably no other person acted as governor in so many different provinces. His expedition cost New England £23,000 sterling, but the amount was reimbursed by the English parliament. In 1710, the garrison of St. Johns, Newfoundland, was reinforced by two companies of marines. [*Douglas Summary*, 294.]

(7.)

There are more sorts of hand mortars, but Cohorne's new invention exceeds them all, so far as to deserve a particular description. They are made of hammered iron, of 4 inches diameter in the bore, 10 1-2 inches long, and 9 inches in the chase, fixed upon a piece of oak 20 inches long, 10 1-2 broad, and betwixt 3 and 4 thick. They stand fixed at 45 degrees of elevation, and throw hand grenades, as all other hand mortars do. They are placed in the bottom of the trenches, at two yards distance from one another, having each a soldier to serve it, and an officer to every 40 or 50, who lays them to what elevation he thinks convenient, by raising or sinking the hind part of the bed. 300 or 400 of these are sometimes in service at once, in different parts of the trenches, 60, 70 or 80 in a place. Those in one place fire all at once, immediately after the batteries have done; and are answered from another part of the trench, which brings such a shower of hand grenades into the covert way, that those who defend it are thrown into unavoidable confusion. [*The Theatre of the late War, &c.*, 1756.]

(8.)

I received the following paper recently, from my friend Mr. W. T. Waterman, and as it is connected with the history of Port Royal, insert it here :—

The writer, when a boy, say about the year 1843, was informed by some workmen who were employed on the bridge over Allen's river, Annapolis Royal, that a bomb shell lay upon the bank of the river, about half way between the bridge and the mouth of the river on the south west side. In company with another boy, he proceeded to the spot indicated, and found two unexploded shells, 13 inches in diameter. One of them was nearly embedded in the mud; the other had but recently been exhumed by the tide. The general opinion is, they had been fired from some man-of-war lying in the old French Dock, and intended to fall in the fort, but had had too much elevation. The range was good. They are both in existence. One is in possession of G. F. Pike, Esq.

For Mr. Murdoch.

THOS. D. HENDERSON.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1711. Although Port Royal had always been restored to France, with the rest of Acadie, at the return of peace, on the various occasions of its being captured by the English, this conquest was destined to be permanent. The never ceasing incursions of the French, their Canadian colonists and their Indian allies, had so long harrassed and distressed the industrious settlers on the frontiers, especially the border people of New England, that they had infused a spirit of hostility and resentment in the hearts of the English colonists at the cruel, and, as they naturally considered it, cowardly mode of warfare pursued by their neighbors, feelings which were intensified by their differences of religious belief. Besides all this, the necessity of self-protection, and the constant alarms that disturbed their security, contributed greatly to excite them to combativeness, and to inure them to the habits of vigilance, patience and concerted action, that enable men to become good soldiers. Thus circumstanced, the New Englanders became almost universally military in their habits and disposition. Phips, Church and Pepperell in more conspicuous stations only displayed warlike talents and propensities, which, during the French and Indian wars, and long afterwards, pervaded the whole population of our Eastern colonies. The French, however, were far from abandoning the hope of recovering Acadie, but continued persistently in measures designed to procure its re-possession. Although the forces they employed were inadequate to the purpose, yet the object was not relinquished until half a century had elapsed, and their government in North America was

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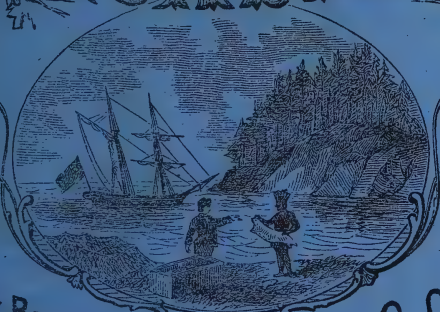
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“A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA OR ACADIE, BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE, Q. C.

JAS. H. THORNE.

Deputy Secretary.

entirely destroyed by the loss of Canada and cape Breton. The marquis de Vaudreuil, then governor in Canada, (1 January, 1711), commissioned the baron de St. Castin, provisionally, as his lieutenant in Acadie, and sent him instructions to maintain the subjects of the French crown who remained in the country in due obedience to his majesty.

The inhabitants of Port Royal sent M. de Clignancourt, (Réné d'Amours), to the marquis de Vaudreuil, with a letter, as follows :

(Translation.)

" Sir. As your goodness extends over all those who, being "
 " subjects of his majesty, have recourse to you to relieve them "
 " in their misery, we pray you will vouchsafe us your assist- "
 " ance to withdraw ourselves from this country, and to be "
 " near you, having had the misfortune to be taken by the "
 " English, as you have doubtless learned from the envoy of "
 " Mr. Nicholson, and from the *sieur* de St. Castin, who left "
 " this in charge of letters from M. de Subercase. M. de Clig- "
 " nancourt, sir, will give you a faithful report of all that passed "
 " on this occasion, as also since the departure of the English "
 " fleet. He will make you acquainted with the bottom of our "
 " hearts, and will tell you better than we can do by a letter, "
 " the harsh manner in which Mr. Weische" (Vetch) " treats "
 " us, keeping us like negroes, and wishing to persuade us "
 " that we are under great obligation to him for not treating "
 " us much worse, being able, he says, to do so with justice, "
 " and without our having room to complain of it. We have "
 " given to M. de Clignancourt copies of three *ordonnances*, "
 " which M. Weische" (Vetch) " has issued, and at the moment "
 " we have the honor to write you, we learn that he has sent "
 " to Mines and Beaubassin. We know not yet what the "
 " purport of his orders thither may be, but we are persuaded "
 " that he will not have more regard for the inhabitants of "
 " these places than he has had for us. We pray you, sir, to "
 " have regard to our misery, and to honor us with your letter "
 " for our consolation, expecting that you may furnish the "

"necessary assistance for our retiring from this unhappy"
"country."

"We are, with much respect," &c. [*Paris mss.*]

The marquis was also informed that the Indians in the neighborhood of Acadie appeared to grow cool in their attachment to the French, hearing the English say repeatedly that they would follow up this conquest by that of Canada. In consequence of this, he sent two Frenchmen and two Indians with letters addressed to the missionaries in these parts, exhorting them to redouble their zeal to confirm their converts in the French alliance. He ordered these messengers to visit all the French settlements in Acadie—to ascertain the disposition of the inhabitants exactly, and to assure him that he would do impossibilities, rather than they should want for anything. [4 *Charlevoix*, 69, 70.] At this time Port Royal remained under the command of colonel Vetch, who is called a Scotchman, in one of the letters written to the minister. Five of the inhabitants were imprisoned: Pierre le Blanc, Jean Como, François Brossar, Guillaume Bourgeois, and Germain Bourgeois, his father; the latter is said to have died from his sufferings in prison. Father Justinien, a *recollèt* priest, *curé*, was also imprisoned, and in February, 1711, sent as a prisoner to Boston. The English asserted that Subercase assured them that Justinien had deserted to the head of the river, with the inhabitants who are outside of the *banlieue*. It seems that the commissary of the fort had gone up with some inhabitants to Pierre le Blanc's house, and was there captured by a party, which consisted of two English sailors, deserters—one Abraham Godet—an inhabitant from Beaubassin, and three mulattoes from the coast. On his paying to each of them ten *écus* as ransom, they suffered him to return to the fort. This transaction seems to have led to the arrests above mentioned. Louis Halin (Allain?) and his son, inhabitants of the *banlieue*, were accused of enticing soldiers to desert, and were put in irons and imprisoned in the dungeons. The garrison was five hundred strong, part regulars of the queen's army, and part New England volunteers. It is stated that of this num-

ber more than three hundred and forty had died of sickness and in sorties unto the first day of June, 1711, that is within seven months from the surrender of the place. A terrible mortality, if the statement can be relied on. These particulars are contained in a letter from Christopher Cahouet to the French minister, dated at Placentia, 20 July, 1711. He says he was made major of militia in Acadie by the English governor, also that he obtained a passport from governor Vetch in conformity with the capitulation, and that he left the country to go to Placentia in a little vessel, with his wife and children, on 1st June, 1711. That the fort at Annapolis was in a bad state—that the ramparts had tumbled down. “The English have” “put *chevaux de frise* at the places which have given way,” “but the stakes” (batons) “are not bigger than a cane. You” “may count, my lord, safely on the information I give your” “Excellency, since I always had liberty of walking, drinking” “and eating at the fort with the governor, when I pleased to” “go there.” He says that having anchored his little vessel at Mouscoudabouet, on the coast of Acadie, (about Cole Harbor or Chezetcook), he received a letter from the missionary, M. Gaulin, stating the movements of forty Indians from Penta-goët, sent by Castin to collect the Indians, and their attack on 63 English. He says the inhabitants and Indians are all in insurrection against the English, and intend to take the fort by assault. Their number will be 500 or 600 men in arms, and that all that is wanting is a leader.

It appears that early in the summer of 1711 the English at Port Royal endeavored to conciliate the Indians and attract them to their side. M. Gaulin, missionary, boasts in his letter of 5 Sept., 1711, from Placentia, that he had successfully opposed these negotiations, and “to take away all hope of” “an accommodation, he induced the savages to make incur-” “sions on the English, and openly to oppose themselves to” “the transport of wood, which the English governor obliged” “the inhabitants to furnish for re-establishing the fortifica-” “tions.” (They were paid for this work.) The governor piqued at this opposition, and being besides discontented with the conduct of the inhabitants, who would not furnish

the wood he required, detached eighty men of the garrison, under captain Pigeon, an officer of the regular army, to surprize some families of the Indians who were up the river, and to carry off the principal inhabitants. This detachment consisted of the choice of what remained of his men, there being, according to Cahouet's account, not above 120 men left in the garrison, inclusive of officers and servants. When the detachment got to the place of their destination up the river, a party of forty-two Indians, who were in ambush in the woods, suddenly came out and fell upon them. Thirty of the English were killed, and the rest made prisoners. Among the slain were an engineer and a major. The latter, not being willing to be made a prisoner, an Indian swam across the river with his tomahawk at his side and his pistol between his teeth, and killed him. The fort major, the engineer, and all the boat's crew, were killed; and two captains, two lieutenants, an ensign, and some 30 or 40 men of the garrison, were made prisoners. [2 *Hutchinson, Mass.*, 199. 4 *Charlevoix*, 92-93.] The scene of this disaster is about twelve miles above Annapolis, on the river, and bears the name of Bloody Creek. This action so raised the courage of the French inhabitants and Indians, that they sent to inform the missionary, Gaulin, of it. He was thirty leagues away at the time, laboring in secret to collect a party to surprize the Fort at Annapolis, which he projected to attempt in concert with the sieur de St. Castin, who held the commission of lieutenant under the marquis Vaudreuil. On receipt of this intelligence, Gaulin went at once to Port Royal (Annapolis) with more than two hundred men. Gaulin notified the inhabitants and the Indians to repair to his assistance, and directed them to fit out a vessel to transport provisions for the siege. He also sent off a small vessel to Placentia, to request ammunition for this enterprize from M. Costabelle, the governor of that place. All the inhabitants withdrew out of cannon shot from the fort, and they also transported their cattle up the river. Those of the *banlieue* intimated to the governor that he had violated the articles of capitulation to their prejudice, and that they were thereby freed from the oaths they had taken not to bear

arms ; after which they joined their compatriots in blockading the fort. The investment was such that the garrison could not come out to work, or appear on the ramparts. The inhabitants relieved each other weekly by companies, in keeping up the blockade or investment. Gaulin himself proceeded to Placentia to obtain succors of ammunition, &c., and an officer of experience to take command in the siege. He arrived there on the 15 August, and assured governor Costabelle of the constant fidelity of the inhabitants of Acadie to the interests of France, and of the resolution they had taken and executed of withdrawing themselves from the English domination, taking refuge with their families in the woods among the savages to continue to make war upon the English. That no officers or soldiers of the enemy's garrison dared any longer to go out of their fort, so much were they hemmed in by the Indians and the French inhabitants, who daily formed parties to surprize them, and to reduce them to the last extremity. Costabelle gave M. Gaulin 1200 lbs. powder, 1400 lbs. lead in balls, 10,000 gun flints, 100 woolen blankets, some new guns for the Indian chiefs, and the remainder to be distributed to the Indians in the French interest. Costabelle says, " These articles I have " " shipped in a little privateer" (*corsaire*) " of 6 guns and 80 " " men, commanded by one Morpin, a man of reputation " " among the *fibustiers* of America. He has orders to carry " " them to the French settlements on the coast of Acadie." " The sieur Gaulin accompanies them, and is to distribute " " them." Costabelle designed to send M. L'hermite, the major of Placentia, with two mortars and ammunition for bombardment, to assist the proposed siege, but he received information that Vetch had returned to Boston, leaving colonel sir Charles Hobby in command at Annapolis, and that a relief of 200 men of the New York levies had reached the garrison. This news was brought to Placentia by a brigantine which arrived there from the coast of Acadie on the 1 September. M. Récord, the captain, had also been assured by the Indians of Lahève, that in the beginning of the month of August, they had seen and counted more than sixty sail making their way for Quebec. On the 17 September, Costabelle was further informed

that Morpin had been captured off Chapeau-rouge, by an English vessel of 30 guns. On this occasion Morpin fully sustained his reputation, having fought for three hours at close quarters, and prevented the enemy from boarding him. Gaulin had the good fortune of having left Placentia in another vessel, and thus escaping capture. Vaudreuil received on 4th August a letter from father Felix, recollêt missionary in Acadie, giving him an account of the victory the Indians had gained at Bloody Creek, and the investment of Port Royal by the French inhabitants in conjunction with the Indians. In two days' time Vaudreuil got ready a force of two hundred picked men, with twelve officers of bravery and experience. They were to march at once to Acadie, under command of the marquis d'Alognies ; but news meanwhile came from Placentia that expeditions were being fitted out at both Boston and New York, and it was deemed prudent to countermand the orders just issued. [4 *Charlevoix*, 73.] The English had at this time captured the Heros and the Vermandois, at Isle Percée, and sent these prizes to England.

After the reduction of Port Royal, Nicholson had gone to England to solicit the crown to adopt measures for the conquest of Canada. The New England colonies were notified to make preparations, and on the 28 April, 1711, the English squadron sailed from England, and arrived at Boston on the 25th June. This British naval force consisted of twelve line-of-battle ships, several frigates, two bomb vessels, forty transports, and six store ships, having on board eight regiments, a fine train of artillery, and forty horses for drawing it. General Nicholson himself got to Boston on his return, upon the 8 June, bringing with him orders from the queen to the several governments of New England, New York, Jersey and Pennsylvania, directing them to have their quotas of men in readiness for the coming of the fleet from England.—The troops sent from Europe comprized the regiments of Hill, Kirke, Windress, Clayton and Kaine, from Flanders ; Seymour's, Disney's, and a battalion of marines, from England ; Brigadier Hill, the brother of Mrs. Masham, the queen's favorite, was the general ; colonel Churchill commanded the

marines. The artillery were under the command of colonel King.—In consequence of the orders of the crown, a congress was assembled at New London, composed of the governors of all the colonies north of Pennsylvania, to concert matters with Nicholson. Two regiments from New England were joined to the British troops. The fleet was commanded by admiral sir Hovenden Walker. There were sixty-eight vessels in all, with 6,463 land troops embarked, and they sailed from Boston on the 30 July. On the 18 August they anchored at Gaspé to take in wood and water. On the 20th of the same month general Nicholson marched from Albany with the militia from Connecticut, New York and the Jersies, amounting to about 4000 men, and Indians of the five nations, Iroquois, about 600 in number, to attack Montreal. On the same day, the British fleet left Gaspé ; and although provided with both French and American pilots, they got into difficulties, from fogs and storms, in the mouth of the St. Lawrence.—On the 23 August, in a thick fog and on a dark night, they were driven on the north shore. [*London Magazine* for 1756, p. 231.] In this situation they lost eight transports, and 884 men were drowned near Egg Island. After this disaster it was resolved in a council of war to abandon the enterprize, the want of knowledge of the navigation of the river being the cause, and it was ordered that advice should be sent to general Nicholson to recall him from his advance by land. On the 4 September the fleet anchored in Spanish river, (*baie des Espagnols*, now called Sydney harbour), in cape Breton. Here another council of war was held, and it was determined to return to Great Britain, a proposal to attack Placentia being overruled.—The Feversham, of 36 guns, and three transports, were lost in the gulph of Saint Lawrence. In twenty-one days the squadron were in soundings, near the English channel. The admiral arrived at Portsmouth in his ship the Edgar, on the 9th October. On the 16th, the Edgar, with the admiral's journals and papers, and four hundred men on board, was blown up at Portsmouth. Nicholson had marched as far as the bank of lake George to await the attack on Quebec by the other expedition, and does not seem to have gone further. Colonel Samuel

Vetch was with the expedition, and colonel Caufield, lieutenant governor of Annapolis, and they obtained a detachment of 400 British troops for the garrison at Annapolis.

Admiral Walker set up a cross at Spanish river, C. B., with an inscription, setting forth that he took possession of the country for the queen, dated 15 September, 1711. It is said that Paradis, an old French seaman, who was a prisoner, cautioned admiral Walker when he was off the Seven islands, not to venture too near the islands, but that the admiral distrusted him, and so got into danger.

The expence of this expedition to Massachusetts was £24,000 sterling, but Parliament paid the amount. [*2 Hutch.*, 190, 198. *Douglas Summary*, p. 312.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXVII.

(I.)

From a letter of M. Pontchartrain, minister of the marine, to M. de Beauharnois, intendant of Rochefort :—

24 December, 1710.

———“Since I have learned, sir, the loss we have sustained of Acadie, I ”
 “think continually of the means of recovering this important post, before the ”
 “English are solidly settled therein.——You know that by the article of the ”
 “preliminaries, we give up the island of Newfoundland to the English, and that ”
 “if we do not re-capture Acadie, there will not remain for us any place by which ”
 “we can carry on the fishery. Besides this country is so near to Canada, that ”
 “there will be every reason to fear that it will involve eventually its loss, if the ”
 “English retain possession.”

The first proposal for peace came from France to England in April, 1711. The preliminaries were signed at London 27 September, (8 October, n. s.,) following. It would seem, therefore, that the true date of M. Pontchartrain's letter was 24 December. 1711. The article he refers to is the 8th and last of the demands of Great Britain, viz : “8. Newfoundland, the bay and streights ”
 “of Hudson, shall be entirely restored to the English ; Great Britain and France ”
 “shall respectively keep and possess all the countries, dominions and territories ”
 “in North America, which each of those nations shall possess at the time that ”
 “the ratification of this treaty shall be published in those parts of the world.”
 The French answer : “The discussion of this article shall be referred to the ”
 “general conferences of the peace, provided that the liberty of fishing and dry- ”
 “ing of codfish upon the isle of Newfoundland be reserved to the French.”

(2.)

Sir Hovenden Walker, in 1720, published a journal of his expedition of 1711, which is very full and particular. Vetch had discredited the French pilot, 8 Aug., 1711, off Canso; and the council of war, 25 August, after the shipwreck at Egg Islands, declared their opinion that the pilots they had were ignorant of the navigation. [*Walker's Journal*, 131.] At the second council of war, at Spanish river, Sept. 8, [*The same*, 141, 142], the shortness of provisions was alleged as the reason for abandoning further proceedings, and going back to England. Capt. Rouse, in the *Sunderland*, of 60 guns, was despatched from the fleet to Boston to recall lieutenant general Nicholson from his march to Canada. [*The same*, p. 132.]

(3.)

The baron St. Castin is said to have finally left America and returned to France in 1708. We may, therefore, conclude that the officer appointed by Vaudreuil to take charge of the French interest in Acadie in 1711 must have been his half-breed son, Anselme, baron St. Castin, who was married at Port Royal 31 Oct., 1707, to Charlotte d'Amours, daughter of Louis d'Amours, *sieur* de Chauffours.

(4.)

Philippe de Rigaud, marquis de Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant general for the king in all New France, recites that it is for H. M. service to establish a commandant in all the extent of Acadie, as well over the French as over the Indians, Subercase having gone to France, and the chief business being the managing of our Indian allies, (*les sauvages nos alliés* :) recites also the services of *sieur* baron de St. Castin, commandant of Pentagouët, particularly displayed in the two sieges of Port Royal in 1707, when he received a musket wound in his thigh. He therefore appoints him lieutenant (*lieutenant en pied*), orders marquis d'Alogny, commandant of the troops, to recognize him as such, and M. Raudot, intendant of justice, police and finances of this country, to cause him to be paid the salary appertaining to his situation. Dated Quebec, 1 January, 1711.

(5.)

M. de Subercase wrote to the minister, Rochefort, 14 March, 1711, that part of the late garrison of Acadie were ordered to Nantes and Bayonne. That they could not be trusted, but would all or most of them desert. Wishes them to be made an example, as they had revolted in Acadie. Prays for his being tried.

(6.)

Sir Charles Hobby was proposed by a party in New England to be governor instead of Dudley, 1705-1708. Said to be a gay man and free liver, knighted either for courage evinced during an earthquake at Jamaica, or for money. [*2 Hutch., Mass.*, 152, 153, 175.] Perhaps the aspersions on his character originated in party slander and religious bigotry. He is even worse treated in Graham's Col. History.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1712. The French had built a small church or chapel at Narantsouac, (Norridgewock), on the Kinibequi river, in 1698, at which father Sebastien Rasle or Ralle was stationed as missionary to the Canibas, and other adjacent Indian tribes. In 1702, colonel Hilton, with 270 men, went there in winter, and found the place deserted, when he *burnt down the chapel*, and some wigwams. The mission, however, was not abandoned, but Ralle was afterwards assailed in another mode. A clergyman from Boston was sent into his neighborhood, at the expence of the government, to establish a school for the instruction of the Indians. He made himself intimate with the Indians—questioned them on the articles of the creed which they had learned from the catholic missionary, and endeavored, by the weapons of ridicule, to shake their belief in the sacraments, purgatory, the invocation of saints, and other doctrines of the church of Rome. Father Ralle thought himself bound to oppose these first seeds of seduction. He wrote a very polite letter to the protestant clergyman, and pointed out to him, among other things, that his neophytes knew how to believe in the truths which the catholic church teaches, but were not acquainted with disputation.—That in suggesting difficulties to them, such as he could not suppose them able to reply to, his design apparently was that they should communicate the points in controversy to their missionary. But he availed himself with pleasure of the opportunity of a conference with a man of ability. That he offered him the choice of a *viva*

voce, or a written controversy, and meanwhile he sent him a *mémoire*, which he prayed him to read with attention.—In this document, which was pretty voluminous, Ralle undertook to prove, by scripture, by tradition, and by theological arguments, the dogmas which the protestant clergyman had attacked with his jesting remarks. He added, in closing his letter, that if he was not satisfied with his proofs, he expected from him a precise refutation, and one based upon certain principles, and not upon vague reasoning, much less upon malicious reflections and indecent satires, which did not suit their sacred profession, nor comport with the importance of the matters in controversy. Two days after the protestant minister received these despatches, he left for Boston, from which place he sent Ralle an answer ; but one, as Charlevoix states, so obscure and in such unintelligible Latin, that Ralle could only understand that he complained of being unreasonably attacked—that zeal for salvation alone had induced him to teach the Indians the way to heaven, and that the proofs which Ralle opposed to him were puerile and ridiculous. Ralle sent a reply at once to Boston. The minister's answer to this he only got two years after, in which Ralle was charged with ill-humor and an angry and critical disposition ; and thus their controversy ended.

On the 19th August, 1712, n. s., a treaty for cessation of arms between England and France was signed at Paris, and ratified by queen Anne, at Windsor, 18 August, 1712, o. s., (29 August, n. s.) In the further negotiations that took place, the following offer was made by the French : “ His majesty offers to leave the fortifications of Placentia as ” “ they are, when he yields that place to England,—to agree ” “ to the demand made of the guns of Hudson's bay ;—more- ” “ over, to yield the islands of St. Martin and St. Bartholo- ” “ mew,—to give up even the right of fishing and drying cod ” “ upon the coast of Newfoundland, if the English will give ” “ him back Acadie, in consideration of these new cessions ” “ which are proposed as an equivalent. In this case his ” “ majesty would consent *that the river of St. George should* ” “ *be the limit of Acadie*, as England desired.”

1713. On the 11th of April, 1713, (31 March, o. s.,) treaties of peace were signed at Utrecht, to which France, England, Holland, Portugal, Russia and Savoy, were parties. These treaties were formally published in Paris on the 22d of May. The 12th article of the treaty, made at Utrecht between Anne, the queen of Great Britain, and Louis the 14th, king of France, was as follows :

“ The most Christian king shall cause to be delivered to ”
“ the queen of Great Britain, on the same day on which the ”
“ ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged, solemn and ”
“ authentick letters or instruments, by virtue whereof it shall ”
“ appear that the island of St. Christopher is to be possessed ”
“ hereafter by British subjects only ; likewise that all Nova ”
“ Scotia or Acadie, comprehended within its antient bounda- ”
“ ries ; as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis ”
“ Royal, and all other things in these parts which depend on ”
“ the said lands and islands, together with the dominion, ”
“ property and possession of the said islands, lands and pla- ”
“ ces, and all right whatever by treaties, or any other way ”
“ attained, which the most christian king, the crown of ”
“ France, or any the subjects thereof, have hitherto had to the ”
“ said islands, lands and places, and to the inhabitants of the ”
“ same, are yielded and made over to the queen of Great ”
“ Britain, and to her crown for ever ; as the most christian ”
“ king doth now yield and make over all the said premisses, ”
“ and that in such ample manner and form that the subjects ”
“ of the most christian king shall hereafter be excluded from ”
“ all kind of fishing in the seas, bays, and other places on the ”
“ coasts of Nova Scotia, that is to say, on those coasts which ”
“ lie towards the East, within thirty leagues, beginning from ”
“ the island commonly called Sable, inclusively, and thence ”
“ stretching along towards the South West.” (The 10th arti-
cle gave up all Hudson’s Bay to the English, and the 13th
declared Newfoundland should belong wholly to Great Britain,
and the French engaged to surrender Placentia, and whatever
else they held in the island, to the English, within seven
months from the exchange of ratifications. The French were
not to fortify or build in Newfoundland, but were to be allowed

to build stages of boards and huts for fishing and drying fish on that part of the coast which extends from cape Bonavista to the northern part of the island, and thence along the West side of it to Point Rich. (Point Rich is the north part of Ingonornachoix bay.) Cape Breton, and the other islands in the gulph of Saint Lawrence, to remain to the French, who may fortify there. In May, 1713, king Louis 14th made a formal act of cession of St. Christopher's and Nova Scotia, conformably to the treaty. Signed by the king, and countersigned "Phelypeaux."

Letter of queen Anne.

Anne R.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas our good brother, the most christian king, hath, at our desire, released from imprisonment on board his galleys, such of his subjects as were detained there on account of their professing the Protestant religion. We, being willing to show by some mark of our favour towards his subjects how kind we take his compliance therein, have therefore thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you permit such of them as have any lands or tenements in the places under your government in Accadie and Newfoundland, that have been or are to be yielded to us by virtue of the late treaty of peace, and are willing to continue our subjects, to retain and enjoy their said lands and tenements without any molestation, as fully and freely as other our subjects do or may possess their lands or estates, or to sell the same, if they shall rather choose to remove elsewhere. And for so doing, this shall be your warrant, and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Kensington, the 23rd day of June, 1713, and in the 12th year of our reign.

By her majesty's command,

(Signed)

'DARTMOUTH.'

Superscribed,

To our trusty and well beloved Francis Nicholson, esquire, governor of our province of Nova Scotia or Accadia, and general and commander-in-chief of our forces, in our said province and in Newfoundland, in America.

In a ms. memoir of 11 July, 1713, addressed by M. Riverin to the duke de Villiers and the marquis de Torcy, the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht is discussed. It is there argued that Nova Scotia means the territory west of the bay of Fundy, and Acadie the peninsula lying east of it; while the isle of Sable, named in the treaty, is considered to be, not the island usually so called, but the island of cape Sable, and the fishery forbidden to the French to be only the fishery in the bay of Fundy; while Sable island itself is stated to belong to cape Breton, and thus to be French territory. By a similar ingenuity of construction, the author enlarges the district of the Newfoundland shore left open to French fishery. A reference to the offer made by the French to adopt the river St. George as the boundary of Acadie, if that province were left to France, is a complete answer to all this special pleading which was the theme of the French Commissaries in 1751.

Orders were sent from France to M. de Costabelle, to prepare for evacuating the forts of Placentia, and for transferring the inhabitants to the island of cape Breton. Difficulties arose, their fishing shallows being unfit for the passage, and the loss of their fishing season would be felt as an injury. Some persons appeared stubbornly bent on remaining there, and taking the oath to the English government. Costabelle assembled the people in presence of M. St. Ovide de Brouillan, commander of the king's ship the *Semslack*, and addressed them. He also sent M. du Vivier to M. Gaulin, the missionary, with letters to induce the Indians and French in Acadie to go to cape Breton. [*Letter of Costabelle to the minister, Placentia, 18 July, 1713.*] Differences of opinion existed as to the best place in cape Breton to be fortified and occupied by the French, now that they were about to remove from Placentia. Joseph Guyon, a Quebec pilot of great experience, urged upon governor Costabelle that the bay of St. Anne's, in cape Breton, was the locality that combined the greatest advantages. It had a narrow entrance, not much wider than the range of a musket shot, and could be easily fortified. There were very fine beaches of gravel (*graves*) there, and so spacious that thirty or forty vessels could be placed there for dry-

ing fish. Codfish abounded there more than in any other part of the island. The whole extent of the lands there was level, and suitable for the production of all sorts of grain. That this place had been formerly inhabited by M. de Ronde Denis ; that they now gathered there a large quantity of apples from trees planted in that period. Guyon also positively stated that there were but 3 fathoms of water at high tide in the entrance of Havre à l'Anglois, (English harbor, now Louisbourg), and in that of the bay St. Anne 14 to 15 fathoms in coasting to the entrance, (en rangeant à l'abord.) He represented the island of St. Peters, near the straits of Canço, as unfit for trade—as dangerous for vessels above 150 tons to enter. [*Costabelle's letter to the minister*, 3 August, 1713.] All the navigators who seek a retreat on this coast prefer Spanish river, (baie des Espagnols, now Sydney.) [*Costabelle*, 10 August, 1713.]

M. l'Hermite, major and engineer, with others from Placentia, arrived at Havre à l'Anglois, on the 8 August, 1713. M. de Rouville arrived there with a detachment in the l'Amitié, commanded by M. de la Boularderie. St. Ovide, who was there, sent letters to Gaulin and to père Felix, recollet, curé of Mines and Beaubassin. L'Hermite says that English harbor is the worst in the island as respects wood, but good for fishery, and, except St. Anne's, the only one that can be fortified. As regards St. Anne's, he says it is near Labrador, (the salt water lake in cape Breton so called) ; that the fishery is two leagues distant from it. It is one of the finest harbors to be seen for wood and lands. The entrance is scarcely wider than that of Placentia. On the 7 Sept'r., 1713, there were one hundred and sixty persons in all to be fed at Havre à l'Anglois, which caused difficulty, as rations for one hundred only had been provided. Two families of Acadie had come by the way of Canada, comprising 12 persons. L'Hermite had been along the coast to St. Anne's, and into the Labrador. There cannot be finer woods or lands. There is also plaister and coal. He hopes the harbor in Canseau passage, of which de Jeune and Baptiste spoke, will prove a good one. In that case there would be a communication between the two by the Labrador. [*L'Hermite to Costabelle*, 7 and 9

Sept., 1713.] M. de la Ronde Denis, captain of infantry, arrived at Havre à l'Anglois. He calls it a fine harbor, easily fortified, which may hold over 100 vessels of all sizes. The fishery there is abundant. He says St. Anne's is four leagues from Niganiche, and the same distance from Spanish bay. English harbor, he says, will be expensive, as all materials for fortifying it must be brought from a great distance. St. Anne's is a harbor 100,000 times finer. It may be rendered impregnable more easily with 50,000 livres, (\$10,000), than English Harbor with 100,000 écus, (\$100,000.) He praises the woods at St. Anne's, as containing all kinds of fine timber. "An" "old Indian named Prague told us he had seen very fine" "wheat there. We believed him readily, as we had seen vestiges of the furrows of the plough." M. Gaulin wrote from Beau-bassin 26 August, 1713, in answer to letters he had received from M. du Vivier, that he could not answer for the inhabitants, but he would do his best to induce them to go to cape Breton. He thinks he is more sure of influencing the Indians. (The names of places are spelt as in the authors and mss. cited.)

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXVIII.

(1.)

Letter from Felix Paim, missionary, Recollet, to M. de Costabelle.

(Translation.)

Aux Mines, 23 Sept., 1713.

A summary of what the inhabitants have answered me :

"It would be to expose us manifestly (they say) to die of hunger, burthened as we are with large families, to quit the dwelling places and clearances from which we derive our usual subsistence, without any other resource, to take rough, new lands, from which the standing wood must be removed, without any advances or assistance. One-fourth of our population consists of aged persons, unfit for the labor of breaking up new lands, and who, with great exertion, are able to cultivate the cleared ground which supplies subsistence for them and their families. Finally, we shall answer for ourselves and for the absent, that we will never take the oath of fidelity to the queen of Great Britain, to the prejudice of what we owe to our king, to our country and to our religion ; and that if any attempt were made against one or the other of these two articles of our

“fidelity, that is to say, to our king and to our law, that in that case we are ready to quit all, rather than to violate, in the least thing, one of those articles. Besides we do not yet know in what manner the English will use us. If they burthen us in respect of our religion, or cut up our settlements to divide the lands with people of their nations, we will abandon them absolutely. We know, further, from the exact visit we have made, that there are no lands in the whole island of cape Breton which would be suitable for the maintenance of our families, since there are not meadows sufficient to nourish our cattle, from which we draw our principal subsistence. The Indians say, that to shut them up in the island of cape Breton would be to damage their liberty, and that it would be a thing inconsistent with their natural freedom and the means of providing for their subsistence. That with regard to their attachment to the king and to the French, that it is inviolable; and if the queen of England had the meadows of Acadie, by the cession made by his majesty of them, they, the Indians, had the woods, out of which no one could ever dislodge them; and that so they wished each to remain at their posts,—promising, nevertheless, to be always faithful to the French, and to give them the preference in the trading for furs.—In the colonies of Port Royal, Mines, Piggiguit, Coppeguit and Beaubassin, 6000 souls would have to be removed.”

(2.)

M. de Costabelle having received reports from St. Ovide de Brouillan and major l'Hermite, on the proposed establishment in cape Breton, concludes in favor of St. Anne's. He thinks cape Breton is a gain to France in yielding up Newfoundland, and he recommends that St. Anne's and the little island in Canso Strait should both be fortified. Considers that the fishery is not to be the exclusive object of attention, but that the arts, agriculture and commerce, should be attended to. [*Costabelle to the minister, Placentia, 27 Sept., 1713.*] Costabelle wishes that idlers and cabaretiers should not go from Placentia to the island of cape Breton. He recommended caution in giving grants to those only who are in a position to improve the land. He was of opinion that the Indians can only be retained by presents. “Point d'argent, point de Suisse.”

“It is to be observed, that the missionaries very often misuse the gratuitous gifts which the king sends them; and very far from distributing them to the Indians, they take the price of them from the Indians in furs, and thus turn them into a trade in place of a bounty. This has been reported to me on the subject of all I had sent to sieur Gaulin, in Acadie, and which I shall examine into on my arrival in the island of cape Breton.” [*Costabelle to the minister, Placentia, 24 Oct., 1713.*] Rouville asks for a grant of Niganiche. Says he has a father 73 years old, and eight brothers now in the service, besides two killed. [*Letter from cape Breton to the minister, dated 18 Oct., 1713.*] M. de Vaudreuil recommended St. Anne's, port Dauphin, in a letter to the minister of 14 November, 1713. St. Castin gives up his views of family property in France to go to Panamske and Narantsouak. 29 Oct., St. Ovide left for France, without informing M. de Costabelle. 20 November, 1713, an English 20-gun frigate arrived at Placentia, six weeks from Portsmouth. She brought a package of letters from the English court, addressed to colonel Moody, governor of Placentia. The colonel had not then arrived there.

Costabelle was much vexed with M. Gaulin. He says to the minister : " The " said sieur Gaulin diverges a little from the language of the apostles. He fears " to fall with his people into the deserts of Egypt, and with a style which savors " a little of rebellion, or at least of the language of the nations to which he " preaches the gospel. The substance of his letter contains, that if he had con- " ducted to cape Breton all the French families that would accompany him, " they would be dead there of hunger, in place of finding there all the succor I " had led them to hope for from government ; and that it does not become one " to employ missionaries for those kinds of business, especially where there is " an intention to biass them, and that he is not accustomed to have two words, " and to pass for a liar. These are his expressions, continuing that he bids me " to pay attention to them ; and that after what he sees, he will not proceed fur- " ther, as also his inhabitants will not go out until they see an assured succor, " and one more certain than what I have given to those who have removed " thither, without which they will remain on their lands with the English, who " allure them as much as they can. That is to say, my lord, that without " money one can expect nothing from the good will of these people, who will be " always much disposed to go back into foreign territory, on the smallest dis- " content, than to be subjected to the nation from which they draw their origin, " which they have for the most part forgotten. If your Excellency would refer " it to me to remove all these difficulties, I should not give them a sous, and " should allow them to act with their own free will in coming or not coming to the " island of Cape Breton." He thinks they are half Indians in disposition, and that they could never be relied on ; and thinks it would be better to buy slaves. [*Costabelle to the minister, Placentia, 30 Nov., 1713.*]

(3.)

La Ronde Denys to the minister, 1713. Ms.

He says the island of cape Breton is full of good harbors, which he describes one by one. Port Sainte Anne, he says, is, without contradiction, the finest harbor in the world. It would cost only half the expence to make the fortifications there that it would at port l'Anglois, as the materials are at hand. " My deca- " sed grandfather Denis had a fort there, the vestiges of which are yet to be seen, " and the Indians tell us that he raised the finest grain in the world there, and " we have likewise seen the fields which he used to till ; and there are to be " seen there very fine apple trees, from which we have eaten very good fruit " for the season. I have another favor to ask of you my lord, which will be to " obtain me a grant of the river *de Moulacadie*. It is the first river in entering " the lake Choulacadie, on the right hand. It is a thing which I may well " hope from your Excellency, in consideration of the expences which my deca- " sed grandfather was at in the island of cape Breton, when his Majesty made " him a grant" (of it.) There are several inhabitants of Acadie, and of Canada, " who have given me their promise to come and settle on that river.—We " see by experience, my lord, that New England, which is not worth a tenth " part of cape Breton, how that colony flourishes ; for I know of certain know- " ledge that there is built in the country of Boston, every year, more than 1500 " vessels, from 15 tons up to 800 tons burthen. One sees, my lord, there is " nothing to hinder our doing the same thing. We are deficient in nothing "

“ required, for we have the wood, the tar, the coal, and the masting, and even- ”
 “ tually hemp will be common there to make cordage and sails.—I can ”
 “ assure your Excellency that I have a perfect acquaintance with these coun- ”
 “ tries as well as with that of New England, in which there are things to follow ”
 “ to settle a colony well.”

(4.)

“ The sole inconvenience of the port of Sainte Anne, called also Port Dau- ”
 “ phin, which every one admits to be one of the finest in the new world, is that ”
 “ it is not easy to make it, (pas facile à aborder.) This sole inconvenience, ”
 “ after much irresolution and many steps taken, at one time the port of Sainte ”
 “ Anne, and another the Havre à l’Anglois, (called Louisbourg), and the facility ”
 “ of entering the latter obtained it the preference ; and nothing has been spared ”
 “ to render it commodious and impregnable. The town is built on a tongue of ”
 “ land, which closes the entrance of the port. M. de Costabelle, who had lost ”
 “ his government of Placentia, was entrusted with that of the new colony, and ”
 “ M. de Saint Ovide, his lieutenant du Roi, has succeeded him.” [4 *Charlevoix*,
 144, 145. *Ed’n. of 1744.*]

(5.)

The family of Winniett is found here at this period. In the parish register of Port Royal is an entry 16 Oct., 1714, that frère Justinien supplied the ceremonies of baptism to Anne Winot, born 20 March, 1712, and baptized by the English minister of the Fort, daughter of Mr. William Winot, officer of the Fort, and of Magdelaine Maissonat, (married by the minister.) Godfather, Joseph leBlanc. Godmother, Anne le Blanc. Same day, f. Justinien baptised Elizabeth Winot, born 17 August, 1714. Baptized by M. Gaulin, priest. Same parents and same sponsors as above.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1714. Newfoundland having been wholly given up by France to England by the treaty of Utrecht, M. Costabelle, who had succeeded Subercase at Placentia in 1706, delivered up that place to colonel John Moody, (who was appointed by the British government to be lieutenant governor there,) on the 1st June, 1714, o. s., 12 June, n. s. *Douglas' Summary*, p. 294. Costabelle was transferred to Louisbourg, as governor of cape Breton, and remained there several years. Charlevoix, v. 4, p. 129, &c., gives an account of the plans formed by the two messieurs Raudot, father and son, intendants of Canada, for fortifying and settling cape Breton. They believed it would have a favorable effect on the trade both of France and Canada. They shewed that fishery, timber trade and ship building might be carried on in that island to a great extent ; and that French merchandize sent there could be sold to the Canadians to mutual advantage. They stated that the fur trade had, in a great measure, been lost to Canada, and had fallen into the hands of the English ; and that under any circumstances, it would prove insufficient for the maintenance and growth of a large population in Canada. Their views on this subject were sent in detail to France in 1706. We have seen in 1709 an anonymous *mémoire*, which projects the fortifying and settling a military post in cape Breton. The *Havre à l'Anglois*, (Louisbourg), having been selected, as open to navigation at all seasons, was now named after the king of France. In 1714, Raudot (fils) says : " Louisbourg, where "

“the garrison of Placentia, that of Acadie, and the inhabitants of Placentia now are, is a good harbor, where the holding ground is good, with eight fathoms of water, sheltered from all winds, and which can contain more than 300 vessels. The winds permit vessels to enter and to depart every day. There is no sheltered anchorage outside the harbor. It consequently cannot be blockaded by the enemy’s ships in time of war.” He describes port Dauphin, (St. Anne’s), and port Toulouse, in the south part of the island. He reckons the expenses of three men-of-war required at 210,000 livres per season of eight months. The sieur Bourdon, (1714), thinks corn must be brought to Louisbourg from Canada. Limestone can be got from Chedabouctou. Instead of a regular fort on the island, he would prefer a battery of earth and timber, with good embrasures, and a similar battery on the point of land. The great fort and that of the town must be built, though of much cost.

The name of the island of cape Breton was now changed to *Isle Royale*, and the fortifying and colonizing on the East coast began. It is said that 25 years of time, and 30 millions of livres, equal to near one million and a half pounds, sterling, were consumed on these works, which were, after all, incomplete. In 1744, its garrison consisted of 600 soldiers and 800 militia. [*Garneau’s History of Canada*, v. 2, p. 101.] The population which settled in and about Louisbourg came chiefly from France and from Canada, a few only of the Acadians having been induced to remove thither. [*Rameau*, p. 71.]

It is stated in lieut. governor Mascarene’s letter to governor Shirley, 6 April, 1748, that in this year, 1714, Mr. Nicholson arrived with the commission of governor and commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia, and that he proposed to the Acadians to become British subjects within the period named in the capitulation, which would expire in 1715, or to leave the province, and that they refused the oath, and were only prevented from leaving the country by failure of vessels expected from cape Breton to take them away. We have seen that the queen addressed her public letter of 23 June, 1713, granting

indulgence to the French inhabitants to Nicholson, as governor of Nova Scotia, &c.

The fifth article of the capitulation granted by general Nicholson to Subercase, in 1710, gave to the inhabitants living within cannon shot of the Fort, the privilege of remaining two years on their lands, on condition of their taking oaths of allegiance and fidelity to the queen. By the memorandum attached to the document, this is explained to extend three English miles around, and 481 persons there are stated to be included in it. The articles shew that no others could claim the privilege of remaining as a right, on any terms, after the conquest. This is also clear from the claim the English immediately made to treat the other inhabitants as prisoners at discretion, a claim openly asserted in the letters carried by Livingston to the marquis de Vaudreuil. It would appear that the inhabitants of Port Royal and the *banlieue* had taken these oaths in conformity with the capitulation, at least all the men within that district who had not left the colony, as we find by Gaulin's letter 5 Sept., 1711, that the people of the *banlieue* notified the governor that they held themselves freed from the oaths they had taken not to bear arms. This was probably the construction they had been taught to put on the oath of allegiance, as it would have been not only an unauthorized proceeding on the part of Nicholson or Vetch to have substituted an oath of neutrality for the oaths prescribed in the capitulation, but a very unlikely course for the victors to adopt. Nicholson, one would think, had enforced this part of the terms of surrender before he left the place. (I do not understand the oath so taken to have implied an allegiance, further than the two years named in the capitulation.) Even having complied and sworn allegiance, their right to remain terminated 13 October, 1712; and had they greater rights, their conduct in 1711, when they united with the Indians to infest and blockade the fort, amounted to the capital offence of treason; and by all laws of that period, they had forfeited all their estates in the province, and their lives also. The country being once conquered, no one residing in it could be justified in taking up arms against the government of the victors, or

giving aid to their enemies, the very permission to remain, under such circumstances, implying obedience and fidelity, although no oaths were taken.

By the treaty of Utrecht, the French government not only failed to reserve any rights for their subjects in Acadie, but most expressly ceded the rights of the French crown, and those of its subjects, to the territory and lands. But the Queen's letter of 1713 gave the French inhabitants a new offer. All who were willing to become her subjects in Newfoundland and in Nova Scotia, were free to enjoy the privilege and hold their estates, while those who preferred to leave the country had liberty to sell their properties and depart. The natural construction put on this letter was that, to shew they had become British subjects, they should swear allegiance to the queen of England. The idea of neutrality appears to have been sedulously instilled into the minds of the French in Acadie by the agents of the French interest. The kind of neutrality intended was, that they should quietly aid the Indians against the English at all times; and when England and France were at war, give aid to French parties from Canada. They seemed to think they had done more than their duty to the English, if they did not take an open and active part in war against the garrison of Annapolis. They also were steadily opposed to allowing any English settlers to occupy or cultivate the country. In governor Philipps' time, in 1730, the unqualified oath of allegiance was taken by all the people (males) on the Annapolis river from 16 to 60. An original parchment is held by the government, with 227 names, (of which hereafter.) It is true some of the subordinate officers accepted qualified oaths from these people on one or two occasions, for doing which they were reproved by the government. But the French governors at Quebec paid yearly pensions to the missionaries in Acadie long after the conquest, and enjoined on them to keep the people and the Indians in the French interest, which, in general, they did with success. Some of the English governors discouraged the inhabitants from leaving the country, by forbidding their taking their cattle and effects with them; while on the other

hand the French governors of Quebec and Louisbourg shewed little desire to assist them to remove into the French dominions, while they used various inducements to keep them attached to French interests and disaffected to the English power. The garrisons at Annapolis, Canso and Placentia, were very small ; the funds they received from England limited. The Indians were almost always hostile, and the inhabitants generally disaffected. Consequently English power beyond the range of the cannon of the Fort was only nominal. The French governors did not wish the Acadians to leave Nova Scotia, as they reckoned on them as a check on the British there, as preventing British colonization, and affording facilities for a re-conquest. The English governors equally dreaded their removal, believing that if they went to Louisbourg or Quebec they would strengthen the enemy's military power. The situation of these poor people from the conquest to their expulsion in 1755, was much to be pitied, being the puppets of the intrigues and ambition of others, who acted upon their religious and national feelings, and eventually ruined their interests.

Queen Anne died 1 August, 1714, in her 50th year, and George the first, the elector of Hanover, became king of England.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXIX.

(1.)

5 November, 1714.

Census of the inhabitants of Placentia, and the islands of St. Peter, who have come to Louisbourg, with their wives and children.

	<i>Places where they are to be settled for the fishery.</i>	<i>Number of shallops they are to have in the fishery.</i>
Belleville,	Louisbourg,	3
Berichon,	In the fort,	6
Rochefort,	do.	5
Chevalier,	do.	4
The son of widow Vigneau,	do.	2
Plaidiern,	do.	3
Martin Laborde,	do.	4
Antoine Péré,	do.	3
René Péré.	do.	3
Beauregard,	do.	2
François Bertrand,	At harbor la Baleine,	6
Catrerot,	do.	6
Lasson, the younger,	do.	6
Dupont Labarre, de St. Pierre,	do.	4
Daccarette,	do.	6
Silvain,	do.	2
Duclos Viarien,	In l'anse noire,	2
Lartigue,	At anse aux Cannes,	7
Benjamin, des isles de St. Pierre,	On Scatari,	4
Boimory, do.	do.	4
		<hr/> 82

Names of French inhabitants arrived at Isle Royale, not in a condition to carry on the fishery :—

The widow Estevin.
 Thomas Pik.
 The widow La Croix.
 Oizelet.
 Dubourdieu.
 Lelarge.

Number of shallops which messieurs the officers are to put in the fishery above,

	82
M. M. de Costabelle,	6
de Soubray,	4
de St. Ovide,	5
Schmidt,	3
Legendis,	3
de Ste. Marie,	4
<hr/>	
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There is not yet any place on the beach destined for messrs. the officers, as there is only space there for 30 shallops in the harbor of Louisbourg. I did not think it was my duty to disappoint the inhabitants to give them in preference to the said officers, no more than to myself. Thus we must send our fishing craft to seek a position on the North or South coast. Louisbourg, 5 November, 1714.

DE COSTEBELLE.

(2.)

There is a ms. census of the French population of Port Royal and Mines, dated 5 October, 1714, signed 'Felix Pain,' recollet missionary at Beaubassin, which appears to have been drawn up secretly, for the information of the French government. All the names are given.

Number of souls at Port Royal,	637
“ “ Mines,	653
Total,	1290

Surnames of the Port Royal families in this list of 1714. Number of names, 87. Abraham, Alain, Barnabé, Beliveau, Beaumont. Beupré, Bernard, Blanchard, Blondin, Bonappetit, Boudrot, Bourg, Bourgeois, Breau, Brossard, Cadet, Carne, Champagne, Clemenceau, Commeau, Cosse, D'amboise, Debert, Dubois, Denis, Doucet, Dugas, Dumont, Dupuis, Emmanuel, l'Etoile, Forest, Gentil, Girouard, Godet, Gouselle, Grangé, Guillebeau, Hebert, Jean, Labaune, Langlois, LaLiberté, Laurier, Landry, LaRosette, Lafont, LaMontagne, Lapierre, Lanoue, Lavergne, LeBasque, L'esperance, LeBreton, Leblanc, Lemarquis, (2) L'Etoile, Lionnais, Maillard, Martin, Melanson, Michel, Moire, Nantois, Olivier, Paris, Parisien, Piltre, Pellerin, Petitpas, Potier, Poubomcoup, Raimond, Richard, Robichau, (2) LaRosette, Samson, Savary, Savoie, Sellan, Surette, St. Louis, St. Scenne, Thibodeau, Tourangeois, LaVerdure, Villate, Vincent, Yvon.

The families at Mines give us 54 surnames, viz :

Aucoin, Babet, Baguette, Barillot, Benoit, Blanchard, Bodart, Boutin, Boucher, Boisseau, Bourg, Bourq, Boudrot, Brasseux, Breau, Chauvet, Commeau, Corperon, D'aigre, D'arois, Douaron, Doucet, Dugas, Dupuis, Forest, Gautereau, Girouard, Godet, Grangé, Hebert, Jasmin, Landry, Laroche, Leblanc, Lejeune, Leprince, Martin, Melanson, Michel, Mouton, Perrine, Pinet, Rembaud, Richard, Rieul, Roy, Saunier, Sire, Teriot, Thibodeau, Toussaint, Trahan, Vincent, Voyer.

At Port Royal,	87 names.
At Mines, (Additional.)	33

Surnames in all, 120

21 names are common to both places.

CHAPTER XL.

1715. I have found but few traces of the affairs of Nova Scotia from 1714 to 1718. The French were laying the foundations of their town and fortress at Louisbourg, and endeavoring to establish new arrangements to favor their fisheries, so as to counterbalance their loss in the surrender of Placentia. The English garrison at Annapolis Royal was probably not further molested at this time, and a calm existed after so much trouble. A letter, dated "Whitehall, 8 March, 1714, 1715, signed 'William Popple,' was addressed by the order of the lords of Trade and Plantation to colonel Nicholson, requesting him to inform them of what he had to offer in relation to Nova Scotia, particularly what he could propose to make that place of advantage to the crown, and this kingdom.

The following is his reply :

"To Wm. Popple, Esq., Secretary to the right hon'ble. the "
"Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations."

"A little while ago I received a letter from Mr. Rigs, and "
"enclosed I send you a paragraph of it, which confirms me "
"in the opinion I always had of the French designs and "
"endeavors, by all ways and means, to get those Five nations "
(Iroquois) "to their interests, and I never in the least doubt- "
"ed of their endeavoring likewise to stir the other Indians "
"to make war upon his majesty's subjects on the continent "
"of North America ; and I suppose that they and the "
"Spaniards at St. Augustine have instigated the Indians to "
"fall upon South Carolina." (The Yemassee, at the instiga-

tion of the Spaniards, carried on a war there against the English, by which the colony of South Carolina was about this time in great danger of destruction.) "And you may remember that I often said that the French in time of peace were "more capable of supplying the Indians with arms, ammunition, &c., than in war, because half if not more of their "ships bound to Canada were then taken, and that so long "as the priests and Jesuits are amongst the Indians, they "would endeavor to set them at variance with the English, "that the French will furnish them with officers, whom to "know from Indians is difficult, because several have been "bred up amongst them, and are dressed and painted as they "are.—I hope you will excuse the trouble given you by, "sir, your most humble servant,"

‘FRANCIS NICHOLSON.’

"London, July, 1715."

Louis the 14th, king of France, died on sunday morning, the 1 September, 1715, at 8 1-4 A. M., aged 77 years, having reigned 72 years, leaving his grandson, Louis 15, who was born 15 February, 1710, to succeed him. Philippe, duke of Orleans, became regent. He had married, in 1692, Françoise Marie, natural daughter of Louis 14. The regent proved favorable to peace and amity with England.

1716. Captain Lawrence Armstrong, who was afterwards lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia, was shipwrecked in 1711, in the river St. Lawrence, on the expedition under general Hill, and lost not only his clothes, to the value of £80 sterling, but also his own and his company's equipage and arms. He was after that sent, out of his tour of duty, to the garrison of Annapolis Royal, by colonel Windress, to whose regiment he then belonged. Governor Vetch and the other officers there sent him to Great Britain with a memorial, to represent the ill state of the garrison. The officers had been involved in liabilities to support and to clothe the men. He made this application to the Board of Trade on the 25 February, 1716, and on the 28th he sent in a further statement, in which he describes the fishery, farming capabilities, the timber, masts,

&c., in the province. He says it is the misfortune of the country that the inhabitants are French, "who, having labor-" "ed under very great oppressions and uncertainties, have" "neglected the improvements thereof, and if a war happens" "before an English settlement is made, would be hostile," "they having refused the oath of allegiance to his majesty" "king George, and in time of peace follow a private trade for" "the supply of the French of cape Breton, with provisions" "and other necessaries."—The garrison being dependant on them for provisions, would be in danger in war time. That the New England merchants ask such extravagant prices for everything that they sell, that the furs and feathers, "a great" "produce of this country," are carried by the French and Indians to cape Breton in preference. If a sufficient number of English were planted there for the supply of the garrison, he would recommend Annapolis to be made a free port. "As to the fortifications, they are in form a regular square," "with four bastions made up of earth and sod work,—the" "earth a loose gravel or sand, subject to damage by every" "thaw, and of the great breaches which happen by the fall" "of the wall into the ditch, till a method was found to *revest*" "the works with timber, from the bottom of the ditch to the" "*fraizes*, eighteen feet, and above that with four foot of sodd," "the greatest part of which being done while gen'l. Nicholson" "was there last. The houses and barracks where the officers" "and soldiers lodge, with the storehouses and magazines," "are in a ruinous condition, and not like to stand three years" "without a thorough repair." He refers for particulars to the accounts of engineer Vane and others to the Board of Ordnance.

As to what is said of the French inhabitants declining to take the oath of allegiance to king George, it does not necessarily follow that they had not sworn fidelity to queen Anne. To this allegiance they were bound by law and in conscience without any oath, as living under the protection and in the admitted territory of the British crown. It is true that this obligation might have been varied or suspended by clauses of a treaty: but there is no document to be

found to shew that queen Anne or any of her successors granted or promised them the anomalous privilege of neutrality they aimed to possess, and it would require obviously some distinct engagement made by the crown to justify their extraordinary demand. No blunders or temporizing attributed to the governors of the province could vary their position as subjects, although they might to some extent palliate their errors, and partly account for their discontent and disaffection.

1717. M. Bégon, the intendant, recommended the importation of negro slaves into Canada, but Vaudreuil, the governor, expressed his preference for the *Faux Sauniers*, a tribe of Indians who had been reduced to the condition of slavery, as he thought the climate was too cold for negroes.

Colonel Shute succeeded Dudley as governor of New England in 1716, and in August, 1717, he held a conference with the Eastern Indians, (Canibas and Abenakis), at the island of Arrowsick.—Ralle, the missionary of Narantsouak, sent the governor a letter, stating “that the French king had never,” “by any treaty, conceded to the English the lands of the” “Indians, and that he would protect them against every” “encroachment.” The Indians at first opposed the claims of the English to any lands east of the Kennebec, but in the end they yielded, and confirmed the treaty of Portsmouth of 1713, admitting the right of the English to hold all their former settlements. This year, Benjamin Church, who was conspicuous for his inroads upon Acadie, died in consequence of a fall from his horse, aged 78. Andrew Belcher died October 31, aged 71. He was probably the father of governor Belcher, of New England. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 218-223.] Colonel Richard Philipps was appointed governor of Nova Scotia in place of Vetch, and of Newfoundland in place of Moody, in this year, 1717. [*Douglas' Summary*, p. 328.]

1718. Captain Coram, a famous projector in 1718, busied himself in a scheme for settling Nova Scotia, and the lands between Nova Scotia and the province of Maine. Sir Alex'r. Cairnes, James Douglas and Joshua Gee, (the last a remark-

able author of essays on finance and political economy), petitioned the crown for a grant upon the sea coast, five leagues south-west and five leagues north-east of Chibouctou harbor. They proposed to build a town, and to improve the country round it in raising hemp, in making pitch, tar and turpentine ; and they undertake to settle a certain number of families, to consist of 200 persons, within three years. The rest of H. M. subjects not to be prohibited from fishing on the coasts under regulation. Mr. Dummer, the agent for Massachusetts, objected to this petition, because of the last clause, which laid a restraint upon the fishery. The lords of Trade reported in favor of it, but it was stopped in council.—William Armstrong and others, officers and soldiers, prayed for a grant of lands between Kennebec and Penobscot, but the province of Massachusetts objecting, no grant passed. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 224, 225.] Colonel Philipps having been appointed governor of Nova Scotia and Placentia in 1717, the four independant companies of Annapolis and the four independant companies of Placentia, with two additional companies, were formed into one regiment, under his command, the number of men, including officers, being 445. Three of these reduced companies were incorporated with five companies of Annapolis, and with the fourth company of Canso. Thus at Annapolis there were six companies, at Placentia one company, and the three new companies were to be sent from England to St. John's, in Newfoundland. A regiment of ten companies was to be made up, to be completed to 815 men, (officers included), the complement of an English marching regiment. Colonel Philipps wrote to the Lords of Trade, 11 March, 1718, which letter they received 26 April. He says that the inhabitants refuse to take the oath of allegiance,—that being “Papists, and natural subjects of another prince,” their fidelity can no longer be depended on than while constrained. “The best and only method to secure their allegiance is to give all possible encouragement towards settling that country” (with) “his Majesty’s subjects from these” “kingdoms,——and in the meanwhile to let those French” “see that the government is in earnest to take care of that”

“country, by repairing its fortifications and erecting others,” “proper both for its security and trade.”——The traffic with the natives, he thinks, should not be neglected. “The” “French thought it worth their while to gain those people to” “their interest, by yearly presents, which consisted chiefly” “in apparel of Blue and Red Bayes or coarse Serges, some” “arms and ammunition, to the value of £500 or £600.” Suggests an essay of the kind, the governor to have charge of the delivery of the presents.——In regard to the encroachments of the cape Breton French on Nova Scotia, he proposes a commission to settle limits.——He recommends the repair of Annapolis, as a seat of government and place of strength : also that a small frigate should be stationed on the coast, to be in some measure subject to the governor’s orders, to enable him to survey the coasts, to communicate with Placentia, and to protect the fishery.

In the negociations of 1711 and 1712, which resulted in the treaty of Utrecht, the possession of Acadie by England was grievous to the French, as is evident from the offers they made to avoid its cession. They knew the intrinsic value of its mines, fisheries, lands, forests, and fur trade. They saw also that the peninsula was important to them, in checking the progress and disturbing the security of the New England colonies, and as a rampart and outwork to defend their own highly prized colony of Canada. Disappointed in every effort to recapture or retain it, the ingenuity of some of the nation was speedily turned to explain away the terms of the 12th article of the treaty of Utrecht. Various and inconsistent constructions were thus put on this clause. Sometimes, as by M. Riviere in 1713, the territory of Nova Scotia was considered to be only that part of Acadie lying West of the bay of Fundy. Afterwards the peninsula was allowed to be English ; while the main land was claimed at one time as French territory, and at another asserted to belong to the Indians.

The idea that the Indian nations had territorial rights, did not occur to the French diplomatists until after the cession of Acadie to the British crown in 1713. We find this notion first suggested in father Ralle’s letter to governor Shute in

1717, and it was frequently revived afterwards. The advantage of this was, that such an opinion being instilled into the minds of the Indians, their hostility to the English, whom they were thus induced to look upon as usurpers of their land, was kept constantly alive. The arms and ammunition supplied them, in the shape of presents from the French government, continued and augmented their attachment to the French king and people. They were thus furnished with means of either hunting for subsistence or attacking the English, as inclination might lead them ; and small yearly stipends were also paid by the French crown to the missionaries, who kept alive their love to France and their hatred to England.

On the 15th of April, 1718, captain John Doucett, then lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal, wrote to the marquis de Vaudreuil. He refers to the treaty, and desires his Excellency to send him a line or two " hither, to shew the inhabitants, that those who have a mind to become subjects to " " the king of Great Britain, have free liberty, according to " " the articles of peace, signed at Utrecht, between her " " late majesty queen Anne and his most Christian majesty ; " " and that all those who shall not become subjects to his " " majesty king George, you will please to give them orders " " to retire to Canada, Isle Royale, or to any other part " " of his most Christian majesty's dominions. I must also " " desire your Excellency will please to communicate to them " " and the savages the firm alliance between the two crowns, " " that ill-designing men may not continue to represent to the " " savages in your interest that the English and French are " " still enemies. Also, if his lordship, the bishop of Canada " " and Quebec, would please to give orders to all the missionaries that are among the French inhabitants in this country, not to act anything contrary to king George's interest " " in these his dominions ; which if they do, I must be obliged " " to use such methods as would not be pleasing to me or " " them ; that by such an order they may carry themselves as " " they ought, and keep everything quiet, and me easy." The marquis replies, 22 September, 1718. He repudiates any idea of exciting the savages to insult the English government.

during peace ; will not believe the missionaries so ill-advised as to stir up the people who have submitted ; complains that the inhabitants who, by the 14th article of the treaty are at liberty to withdraw with all their effects, have been refused passports and liberty to carry away their cattle and moveables. He also says : “ I pray you also not to permit your English ” “ vessels to go into the river St. John, which is always of the ” “ French dominion.”

The inhabitants were urged by the governors of Annapolis either to take the oath of fidelity to his Britannic majesty, or to withdraw from the country. Louis Allain wrote to Vaudreuil on the subject. The marquis told him they had a right to go and take with them their cattle and moveables, but not to destroy buildings, and that the river St. John was French territory. He writes him another private letter. Allain had asked him for the land at Kanibecachiche, granted in 1689 to M. du Breuil. Vaudreuil tells him that any of the inhabitants who remove to the St. John may have lots of land on application to père Lajard, Jesuit missionary there, who is empowered by him to grant them. “ As to the oath ” “ they require of you, in case you shall remain, it is for you ” “ and the other inhabitants to see if this accords with your ” “ religion, of which you will not have the free exercise, and ” “ which you ought to prefer to all temporal advantages.” At this time M. St. Ovide, governor of Louisbourg, went to Canso, and warned the English not to fish there any more.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XL.

(I.)

(From the parish register of Port Royal.)

12 March, 1716, f. Justinien supplied the ceremonies of baptism to Jean Baptiste Bradstreet, born 21 December, 1714, son of Mr. Edward Bradstreet, lieutenant. de coe. and of Agathe de St. Etienne de la Tour, baptized by Mr. Spilman, fort major. Godfather, le sieur Petitot dit St. Seine, chirurgien juré. Godmother, madame de la Tour, wife of Alexandre Robichaux.

(2.)

On the 15 December, 1718, captain Doucett, lieutenant governor, writes thus to colonel Philipps, governor of Annapolis :—

“ Since my last, by captain Chaddes, to your Excellency, I received the paper ”
 “ marked No. 1 from the marquis de Vaudreuil, in answer to a letter sent by me ”
 “ marked No. 2, and at the same time two other letters sent from him to one ”
 “ Louis Allain, an inhabitant, fell into my hands, which I caused to be read to ”
 “ the said Allain, before me. I secured the originals and gave copies, and now ”
 “ enclose copies of them to your Excellency, marked 3 & 4. Your Excellency ”
 “ plainly sees the underhand dealing by the private letter of mons. Vaudreuil, ”
 “ and what he would insinuate to the people, as also by mons. St. Ovide's wri- ”
 “ ting one thing to me and doing the reverse about Cansoe, a copy of which ”
 “ letter I sent your Excellency by captain Chaddes, in which he tells me he ”
 “ went to Cansoe to pacify the savages, who threatened the English, but never ”
 “ takes notice to me that he warned the English from fishing any more there, ”
 “ to which several in New England have made oath.”

(3.)

Quebec, 8 November, 1718. Report of M. Bégon on the enterprizes of the English, near Passavinke :—Father Rasle, jesuit missionary at Naurantsouak. wrote to Vaudreuil and Bégon, 17 September last, that 200 English came to the Fort nearest his mission, by land, “ au bas de cette rivière.” He apprehends that the English will win the Indians, and hold the country. Suggests that the boundary ought to be settled by commissioners, as specified in the treaty.

(4.)

From a letter of lieutenant governor Paul Mascarene to governor Shirley.

Annapolis Royal, 6th April, 1748.

At the reduction of this fort, no capitulation was made but for the garrison and the inhabitants of the Banlieue (a league round the fort) ; these had leave to withdraw with their effects, and to dispose of those they could not carry with them, for the space of two years. The rest of the inhabitants all over the Province made terms that winter with the then governor Vetch, who received them on their submission, but no oath was required of them, except of the inhabitants of the banlieue, for the time of the capitulation. In 1714, Mr. Nicholson came over governor and commander-in-chief over the Province, and proposed to the French inhabitants the terms agreed on for them at the treaty of Utrecht, which were to keep their possessions, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow, on their becoming subjects to the crown, or to dispose of them, if they chose to withdraw, within the space of a twelve-month. They, to a man, chose the last, having great promises made to them by two officers, sent here for that purpose from Cape Breton, then beginning to be settled by the French. But these not sending vessels to fetch away the inhabitants, they remained, and though often required to take the oaths of fidelity, they constantly refused it. The government, during this interval of time, was vested solely in the governor, and in his absence, in the lieutenant governor

or commander-in-chief of the garrison of Annapolis Royal, except a council of the captains formed by general Nicholson, which did not exist above five or six weeks.

(5.)

The copy of the commission of governor Phillips, dated 9 July, 1719, in the Annapolis Royal record book, is certified thus :—

“ Whitehall, 12 March, 1724-5.—A true copy, ex'd.”

“ ALURED POPPLE,”

“ A true record, &c.”

“ W. SHIRREFF, Sec'y.”

“ 15 March, 1727.”

CHAPTER XLI.

1719. Colonel Philipps writes 1 April, 1719, to the lords of Trade, laying before them papers from Nova Scotia then under his care, shewing the particulars of the proceeding at the seizure of the French ships in the gut of Cansoe, taken by the Squirrel, man-of-war, captain Smart, (in 1718), with a computation of the fish taken and cured by the French from cape Breton for four years past within the boundaries of Nova Scotia. He says : " These papers are sent me from one " " captain Southack, who has been several times employed by " " the government in the service of Nova Scotia." He thinks him a fit assistant to a boundary commissioner, if one should be appointed. A commission from king George the first, dated July, 1719, in the 5th year of his reign, appoints Richard Philipps, esquire, to be governor of Placentia, and captain general and commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia or Accadie, in America, " with power to appoint such fitting and discreet " " persons as you shall either find there or carry along with " " you, not exceeding the number of twelve, to be of our " " council, in our said province, till our further pleasure be " " known, any five whereof we do hereby appoint to be a " " quorum." They are to take the oaths mentioned in the act of George the first, entitled " an act for the further security " " of his majesty's person and government," &c., and the declaration of 25, Charles the 2nd, respecting Popish recusants. Colonel Philipps, after receiving this commission, came out from England, and arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, on the

4-15 October, 1719. He intended to proceed thence to Annapolis Royal, the seat of his government, in the man-of-war then on the New England station, commanded by captain Smart. He had, in the first place, to wait five weeks there for the fitting of the ship for sea. He says (ms. letter book) that after embarking accordingly, "all endeavour was used to" "gaine the passage, but winter overtaking us, when the navigation on that coast, especially of the bay of Fundee," "becomes impracticable, I was sett on shore in Cascoe bay," "and am returned to winter here, not by choice but necessity." He says that care was taken to get the two best pilots in the country, and that these pilots refused any further charge if the voyage had been persevered in, and whether too much time had been spent in making ready to sail, he, not being a seaman, will not undertake to decide.

In a letter dated January 2, 1719-1720, to secretary Craggs, colonel Philipps encloses a document, of which he says: "The paper which I have the honor to enclose was sent from" "Annapolis, and serves to shew the practices of the priests" "and Jesuits in that province. It is the original, and though" "fathered on the Indians, is known to be the handwriting of" "père Vincent, a Jesuit, who, with one père Felix, both" "inveterate enemies to the British interest, preside as governors over the two largest settlements in Nova Scotia, called" "Mines and Chignecto. The French, who are in number" "above four hundred families, pay obedience to them as" "such, as they say they acknowledge no other, and will" "neither swear allegiance nor leave the country whenever" "required. To this they have been encouraged, not only by" "the instigation of their priests, but also from a knowledge" "of the garrison of Annapolis, consisting but of five companies upon a low establishment" (when complete, 35 private men per company. Letter to secretary at war, 26 May, 1720.) "will not admit of any considerable detachment to be sent" "against them, being twenty leagues distant."

1720. In his letter of 3 January, 1719-20, to the lords of Trade, he says: "I am gladd to hear that some of your" "lordships have been at the court of France to settle the"

“affaires of these countreys, which was absolutely necessary”
“for the peace and safety thereof, and could not be managed”
“by better hands ; and yet, after all that your lordshipps may”
“have done, there will ever remain a great obstruction to”
“our happiness whilst the priests and jesuits are among us,”
“for it is not to be imagined with what application they”
“incourage the ffrench and Indians against submitting to”
“his majesty’s government ; and even their sermons are”
“constant invectives against the English nation, to render it”
“odious to the natives.”——He suggests that he should have authority to move three companies forthwith from Placentia to Nova Scotia, and that the engineer should be directed to raise a fortification, capable of holding two companies, with a few cannon in a convenient situation, for keeping Mines and Chignecto in obedience. He says they improve rapidly in wealth and in numbers, being very prolific, and likely in a few years to become a numerous people. He says that the French from cape Breton had continued their fishing in the last season at Canso under a guard of soldiers, intending that for their chief settlement, if their pretended right (to Canso) could be made out. “It is by all accounts the best and most”
“convenient fishery in any part of the king’s dominions.”
“The people from the West of England have found great”
“satisfaction in the place, and will returne with many ships”
“in the spring.” He refers to presents for the Indians, and to a survey of the king’s woods, (reserves.) He also says :
“I meet with many old patents granted to people of New”
“England, never yet produced for approbation, by Coll’o.”
“Dungan, while governor of New York, for lands lying in a”
“part called the king’s territory,” (James the second’s province of Sagadahock, granted him when duke of York, and of which Dungan was governor,) “between New England and Nova”
“Scotia, and, as I imagine, under the government of the”
“latter, particularly one in favor of the president of this”
“college,” (probably Harvard), “of thirty miles extent ; like-”
“wise many old Indian grants for vast tracts in the same”
“territory, which never had the sanction of any government,”
“and too large to be ever improved by the present clayments.”

He represents these grants as an obstacle to settlement. In a postscript to his letter to the lords of Trade, dated Boston, in New England, Feb'y. 26, 1719-1720, he says : " The ship " " by which I had the honor of writing to your lddspps being " " detained almost two months beyond her time, gives me a " " fresh oppo. of laying the enclosed petition before your " " lddspps, together with a copy of the grant by which the " " subscribers claime, and as I had the honor to acquaint your " " lddspps in my last that there are many more of the same " " kind which have never had the confirmation of any gov- " " vernment, for tracts of land lying between the rivers of " " Kennebec and St. George's ; likewise that the bounds " " between the government of Nova Scotia and New England " " are not declared." (The lands referred to are probably within Acadie, as held by France, being east of Kennebec, and now in the state of Maine. Kennebec is a pure Algonkin word, signifying a snake or serpent. The river in Maine was probably called so, from its winding or serpentine course. *New York Historical Magazine for November, 1858, p. 334*) Governor Philipps had not left Boston on 4-15 April, 1720, for he gives that date, at Boston, to a letter he addressed to monsieur St. Ovide Brouillan, governor of Isle Royal, at Louisbourg, in which he notifies the latter of his appointment as governor of Nova Scotia ; refers to the alliance of the two crowns ; offers friendship and peace, and deprecates any secret practising with the natives of either jurisdiction to alienate their affections, &c.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLI.

(I.)

On the 20 February, 1720, an application was made to the French government by M. de Boularderie, for a grant of the island of Niganiche. He had already a grant of land, and also a privilege to dry fish at Port d'Orleans, but it was unavailable, as the shores were granted to individual inhabitants. The sieur Louis Simon de St. Aubin le poupet, chevalier de la Boularderie, enseigne de vaisseau

and captain of a company, was married by f. Felix Paim, at Port Royal, 29 Nov., 1702, to Magdelaine Melançon. Their son, Antoine, baptized by f. Justinien, 15 Oct., 1705, (register.) An island in the Labrador, C. B. is called Boularderie.

(2.)

In 1719, colonel Gledhill was appointed lieutenant governor of Placentia, in Newfoundland, in the room of colonel John Moody. [*Douglas' Summary*, 294.]

(3.)

Richard Philipps, the governor of Nova Scotia, belonged to a family in South Wales. Sir John Philipps, of Picton castle, the founder of the family, was created a baronet 9 November, 1621. The governor was the second son of Richard Philipps, esquire, by Frances Noel, his wife, and was born about 1661. As a young man, he is said to have been employed in dispersing the manifestoes of the prince of Orange among the troops encamped at Hounslow; for which service he was made captain. He was present at the battle of the Boyne in 1690. He became colonel of the 12th regiment of foot in 1712, 16 March, and of the 40th regiment, 25 August, 1717. He was appointed governor of Placentia and captain general and commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia 9 July, 1719. He arrived in Nova Scotia in 1720, and resided there several years; and returning to England, continued to be governor until 1749, though the lieutenant governor and presidents of council actually administered the government a great part of the time. Governor Philipps was twice married,—first to Elizabeth Cosby, an Irish lady; secondly, to Catherina, daughter of Sir John Statham, county of Derby, and relict of Benjamin Bagshaw. By his first wife he had two daughters and one son, Cosby Philipps, captain in the army. Governor Philipps died about 1751, at the age of 90. There was a Sir Erasmus Philipps, of the same family. Richard Bulkeley Philipps (Grant) Philipps, esquire, of the same family, was created a baronet in 1828, and a peer as lord Milford in 1847, and died in 1857.

The family seats are Orlandin and Picton castle, in the county of Pembroke.

The arms are—*Argent*, a lion rampant, *Sable*, ducally gorged and chained; or, *Crest*—a lion as in the arms. *Motto*—*Ducit amor patriæ*.

[See Burke's Baronetage.]

CHAPTER XLII.

1720. Governor Philipps arrived from Boston at Annapolis Royal in the middle of April, 1720, o. s., which, he says, is the earliest season that sloops come upon this coast. (In the present or new style, this would be near the end of April, say 25th.) At his landing he made a review of the garrison and fortifications, the first of which he found complete and in good condition, excepting a few old men; "but the place in as" "bad a state as is possible to describe, both within and with-" "out, with several practical breaches, so wide that ten men" "might enter abreast." He assumed the responsibility of making some necessary repairs. In his letter of 26 May, (6 June), to Mr. Craggs, the secretary of state, he says: "The" "third day after my arrival here I was visited by the priest" "of this district of Annapolis, at the head of one hundred" "and fifty lusty young men, (as if he meant to appear formi-" "dable), whom I received as civilly as possible, and, after" "giving them assurance of his majesty's favor and protection," "caused the priest to read to them one of the proclamations" "I had prepared according to my instructions.—I asked" "him afterwards if he did not allow that his majesty's con-" "descention therein expressed did not exceed even the" "people's expectation. He answer'd that his majesty was" "very gracious, but that the people were not at liberty to" "swear allegiance, because that in general Nicholson's time" "they had sett their hands unanimously to an obligation of" "continuing subjects of France, and retiring to cape Breton," "and for another reason, they were sure of haveing their"

“throates cut by the Indians whenever they became English-”
 “men. He was answered to both very fully, and the true”
 “interest of the people demonstrated, but arguments prevaile”
 “little without a power of inforcing.” Philipps apprehended
 that the inhabitants would leave the province by way of the
Baie Verte, destroying every thing, and joining with the
 Indians.

On the 25 April, old style, (6 May, new style), the counselors of whom he made choice attended him at the house of the lieutenant governor, (Doucett), in the garrison. Their names were :

John Doucett, (hon. lieut. governor),	captain.
Lawrence Armstrong,	major.
Paul Mascarene,	major.
Reverend John Harrison,	chaplain.
Cyprian Southack,	sea captain.
Arthur Savage,	
Hibbert Newton,	collector.
William Skene,	physician.
William Shirreff,	
Peter Boudre, }	{ master of a
	{ sloop.

They were then sworn, taking the oaths prescribed by the act of parliament, 1 Geo. 1., St. 2, c. 13, which comprized the oath of allegiance and the oath of supremacy, and the declaration against transsubstantiation prescribed by the act of 25 Charles 2, c. 2. They also were sworn to an oath of office to discharge their duties impartially, &c. The oaths and subscriptions being such as a Roman Catholic could not take, account for the exclusion of the inhabitants from the list of the first council of the Province. On 28 April, (9 May, n. s.,) 1720, John Adams, esquire, was appointed a member of H. M. council ; was sworn, and took his seat. He was the only resident inhabitant, not connected officially with the garrison, who was admitted into the council at this period. (Gillam Philipps, esq., was sworn in as a councillor 16 August, 1720.) On the 19-30 April, Arthur Savage was appointed naval officer of the

province. (All masters of vessels arriving and departing were bound to report to the naval officer, besides making their entries with the collector.) Mr. Savage was on the same day appointed public secretary of the province. On the 27 April, (8 May, n. s.,) it was ordered that a public magazine for grain be fitted up ; and “ Resolved and ordered, that ” “ every vessel permitted to depart this place, bound to any ” “ place in this government, do give security to the governor ” “ or commander-in-chief in the value of £100, New England ” “ money ; that all grain taken on board any such vessel at ” “ any port or place of this government, shall be brought here ” “ directly for the use and on the risk of the government, and ” “ delivered here at the common price, if required, paying four ” “ pence per bushel freight.” Leave was given to Mr. James Blinn to carry 50 hhds. wheat from Mines to Chignecto, to supply the necessities of the inhabitants there. On the 23 April, o. s., (9 May, n. s.,) the governor sent proclamations, addressed respectively to the inhabitants of Mines and Chignecto, offering to such of them as would become British subjects “ the free exercise of their religion, with their estates ” “ ensured to them and posterity, and all their civil rights.” He wrote public letters to accompany the proclamations. He says to the people at Mines, “ I expect your answer at Anna- ” “ polis by father Felix and four of the inhabitants chosen ” “ from amongst you, whom you may direct to represent what ” “ you have further to say ; and in case you shall not agree in ” “ your choice, I do hereby name Alexander Bourg, James ” “ LeBlanc, Paul Mollanson and Peter Brows, to be the per- ” “ sons ; and order you to have this proclamation, together ” “ with this letter, read publickly and in the hearing of as ” “ many of the inhabitants as can be gathered together, and ” “ of captain Blin, and the rest of the English in your parts.” A similar letter was sent to the people of Chignecto. (It may be noticed here that all the proclamations, official letters or notices, in which the French inhabitants were at all concerned, were usually prepared by committees of the council—then translated into French, and in that language were communicated or published. This course was followed, I believe, inva-

riably by the governors at Annapolis from 1720 to 1749; and a similar practice was adopted by the governors at Halifax, Cornwallis, Lawrence, &c., from 1749 to 1755, in all matters where the French people were interested. The record of many of these documents were preserved in both languages. I have generally translated every thing I found in French into English, as well before as after the conquest of Port Royal in 1710.) These letters and proclamations were given in charge to John Adams and captain Blin, to be carried to Mines and Chignecto. 29 April, (10 May, n. s.,) the governor and council referred to the oaths taken by the French inhabitants to queen Anne, at the time Sir Charles Hobbey was lieutenant governor of the garrison. It was resolved that the inhabitants of the river Annapolis should elect six deputies, and the following day a proclamation issued, ordering them to choose the deputies, who were directed to attend before the governor on the 4-15 May, and father Durand was ordered to publish it to his congregation. 2-13 May, the governor writes again to père Justinien Durand, recollet *au haut de la rivière*, (up the river.) Mentions his leaving his dwelling without permission, and that the lieutenant governor had given him a character for quietness, submission and obedience. On the 4-15 May, the six deputies from the people of the river attended the meeting of the council, and produced a written power from the inhabitants. Their names were: Prudent Robichaux, Alexander Robichaux, Nicolas Gautier, Bernard Goudet, Charles Landré and Pierre Goudet. Objection was made to Nicolas Gautier as not having a freehold in the province, and to Prudent Robichaux having but slender property; and 7-18 May, the governor annulled their election, and ordered two others to be chosen in their place. At this time the inhabitants appealed by letter, which père Durand carried to M. St. Ovide, at Louisbourg, complaining of the alternative offered them of leaving the country without taking with them their goods and cattle, which they were told were forfeited, or becoming English subjects, and swearing allegiance. The inhabitants were about to cut a road between Annapolis and Mines, (called now Menis, and Meniss in the English documents.) This was

expressly forbidden by the governor's proclamation, as having been begun without his permission, and suspected as a measure to facilitate attacks on the garrison. The French inhabitants requested governor Philipps that they might send deputies to M. St. Ovide Brouillan, governor of Isle Royale, (cape Breton.) To this he assented, and he wrote to M. St. Ovide. He enclosed him a copy of his proclamation, and states that, instead of submitting, they were inducing the savages to assemble, and assert their native rights to the country. In proof, he quotes the expression of the French, "that they" "wish we may part friends,"—the abrupt departure of père Justinien Durand,—their shewing marks of contempt to his authority. He says: "As for my part, I have given them" "as many proofs of my kindness and the lenity of my govern-" "ment as opportunities have offered within the little time I" "have been among them; but as they have been always" "taught by their priests to look upon themselves as subjects" "of France, and to observe the direction and counsel of the" "governor of the Isle Royale, they have now asked my con-" "sent to send their deputies thither, for your advice," &c. &c. In the letter of the inhabitants to M. St. Ovide, they tell him, "We have until now preserved the true sentiments of faith-" "ful subjects towards our invincible monarch." That the English general (Philipps) calls on them to take an oath of fidelity, or to withdraw themselves in the course of four months, without carrying away any of their effects, except two sheep for each family, treating their remaining property as confiscated. They request him to send them an officer to direct, speak for them, and take care of their interests, and name M. de Rouville as one they would confide in. The inhabitants of Mines replied in writing to the governor, Philipps. In this they say, "You demand of us an oath, which is so" "much the more burthensome to us that we should expose" "ourselves and our families to the fury of the savages, who" "threaten us every day, and watch all our actions and pro-" "ceedings, to endeavor to ascertain if we do anything against" "the oath we took in presence of General Nicholson, and of" "two officers of Isle Royale, which oath has been intimated"

“and known at the court of England, as well as at the court”
“of France, and from which it appears to us very difficult to”
“relieve ourselves. And if we were to break our word given”
“to our invincible monarch, we could not but expect punish-”
“ment at the threatening hands of the savages. Meanwhile,”
“sir, we engage ourselves to be with the same fidelity that”
“we have been until now, and we shall exercise no act of”
“hostility against any right of his majesty as long as we shall”
“be on the land, within his dominions. You reproach us,”
“sir, in the proclamation, for having remained on our proper-”
“ties beyond the year stipulated in the articles of peace. We”
“have the honor to reply to you, that it has been impossible”
“for us to remove for several reasons, since having leave to”
“sell our real estate it has been impracticable to do so, no”
“purchasers being to be found to the present time, whereby”
“the privileges so granted to us have been useless. Besides”
“it was granted us by a letter of the late queen Anne, of”
“happy memory, that our properties should be valued by”
“commissioners, and the amount paid to us, as was practised”
“at the evacuation of Placentia and other places ceded to the”
“queen by the king of France.”

Philipps had an interview with the chief of the Indians of Annapolis river. The Indian chief asked him :

1. If the French were to leave the country.
2. If the two crowns were in alliance.
3. Whether the governor intended to debar them (the Indians) of their religion, or disturb them in their traffic.

He says he replied suitably, and that the chief and his suite departed in good humor. He further says that on a full consideration of these affairs in council, it was agreed “that”
“whereas my instructions direct me with the effect of the”
“proclamation, and that I have neither order or sufficient”
“power to drive these people out, nor prevent their doing”
“what damage they please to their houses and possessions,”
“and likewise for the sake of gaineing time and keeping all”
“things quiet till I shall have the honour of your further”
“commands in what manner to act. That it is most for his”
“majesty’s service to send home the deputys with smooth”

“ words and promise of enlargement of time, whilst I trans- ”
“ mit their case home, and receive his majesty’s further ”
“ directions thereon.” He says : “ It is a hard and uneasy ”
“ task in my circumstances to manage a people that will ”
“ neither believe nor hearken to reason, unless it comes out ”
“ of the mouths of their priests, and at the same time to keep ”
“ up the honour and dignity of government.” He thinks that
in peace they may remain quiet, but in case of war, will be
“ Enemyes in our Bosom.” Sees no hopes of ‘ making them ’
‘ English,’ unless by the recal of the priests there, “ who are ”
“ tooth and nayle against the Regent, not sticking to say ”
“ openly ‘ that ’tis his day now, but will be theirs anon.’ ”——
“ Like care must be taken to prevent the governor of Cape ”
“ Breton’s carrying on his secret correspondence with them ”
“ and our Indians, to whom he yearly makes presents to ”
“ secure them in the French interests.” He suggests bringing
200 Mohock Indians from New York, and keeping them in
service to keep the Indians here in awe. He expects the
French, if ‘ retireing,’ will cut the dykes at Minas, and destroy
the lands. States that the garrison are furnished with plenty
of fresh provisions from the farmers, whose absence would
have to be supplied. Has invited people to come from Pla-
centia.——While he writes, a submission has come in from
the inhabitants of the river, who express a willingness to do
every thing as subjects, “ except that of taking up arms ”
“ against the king of France,” on which he suggests a special
“ oath to be formed for them to take, where they should ”
“ oblige themselves to take up arms against the Indians, if ”
“ required ; to live quietly and peaceably in their houses ; not ”
“ to harbor or give any manner of assistance to the king’s ”
“ enemies ; to acknowledge his majesty’s rights to their ”
“ countreys ; to pay obedience to his government, and to ”
“ hold their lands of the king by a new tenure, instead of ”
“ holding them as at present, from lords of manors, who are ”
“ now at Cape Breton, where at this day they pay their rent.”
He also says : “ My voyage from Boston hither has fully ”
“ confirmed that this country will never be of any con- ”
“ sequence in trade until the seat of government be removed ”

“to the Eastern coast, either at Port Rosway” (Razoir, now Shelburne) “or LaHave, for this is so much an out-of-the-”
“way place, and navigation so dangerous, that not one ship”
“in one thousand yeares will ever come here that is not sent”
“with stores for the garrison, or some other express.”

Governor Philipps wrote in very polite terms to the marquis de Vaudreuil, 3 June, 1720. Notified him of his appointment and of his readiness to join him in naming commissioners to settle the boundaries of the two governments. 21 July, The lords of Trade and Plantations write to the governor. They mention sending him a land surveyor, granting him a sloop,—giving presents to the Indians. They conceive the lands between the Kennebec and the St. Croix not to be within his government. He is not to confirm grants in Nova Scotia, but to refer them home. In July, general Philipps writes again to the secretary of State. He says the French inhabitants seem yet undetermined,—that the French governors are seeking to influence them against him,—that the priests have assembled at Mines, and are going and coming from Cape Breton,—that the French are told the promise of freedom of religion is a chimera, and they will be treated like the Irish, and denied their priests. If the lands were vacated, people might be drawn from New England, but the loss there could not be justified by the gain here. He refers to a claim under convention with general Nicholson, leaving it for decision in England. He regrets he has not yet received the presents for the Indians, but proposes to assemble the chiefs.——The French have been told, in letters from officers in Cape Breton, that they may apply to him “for forme sake” only, but do as they like. Mentions an illicit trade from Minas and Chignecto with Cape Breton, which they supply with corn and cattle, receiving French woollens and linens. Wishes leave to hire and arm a sloop with some of his soldiers, to visit those settlements and keep them in order. It would only cost £400 a year. Wishes one hundred men added to his garrison.——The New England vessels catch 80 to 100,000 quintals fish on our coasts annually, which they ship to Portugal, the Mediterranean and the West Indies. They send four or five sloops,

and carry off furs, paying chiefly in West India goods and New England provisions, to the value of £9,000 or £10,000 per annum, and pay no duties, but make 400 or 500 per cent. on their imports. They take away coals from the upper part of the bay, without paying duty, or even asking permission. At this time (July, 1720) a proclamation for cessation of arms between Great Britain and Spaine, having been received by the governor, was translated into French, and published at Annapolis.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLII.

(1.)

28 April, 1720. General Philipps' order to Mr. Blin, merchant of Boston :—

Je vous donne pouvoir et direction afin de prendre toutes les mesures propres pour signifier aux Srs. Félix et Vincent, de sommer selon que vous jugerez à propos, les habitans des Mines, de Chignectou, et places adjacentes ; et les dits habitans étant assemblés, vous délivrerez les paquets dont vous êtes chargé, afin que les papiers qui sont contenus dans ces paquets soient lus publiquement ; et vous vous servirez de tous les moyens que vous jugerez les plus propres pour donner une parfaite connaissance des choses contenues dans la proclamation, et autres papiers dont vous êtes chargé, afin que personne n'en prétende cause d'ignorance. Donné à Annapolis Royale, &c.

(Signé)

PHILIPPS.

I give you power and directions, in order to take all proper measures to signify to messrs. Felix and Vincent, to summon, as you think fit, the inhabitants of Mines, Chignectou, and the places adjacent ; and the said inhabitants being assembled, you will deliver the packets with which you are entrusted, in order that the papers they contain may be publicly read ; and you will use all means you shall judge to be most proper to afford a perfect acquaintance of the things contained in the proclamation and other papers in your charge, in order that no one may pretend ignorance thereof. Given at Annapolis Royal, &c.

(Signed)

PHILIPPS.

(2.)

To the reverend father Justinien Durand.

" I hereby order you to read to-morrow to your congregation when att the "
 " fullest, the inclosed order directed to the inhabitants, and after you have read "
 " it, to affix it to the Chappell door, that none may pretend cause of Ignorance "

“ of the same, and if you have anything to offer on your part, I shall be glad to ”
 “ grant any reasonable demands you can make me, as farr as I shall be authori- ”
 “ sed by his Majesty’s instructions. I am, Reverend Father, yo’r. most hum- ”
 “ ble servt.,

R. PHILIPPS.

“ Annapolis Royal, April 30th, 1720, n. s.”

(3.)

On the 9 May, 1720, Gyles Hall is appointed a Justice of the Peace at Canso. 25 May, 1720, A commission of the peace is sent to Thomas Richards, Esq., at Canso, with a letter from the secretary similar to that sent to Gyles Hall, Esq.

(4.)

In Council, 11 May, 1720. Ordered and agreed, That it is for H. M. service that means be found out to send to Lahave for monsieur Patipaw, (Petipas), with all expedition, who, ’tis thought, may be of great use and service to this government in the present circumstances of affairs ; and that Mr. John Broadstreet, a volunteer in this garrison, is thought the most proper person to send on that expedition.

(5.)

From Mascarene’s letter to Shirley, in April, 1748.

“ Governor Philipps having formed the council,—issued a proclamation, summoning the French inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance on the same terms offered them as before, though the time prescribed had so long ago been elapsed. But these inhabitants in general still refused it, alledging, that they had been detained contrary to their desire, which indeed was partly true, as General Nicholson had declared they should not depart in vessels being built on English ground, or English bottoms, and that it belonged to the French to come and fetch them in their own. Governor Philips wrote home for fresh instructions how to act in this emergency, applying for more forces to prevent the French inhabitants from going away in a tumultuous or disorderly manner, or for bringing them into a due subjection ; for which he desired, if I remember right, two regiments, besides the four companies of his own, then at Annapolis Royal, with proportionable shipping to transport these troops as occasion should require, and this in a time of profound peace, and when these inhabitants were not above a third of the number they are now increased to. In answer, he was directed not to use any violent measures, but to endeavour to keep the people easy till, at a proper time, it might be resolved how to proceed in this case.”

“ The Governor went home in 1722, and things remained in this situation, under the administration of Mr. Doucett, lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal, and President for the time being over the Province, till Mr. Armstrong, having been made lieutenant governor over the whole Province, returned in 1725, and found means to bring the inhabitants to take the oath to the government ; but on governor Philipps returning some years after, these inhabitants complaining that this oath had been extorted by undue means, his Excellency brought them at last to take it willingly, and the same was tendered, and taken, in general, by all the

men of competent age, in all the settlements of this Province : the tenor of this oath is inserted in the papers inclosed. The word *true* being interpreted *fidele*, has made it to be called the oath of fidelity."

"The French inhabitants intended to have a clause, not to be obliged to take up arms against the French, which, though not inserted, they have always stood was promised to them ; and I have heard it owned by those who were at Minas when the oath was administered at that place, that such a promise was given.—— Their plea with the French, who pressed them to take up arms, was their oath, their living easy under the government, and their having no complaint to make against it."

"To keep up some form of government among the French inhabitants, governor Philips ordered them to choose a certain number amongst them, under the name of deputies, to act in behalf of the people, in publishing his orders, and making applications when their occasions should require ; which was accordingly obeyed. This river, divided into eight districts or hamlets, has eight deputies ; the other settlements, mostly, four each ; in all I reckon twenty-four. They are every year newly chosen on the tenth of October, the anniversary of the king's coronation, and of the taking of this fort. They are invested with no judiciary power, but are appointed often as arbitrators in small cases, where, if any of the parties are not satisfied, appeal is made to the governor or commander-in-chief, and council."

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE governor and council at Annapolis sent a vessel over to St. John to bring the Indian chiefs of that place. Nine of them came across in the vessel ; and having been entertained and addressed, and presents made to them, they made an answer, put in writing by their interpreter. This was laid before the council by his Excellency, 26 July, and a reply prepared in the governor's name, by a committee, viz., lieutenant governor Doucett, majors Armstrong and Mascarene, and Mr. John Adams. The following are extracts from this document, which is written in French in the mss. book of the government :

" My children." " I assure you, that if any of those who " " are under my command do any injustice or insult to any of " " you, I will punish them severely, and I expect you will do " " the same on your part.——As regards the French inhabitants, as long as they shall comport themselves with " " fidelity towards king George and shall become his subjects, " " they shall enjoy their own religion and their possessions, " " and shall have the same privileges as the natural subjects " " of the king, and by this means they will render themselves " " entirely happy. But if they refuse their allegiance to the " " king, and continue, by their false and odious representations " " of the English, to alienate the affections and the duty of " " the good savages of the crown of Great Britain, the king " " will not permit them to reside much longer in this country. " "——" I hope that you are satisfied with your reception. " " Make known to your neighbors of Passamaquoddi that I "

"shall be glad to see two or three of their chiefs here, for, &c."
"I am sorry I have not better presents to make you just"
"now, but I expect by the next large ship the king's pre-"
"sents for you and for the rest of the savages, &c."

"The vessel is ready to take you back, and the tide is"
"about to serve soon. I have ordered provisions to be put"
"on board for you, with some wine and brandy. I wish you"
"a good voyage."

R. PHILIPPS.

Annapolis Royal, 27 Juillet, 1720.

29 July, 1720, the governor wrote to the inhabitants of Annapolis river, granting their request to have a missionary among them, "provided he be a man of peace, good life and" "probity, and does not meddle with any business, except the" "affairs of religion appertaining to his ministry." He refers to the wilful desertion of père Justinien.

It seems that in 1718, the British man-of-war Squirrel, capt. Smart, had made an attack on some French at Canso, and seized, among others, some of the chief officers of cape Breton. These, it was said, incited the Indians to revenge their losses, and on the 7-18 August, 1720, a party of Eastern Indians attacked the English at Canso, whither the New England people resorted in summer to carry on the fishery. The Indians surprised the English in their beds, and stripped them of every thing, telling them they came to carry away what they could find upon their own land. Three or four of the English were killed. Some of the French of cape Breton were in their confederacy, and came with their vessels the next night and carried off the plunder, together with about two thousand quintals of fish. The English vessels in the harbor were not attempted. A sloop happening to arrive the next day, the master offered his service to go out and make reprisals, and being furnished with a number of men, and two or three small vessels for his consorts;—for want of more ample authority, he took a commission from one Thomas Richards, a Canso justice, and went after the French, and soon brought in six or seven small fishing vessels, having all

more or less of the English property on board. It appears by the letters of governor Philipps to the secretary of State, that on the 7-18 August, 1720, the Indians surprized the fishermen at Canso in the dead of night, and drove them off their stages into their boats. Their fish and merchandize were left to the pillage of the French, who lay ready for that end. Mascarene says the Indians took the goods and the French took the fish. This, the Indians stated, was done in reprisal for what was taken from the French by captain Smart. The fishermen held a council the next morning, and concluded to send a sloop (with Henshaw) to cape Breton, to seek for redress, but not finding it to their satisfaction, they sent to governor Philipps in a vessel for relief. The governor supplied and despatched him with arms, ammunition and provisions, and would have given him an officer with a detachment of the garrison; but Henshaw thought there would be no occasion.

Mr. Henshaw, of Boston, a principal merchant of Canso, went to Louisbourg with a complaint to the French governor, who excused himself from intermeddling, the Indians not being French subjects, nor under his control. The French prisoners were sent to Annapolis Royal. The loss sustained by the English was estimated at £20,000 currency. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 240.]—About this time, the Indians in the Eastern parts of Massachusetts killed the cattle of the settlers and alarmed the people with their threats. Father Ralle (or Rasle) at Norridgewock, was supposed to have incited them to this conduct. [*Ibidem.*] On the 24 Augt, (4 Sept., n. s.,) Michael Richards, *alias* le Fund, Prudent Robichaux, junior, and Chas. Boudroit, who brought the news of the disaster at Canso, were examined on oath before the council. "In council, 27 Augt.. (7 Sept., " n. s.,) Jeanice Souhare, Martin de Molue, belonging to captain Philibert d'Habilene, commander of a French ship at " Nirichau (Arichat?) Jannice de Coudes, (Candos), belonging to Nicholas Petitpas, fishing at petit de Gratz, Martin " Dixipase, (Dixipare), belonging to Martin de la Borde, " fishing at petit de Gratz, François Pitrel, belonging to " John Harenbourg, fishing at the said place, five French " prisoners, who were taken a robbing the English at Cansoe,"

"were sent for in before the board and examined. They all "
"declared they were commanded by their masters to do what "
"they did." [*Council records.*] The prisoners were brought
to Annapolis by captain John Henshaw, of Cansoe, who, on
29 August, o. s., was made a justice of peace and captain of
militia at that place.

Letter of governor Philipps to M. St. Ovide, 10 Augt., 1720,
(in French) :

"Sir." "The bearers of this go with my permission and "
"my passport to cape Breton, to seek a priest, in place of "
"the one who has quitted them ; and I take the opportunity "
"at the same time of answering that which you wrote me "
"from port Tholouse," (St. Peter's), "of the 7th of last month. "
"It appears to me from some passages in your letter, that "
"you take the proclamation, which I published on my arrival "
"here to the inhabitants of this province, for a pure act of "
"my will, without the knowledge of the king, my master. "
"If this is your thought, I can assure you that you are "
"deceived, and that I know my duty too well to make use of "
"his majesty's name, without having his authority for it as "
"my warrant ; and you may reckon that each article of this "
"proclamation is in conformity with and contained in my "
"instructions, So I am entirely easy upon this head, having "
"nothing to apprehend in all that takes place on this subject, "
"but for my having enlarged the time beyond what my "
"orders empowered me to do. As to what regards the pro-
"ceeding of the king in their case, it is sufficiently justified "
"by the articles of the treaty of Utrecht. It is not denied "
"that queen Anne granted to these inhabitants, as well as to "
"those of Placentia, the liberty of which you make mention, "
"whereof the one profited in retiring within the limited time, "
"but of which the others have (with justice) lost the advan-
"tage by their negligence or presumption. Your commis-
"sioners, even, who came here in the time of general Nichol-
"son, agreed that there was but one year's grace, and only "
"disputed whether its commencement was to be reckoned "
"from the date of the said treaty, or from the time when the "

"inhabitants were assembled here to be instructed as to this"
"favor. Since that time they have not been hindered from"
"withdrawing. Many of them went from here, and sold their"
"possessions, according to the queen's intention. But you"
"must admit that there is a great difference of time between"
"one and seven years, that they have remained in his majes-"
"ty's dominions, in the full enjoyment of their property,"
"until they have begun to think that they have more right"
"than his majesty himself. So you ought not to be surprized"
"if his majesty at this time thinks fit, for the safety of his"
"dominions, to summon them in this manner, requiring"
"allegiance of them, if they continue in this country, on con-"
"ditions the most advantageous they could possibly expect"
"or wish for, or to go out of this country, without having any"
"regard to them."

He then demands justice in the case of one Maurice Vigneau, who took up on credit £6. 9s. 6d., and went off fishing, but withdrew to cape Breton, without paying his creditors. He refers to the alliance of the two crowns, and says his orders are to cultivate friendship with the French government.

Mr. John Broadstreet, a young gentleman volunteer, who had been sent to Mines to prevent the trade in cattle they carried on with Louisbourg, and whom the governor had recommended for an ensigncy, returned early in September to Annapolis, with information that Mr. John Alden had been robbed of his goods at Mines by a party of Indians, eleven in all, of whom five were small boys, in the presence of the inhabitants who were lookers on, and appeared to consent to the deed. The governor, on this, wrote to the four deputies of Mines, expressing his surprize and indignation. He tells them that it is ridiculous for them to allege fear of a handful of savages. He requires them to call the Indians to account for this affair, and afterwards to come to him and report in person on it. It appeared that the order in council respecting grain, requiring it to be brought to Annapolis, had created discontent among the masters of vessels; and the governor having no funds for carrying on the magazine for grain, the

regulation seems to have been abandoned. An order passed to regulate parties for hunting across the bay of Fundy. Chiefs of parties or gangs were to give the governor security to carry away no passengers or effects, nor more provisions than would serve them for the trip, nor to outstay the time limited in their pass. (Mr. Arthur Savage was, in May, 1729, appointed marshal of the court of vice admiralty in Rhode Island, probably the same who was member of council, naval officer and secretary at Annapolis, N. S., in 1720. See *Rhode Island documents*.)

At this time the French inhabitants persisted in refusing to take the oath of allegiance, looking upon themselves as the indispensable liege subjects of France by the engagements they had laid themselves under, and from which their priests told them they could not be absolved.—They went on building and improving, seeming to have no thoughts of going away. They acted on a contempt of the garrison—on a reliance upon their own numbers and Indian aid. The governor and council at Annapolis Royal recommended that 600 additional soldiers should be sent out—that 200 men should be employed to fortify Canso, and 100 of them left there as a garrison, and that 400 should be sent to fortify Mines, part of whom should be thereafter detached to Chignecto. They state that the French sent out four ships this summer, two of which arrived at the island of St. John, where the French intend to settle and build a fort. They recommend permanent garrisons at Mines and Chignecto, of 150 men at each place. That 200 men should be sent to form a settlement on the East coast, at Port Razoir, Lahève, Marligash, or Chebucto. That the troops should leave Great Britain in March; and they further propose that a ship of war and two sloops of 50 tons each be employed on the station. [*Letters of 27 Sept., 1720.*] Governor Philipps sent his major, Armstrong, along with Mr. Henshaw, with copies of the examinations of the five French prisoners to cape Breton, there to demand satisfaction and restitution for the fish and goods taken, and the three British subjects killed at Canso.

In October, some charge of indiscreet language, reflecting on

governor Philipps' administration, was brought by the governor before the council against Mr. William Winniett, who was arrested in consequence ; but on his subsequently writing a "letter of submission," the proceedings against him were abandoned. At this time, governor Philipps says of the Indians, "I have taken particular care to treat them in the "civillest manner that any governor yet has done. There "has scarce past a week since I am here but some of them "have been with me, whome I have never failed to assure of "his majesty's good will and protection, and required them "to acquaint all their nation therewith, and that I expected "considerable presents for them from the king in token of "his affection. At the same time, I never dismissed them "without presents, (which they always expect), for which I "am out of pocket about a hundred and fifty pounds. But I "am convinced that a hundred thousand will not buy them "from the French interest while the priests are among them, "who, having got in with them by the way of religion, and "brought them to regular confession twice a-year, they "assemble punctually at those times, and receive their abso- "lution conditionally that they be alwayes enemyes to the "English." He had, by the advice of the council, "sent for "the chiefs of the St. John river Indians," (Malicites), "who "came accordingly." He says : "In my humble opinion, "the man-of-war upon the station of New England should "have attended the ffishery at Cansoe in the season, accord- "ing to the orders that were sent upon my application, when "at London ; but why shee has layne all this summer in "Boston harbour I can't guess, unless she has waited for the "reliefe that is said to be coming. It is certaine that had "she been at Cansoe, that loss to the king's subjects had not "happened.—Some of the Indian robbers who returned "from Cansoe to Manis, to the number of eleven, finding a "New England trading sloop there belonging to Mr. John "Alden, and being flushed with their former success and "applauded by the priests, they plunder'd her also, at the "very doors of the inhabitants, who lookt on without restrain- "ing those wretches, under the sham pretence of being afraid'

“ of provoking them.—This has been, hitherto, no more ”
“ than a mock government, its authority having never yet ”
“ extended beyond cannon reach of this ffort.” He sends home a census of the population and description of the settlements. He says : “ It would be more for the honour of the ”
“ crowne, (I speake it with humble submission), and proffit ”
“ also, to give back the country to the ffrench, than be con- ”
“ tented with the name only of government, and the charge ”
“ that attends it, whilst they bare the rule and make it sub- ”
“ servient to the support of their settlement at cape Breton, ”
“ which could ill subsist without the graine and the cattle ”
“ they fetch from Manis.”

This autumn, at the request of the persons engaged in the fishery at Canso, the government sent a detachment of a company of soldiers there, under command of major Armstrong. They were to take possession of the small fort which the fishermen were erecting, and defend the place till spring, when the people would return to fish. Armstrong was empowered to allot the ground and beaches for fishery, gardens, &c. Lieutenant Jephson and his children were sent with them. They were sent part in the sloop from Canso, and the rest in a schooner. The detachment sent in the sloop were shipwrecked, and saved on Grand Manan, and afterwards taken off in captain Boudre's sloop, and got to Canso.

The trade of Annapolis Royal at this time was carried on by four or five sloops from Boston, who commonly made three voyages in the season, bringing some woollen manufactures of Great Britain, but mostly West Indian products. These they exchanged for furs and feathers, to the value of £10,000 yearly, without paying duties outward or inward. The collector was a diligent officer, but his salary was small, and he had not a shallop at his command, or any allowance for extraordinary disbursements. The expence of fortifications required was estimated at £3000. [*Philips to sec'y. of State, 24 Nov., 1720.*] The governor thought two regiments not too many “ for the defence of a frontier country, larger in extent than ” “ New England and New York together,” when also the inhabitants and the Indians are hostile.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLIII.

(1.)

Mr. Broadstreet was sent to Mines as deputy collector and preventive officer, to observe the trade and correspondence the people there carried on with Cape Breton. The inhabitants told him that he could not be protected there, and therefore it was necessary, for his safety, to return. He requested a guide to conduct him back to Annapolis through the woods, writing to the deputy to that effect, but not able to obtain one, he ventured alone.

(2.)

"I am upon as good terms with these last" (the Indians) "as it is possible" "for an English governor to be, excepting a few Banditti without a head, who" "inhabit about Minas and Chignecto, and have been the actors in the late mis-" "chiefs; but they and their actors have been disowned and disapproved by the" "rest. Yet, the rest among them will promiss to live peaceable with us, but" "conditionally, while the alllyance subsists between the two crownes."

[*Letter of Gov. Philipps.*]

(3.)

The lords of Trade write to governor Philipps, 28 Dec'r., 1720 :—

They had fully represented to the late lords Justices the substance of his former letters. They have recommended additional troops to be sent to Nova Scotia, and that a man-of-war should be allowed to attend the colony, or that the governor should be allowed to hire a sloop for defense, and to prevent illicit trade; on all which his majesty's directions would be given. The details he has written of the affairs of his government are very acceptable, and he is recommended to continue to give particulars by each opportunity "with regard to the" "province itself, and its neighbours, whether foreigners, Indians, or H. M." "subjects."

As the French inhabitants seem likely never to become good subjects while the French governors and their priests retain so great an influence over them, "for which reason, we are of opinion, they ought to be removed as soon as the" "Forces which we have proposed to be sent to you shall arrive in Nova Scotia" "for the protection and settlement of your province; but you are not to attempt" "their removal without his majesty's positive orders for that purpose. You" "will do well in the meanwhile to continue the same prudent and cautious con-" "duct towards them, to endeavor to undeceive them concerning the exercise of" "their religion, which will doubtless be allowed them, if it should be thought" "proper to let them stay where they are.—The presents for the Indians," "we hear, have been ordered some while since, of which your agent will give" "you the necessary advices." They thank him for his statement of the trade of the Province; but say, that it cannot be put right until the forces are sent out, when they will do all they can to prevent illegal traffic.

(4.)

Governor Philipps, referring to the French settlements, says :—" *By which* " "*the English colonies will be environed from Mississippi to Cape Breton.*"

(5.)

The count St. Pierre, premier ecuyer de madame la duchesse d'Orleans, was at the head of a company formed in 1719 to settle the island of St. John, (now Prince Edward Island), and obtained a grant, dated in August, 1719, of the islands of St. John and Miscou, in franc aleu noble, without judicial powers, which the king reserved to himself, subject to faith and homage to the French crown at the chateau of Louysbourg, without rent, for the establishment of a shore fishery of codfish ; and in January, 1720, he obtained a similar grant of the Magdalen islands. [4 *Charlevoix*, 148.]

On receiving these grants, the count entered into a treaty of association with M. M. Farges and Moras. St. Pierre reserved to himself the seigneurie, as far as its honors are concerned ; also 1000 arpens of land in St. John island, and as many in the island of Miscou, with the right to build a tower or castle there as a mark of seigneurie. The remaining property under the grants was to be considered as divided into 24 equal parts ; of which, 3 were to belong to the count, 12 to de Farges, and 6 to de Moras, and their advances and interest in the company to be in the same proportions. This partnership was to continue for 29 years, beginning 1 January, 1720, at the end of which time, if the partners or their heirs did not renew it, a division of property should take place, comprising the islands, rents, lands and houses, (not deeded to settlers.) St. Pierre to take 1-4, Farges 1-2, and Moras 1-4. In October, 1722, the count found he could no longer contribute his quota of funds to the company, and Farges and Moras undertook to go on without his help ; but on this account, the Count reduced his interests thus : Of the 24 equal parts, he was to have but 4 clear, de Farges 13 1-3, and Moras 6 2-3. The count and his partners expended over 1,200,000 livres. In 1727, the king revoked the exclusive privileges of fishery given over the islands in these two grants. In 1730 the king re-united to his domain the islands he had granted to the count. M. de Crèveccour, son of St. Pierre, petitioned the count de Maurepas for compensation under these circumstances. [*Paris mss.*]

(6.)

Alden stated afterwards in council, that he could not say any of the French had induced the Indians to rob him, nor had they assisted therein, although they had bought the goods from the robbers at low prices, and that they apparently spoke in his favor ; but he believed if they had given the least active assistance, the pillage would have been prevented.

(7.)

Letter from St. Ovide and Demery to Gov. Philipps, from Louisbourg, 27 September, 1720.

Monsieur. Nous avons reçu par Mr. Armistron, (Armstrong), major de votre regiment, la lettre que vous avez fait l'honneur de nous écrire au sujet du traitement qu'ont commis les sauvages aux Anglais à Camceaux. Il nous paraît

que les capitaines Anglais qui vinrent ici apporter les premières nouvelles. vous ont rendu un compte peu juste de l'attention que nous fîmes à leurs plaintes ; nous ne croyons pas pouvoir en donner une meilleure preuve que les assurances que nous leur donnâmes que nous allions dépêcher, comme il a été fait, des officiers avec un détachement pour se rendre sur les lieux, afin de dissiper et chasser, autant qu'il serait en leur pouvoir les sauvages, et même de leur faire rendre ce qu'ils avoient pillé ; que s'il se trouvait des François mêlés dans cette affaire, de les saisir afin de les faire punir et faire rendre tout ce qu'ils avoient pris sur les dits Anglais ; qu'aurions nous pu faire de plus, monsieur, si les sauvages avoient commis cette action envers les sujets du Roi Très Christian notre maître ? A l'égard des François pris par les Anglois, en enlevant leurs morues, et dont il y en a quelques-uns que vous détenez au Port Royal comme prisonniers, la déclaration que vous leur avez fait faire doit paroître un peu suspecte, car quand il serait vrai, ce que nous savons positivement qu'il n'est point, qu'il y eût eu quelques François assez mal intentionnés pour induire les sauvages à commettre une si mauvaise action, ce secret n'auroit jamais été confié à des simples matelots-pêcheurs, à qui l'on fait toujours dire ce que l'on veut ; au surplus par l'examen particulier qui sera fait de cette affaire, et qui sera envoyé à la cour, s'il est vérifié que les François avaient en part, nous sommes persuadés que la couronne de France rendra à cette d'Angleterre la justice qu'elle pourra souhaiter.

Vous nous marquez, monsieur, qu'il vous a été rapporté par deux sauvages, que l'on avoit parlé de cette affaire en ce port trois mois devant qu'elle eut été exécutée, et que c'était M. de St. Ovide qui faisait agir les Sauvages. Ce soupçon mal fondé fait peu d'impression à M. de St. Ovide, et ne peut entrer que dans des esprits aussi barbares que ceux des Sauvages : même en vérité, il est surpris avec raison que vous ayez pu faire mention dans votre lettre d'une idée aussi peu convenable au caractère qu'il remplit ici ; au reste, s'il est vrai que ces bruits qui ne sont pas venues jusqu'à nous aient couru, il se peut faire qu'ils n'aient point en d'autre cause, que la grande union et liaison que les Sauvages ont avec les peuples de l'Acadie, qui se sont trouvés allarmés (des ordres) pressants que vous leur avez donnés.

Nous aurions dû nous attendre que vous auriez remis à M. Amstron, porteur de vos ordres les 5 François que vous détenez au Port Royal ; puisque vous deviez être persuadé que la Cour de France rendrait sur cela une justice exacte, ainsi, monsieur, nous vous prions de vouloir bien vous la renvoyer, exécutant de notre côté tout ce que les sujets du Roi d'Angleterre nous ont demandé.

Au surplus, par la justice prompte que nous rendons à ce sujet, et les ordres qui ont été donnés à M. de Pensens, qui a été envoyé sur les lieux à cet effet, et dont M. Armstron est porteur, vous verrez et vous devrez être convaincu, Monsieur, de l'attachement que nous avons à conserver la paix et l'union qui est entre les deux Couronnes et entretenir avec vous en particulier l'aimable correspondance qui nous est ordonnée.

A l'égard des missionnaires, qui ont pu faire quelques mouvements, ils ne doivent vous donner aucun ombrage, n'ayant d'autre objet que les affaires de la religion, et les comptes qu'ils sont obligés de rendre à leurs supérieurs dont nous ne sommes point ignorants.

Nous vous sommes bien obligés, monsieur, pour l'attention que vous avez bien voulu avoir de nous envoyer monsieur Armstron, major de votre regiment pour

traiter cette affaire ; vous ne pouvez pas le mettre entre les mains d'un officier plus prudent et plus capable.

Nous avons l'honneur d'être très parfaitement, monsieur, vos très humbles et très obéissants serviteurs,

ST. OVIDE DE BROUILLAN.

DEMERY.

A Louisbourg, ce 27 September, 1720.

Sir. We received by Mr. Armstrong, major of your regiment, the letter you did us the honor to write on the subject of the ill-treatment the English at Canceaux received from the Indians. It appears to us that the English captains who came here first with the news, have not done justice in what they told you of the attention we paid to their complaints. We do not think we can give a better proof of it than the assurances we gave them that we were about to dispatch (as we did) officers with a detachment to the spot, to disperse and drive off the Indians, as far as they could be able, and also to compel them to surrender their plunder ; and if any French were found to have meddled in the affair, to seize them, that they might be punished, and made to give up whatever they might have taken from the English. What more could we have done, sir, if the Indians had committed this offence against the subjects of the most Christian king, our master ?

As regards the Frenchmen taken by the English while carrying off their cod-fish, (some of whom you detain prisoners at Port Royal), the declaration you have obtained from them seems open to suspicion ; for even if it were true (which we positively know it is not) that there had been some Frenchmen evil disposed enough to induce the Indians to commit so bad an action, this secret would never have been confided to simple sailor fishermen, who can be always made say whatever is desired. A close inquiry will be made into this business, and the particulars reported to our court ; and if it is clear that Frenchmen have been concerned, the French crown will render full justice to the British.

You observe, sir, that you have been told by two Indians that this affair was spoken of here three months before it was put in execution, and that it was M. St. Ovide who caused the Indians to act. A suspicion so ill founded makes little impression on M. de St. Ovide, and cannot enter minds which are not as barbarian as those of the Indians. In truth he is, with reason, surprized that you have noticed in your letter an idea so little suitable to the character he sustains here. Besides, if it is true that these reports (which we have not heard of) have reached you, it may be that they had no other cause than the great union and connection which subsists between the Indians and the people of Acadie, who are alarmed at the urgent orders you have issued concerning them.

We should have expected that with M. Armstrong the bearer of your orders you would have sent us the five Frenchmen you detained at Port Royal, as you ought to be persuaded that the court of France would perform exactly what justice dictates in this business ; so we pray you, sir, to have the goodness to send them back to us, we being ready to comply with all the requests made by the subjects of the king of England. Besides, by the prompt justice we have done on this subject, and the orders given to M. de Pensens, who was sent to the spot for the purpose, and of which Mr. Armstrong has a copy with him, you will see, and you ought to be convinced, sir, of the attachment that we have to preserve

peace and union between the two crowns, and to keep up a kindly intercourse with you, as we are directed to do.

As to the movements of the missionaries, you should not take offence, as they are connected with religious matters alone, and the reports they are bound to make to their superiors, as we are well aware.

We, sir, are much obliged for your attention in sending Mr. Armstrong, major of your regiment, to treat on this business. You could not place it in the hands of a more prudent and capable officer.

We have the honor to be,

Very perfectly, sir,

Your very humble and

Most obedient servants,

ST. OVIDE DE BROUILLAN.

DEMERY.

Louisbourg, 27 September, 1720.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1721. Major Armstrong applied for and obtained six months leave of absence, on the ground of ill health, to go to Great Britain. Governor Philipps stated to the secretary at war that Armstrong had "never mentioned one word of this to" "me, nor am I sensible of any sickness he has had since he" "left England, unless the toothache be called so." Says he has never yet had officers enough to compose a general court martial; deprecates the leave granted as an infringement of his authority, and requests it may be recalled. He writes to Mr. Popple, secretary of the Board of Trade, that the French had been urging the Indians to make war, but as the French could not openly join them, the Indians refused to act. They were told that the young king of France was crowned—the Regent out of power, and the peace between the two crowns about dissolving. He says: "I humbly conceive their lord—" "ships may be under some mistake in settling the western" "bounds of this province at the river St. Croix, whereas cap—" "tain Southack's mapp layes it down at Kennebec river;" "and the late governor Subercase held the government in" "that extent, as appears by the preamble to all the passports." "It seems more likely that that river, or the next to it," "Penobscot, were designed for the bounds of this province," "in regard they run quite through the country, whereas" "St. Croix has its rise not far from the coast."

The inhabitants of Mines sent Philip Melanson and Antoine Landrie to Annapolis, with letters on the subject of the pillage of Alden's vessel. Their conduct was deemed evasive, and

written statements were sent them by Mr. William Winniett, in March, 1720-1, demanding full restitution, and requiring that their deputies, and their priest, father Felix, should wait on his Excellency with a full submission in writing.

Mr. Armstrong, who commanded the detachment at Canso, feeling some apprehensions of an attack by the Indians, who had assembled at Artigonish, sent the sloop Charlemont, commanded by Mr. Peter Boudre, express to Annapolis, requesting stores of war, &c. Governor Philipps replies 4 April, 1721. He concludes the meeting of the Indians "to be no more" "than usual about the time of their Pasque or Easter, tho' it" "is not unlikely but that they make use of that opportunity" "for contriving of mischief." He sends him stores, but tells him not to commence any work of fortification until further directions come from England, "so that you must content" "yourself with that ffort which the fishery have erected at" "their cost, which I hear is very defenceable; and in case it" "wants any strengthening or necessary conveniencys, there" "is no doubt but those people will be easily perswaded to do" "it, since it will be for their defence." He directs him to get an account of the arms, powder and ball, lent them out of the Annapolis magazine in their necessity, "for militia are alwayes" "obliged to defend their own propertys at their owne expence." He mentions five months provisions. New rate for each man per week: Bread, 7 lb.; beef, 7 lb., or pork, 4 lb.; pease, 3 pints; butter, 6 oz., or cheese, 1 lb.; flour, 1 lb., or rice, 1 1-2 lb. "I have no bread but what I bake from hand to mouth," "but I have sent you your due proportion in flower; and as" "you have a very good Baker in the comp^a, and oven in" "the place, you can make as good shift as we." Philipps says he expects to be at Canso in six weeks, by a man-of-war, capt. Durell, daily expected to call for him. (An admiral Durell died at Halifax, N. S., in 1766.) He thinks he shall bring with him a sloop, now building at Boston, for the service of this province. (This was the sloop William Augustus, launched in July, 1721, arrived at Annapolis in August, 1721.) He thinks of bringing one or two companies from Placentia to reinforce Canso.

The inhabitants of the river Annapolis and its environs petitioned the government for permission to sow their lands, and surety that they might gather the produce, or else to have liberty to withdraw to Isle Royale. The governor told them that he had referred the question to England for decision, and recommended to await the reply, assuring them that nothing but the most positive orders of the Crown would induce him to disturb them in their possessions, unless they should rebel or disobey authority.

12 April, 1721, on the representation of Charles Robicheau, deputy of Cobequid, the number of deputies from that district was increased from one to four, (one only being required to attend on the governor.) At the same time the number of deputies from Mines was increased from three to twelve, (three only of them being bound to attend on the governor.) These deputies were to be annually chosen by the inhabitants, subject to the governor's approval. Their duties were to receive and put in execution the orders of the governor, and to report the names of persons disobedient. Their expenses in coming and going were to be defrayed by the inhabitants.

Wednesday, 19 April, 1721. It was resolved by the governor and council, that a *General Court*, consisting of the governor and council, should sit at four certain times in the year, as a court of judicature. The first tuesdays of February, May, August and November, were appointed for terms of its sitting.

On the 8 May, 1721, governor Philipps, writing to the Board of Ordnance, complains of lieutenant Washington, whom he calls their officer, "upon the repeated complaints of major" "Mascarene, imploy'd by the honble. Board as engineer." He incloses his examination, and leaves it to the Board to judge or reprimand him. He tells them also, "No work has been" "undertaken here since the fall, unless small jobbs, at repair-" "ing chimneys, &c., which is unavoidable in such tottering" "buildings. As to what was done in the summer, hope the" "honble. Board is satisfyed with the reasons that made it" "necessary." (This expression 'fall' for autumn has been considered an Americanism, but we can hardly suppose gen'l. Philipps acquired it on this side of the Atlantic.) In writing

at this time to the secretary of State, he says that the French inhabitants are waiting an answer from government. Referring to the pillage of Alden's sloop, he says that the deputies sued for pardon, and promised to pay the damage ; " but if it " " be determined for them to retire, I expect it will be in the " " manner that the Jews marched out of Egypt, not only with " " their owne effects and what they can borrow, but will first " " distroy the country. Therefore the best way (in my humble " " opinion) of answering, will be of answering in the manner " " we have proposed, to fall to worke and build Forts among " " them ; and when they find the Government in earnest, and " " capable either to protect or" (here a word has become illegible) " them, 'tis not unlikely that they will sit downe quietly " " in their possessions, and become good subjects, with good " " looking after. As to the latter," (the Indians) " they are to " " meet me towards the latter end of this month, to receive " " his majesty's presents, and I shall make use of this opportunity to oblige them to the most advantageous conditions " " of peace and traffick with his majesty's subjects." He mentions the establishment of the general court, and says he thinks it to be conformable to his instructions, which refer him to " the lawes and rules of Virginia" as a rule or pattern for this government when they can be applicable to its circumstances. He hopes it may meet with approbation, and says : " It is certain that the notion of here being no other " " form of law but the martial, hinders many people from " " coming to live among us." By Virginia act of 1662, c. 19, the general court of governor and council was to sit three times a year. Same act established county courts before justices of peace ; and 1662, c. 37, directs juries to be empannelled at all courts. The juries were not used at Annapolis.

19 June, 1721. The governor writes to the lords of Trade against lieutenant Washington, (of the Ordnance), whom he calls " the most scandalous wretch upon the earth." 16 Aug. he writes to the Board of Ordnance. He reiterates his complaints of Mr. Washington, adding, " I know I ought not to " " complain when I have the power to punish ; but hope I " " may be excused, if I avoyd as much as is possible haveing "

“anything to do with people of such vile and wicked principles.——As to the survey of the eastern coast, which was intended this summer, the sloop that has been built for that service being arrived but three dayes since, much time is lost, and little can be done on that affair the remainder of this season, which I hope need not retard the projections for this country, inasmuch as both the scituation and circumstances thereof are fully before you ; and as Cansoe is the first place proposed to be fortified, I intend, with the engineer, to steare our course directly thither, to prepare a plan of it, to be sent you in the *fall*.”

“There is not one carriage that will stand once firing in this garrison. You may please to remember that I represented the bad condition thereof to the Board before I left London, which your lieutenant (if it be possible for him to speake truth at all) assured me often he had sent you them at his first arrival, tho’ I have not found one word of it in all his letter book. Be that as it will, the governor of Boston has lately received a very impudent letter from the Indians on that side, upon which it has been thought proper to arm in expectation of a rupture. If it ensues, we shall not be long quiet here ; and how ill a condition we are in for war, without a gun mounted, and almost a whole curtain of the old worke tumbled downe this summer, may be worth the while of the hon’ble. Board to consider.”

In his letter of the same date to the Board of Trade, he calls the letter of the Indians to the governor of Boston, “a very insolent letter from the Indians of that quarter assembled with their priest to celebrate some festival, upon which it has been thought advisable to arm. If a rupture ensues, we shall not long be quiet here, it being said that some of our chiefs are gone thither, but it may be no more than a drunken inspiration, and when (they) hear of troops marching, end in a *peccavi*.” He tells the lords of Trade that he would not be able to visit Lahave and Chibouctou ;—that he would have to hire a vessel to bring the remainder of the companies from Placentia to Annapolis Royal, with all their provisions, which would require a much larger

hold than the small province sloop has. There would be loss of time in employing her, if capable. The hire would be only thirty pounds.—He says he is the worst off of any of the governors, as he has no allowance, or tax or duties, to cover contingencies. The king's presents for the Indians, having been at Boston all the winter, had now arrived ; but as the giving them required form, &c., he puts it off until his return.

The English settlers had, by this period, got some footing east of the Kennebec. As their position was growing strong, the Indians were stirred up to jealousy, and demanded by what right they were taking possession and building forts there. The English alleged that the territory had been ceded by the French crown to England. On this the Indians sent deputies to Canada, to enquire on the subject of the governor, the marquis of Vaudreuil. His reply was that the treaty of Utrecht made no mention of their country. The governor of Boston collected the eastern Indian chiefs, and informed them truly of the cession, but they set up an independant claim, denying the right of the French king to dispose of their lands. Every courtesy was shewn them by the English, and their hostile feeling seemed to have been subdued. The Indians themselves were quite averse at this time to entering into any quarrel with the English, preferring the advantages of trade and friendly intercourse. It happened that Toxus, the chief of the Norridgewock Indians, died this year. Ouikouroumenit, a pacific Indian, was chosen in his place, and four hostages were sent to Boston by agreement. This becoming known at Quebec, Vaudreuil and Bégon, the intendant, wrote on the 15 June to father Ralle, in severe terms, inveighing against the Narantsouaks (Norridgewocks) for yielding to English persuasion in electing the new chief, and in sending hostages. They also promised to send on deputies from the Indians at St. Francis and Becancour, (in Canada), to oppose the English interest. This was in consequence of Ralle having stated that the Indians in his vicinity required to be supported by some of those from Canada in their interviews with the English governor. A number of these Canadian Indians were accordingly induced to go, and père la Chasse, superior of the Jesuits,

(called the superior general of missions), and another of his order, also went on. These clergymen collected above a hundred Indians from Panaouamské, and deputies from Medoctec and Pemoukady; also some Indians from Pegouakky and Amiraukanne, who live nearest to New England. In all, above two hundred Indians, under arms, assembled in July or August, 1721, and appeared at Georgetown, on Arowsick island, where the interview had been appointed to take place. In another place it is called the fort of Menarkoux, at the bottom of the river Narantouak. They represented the Abenakis and their allies. The baron St. Castin and the Jesuit la Chasse were with this party. The governor of New England, perhaps aware of the unfriendly spirit spreading among the tribes, did not attend on this occasion. The Indians threw down two hundred beaver skins as a compensation for cattle of the English which they had killed, and ordered the English to leave the territory east of the Kennebeck, and to restore the hostages they held. Ralle is said to have been also present. The Indians left a letter for the governor of New England with Mr. Penhallow, chief officer at the English fort. This was composed by père de la Chasse. 1. It complains of a detention of the hostages, in breach of agreement. 2. It expresses surprize that the English should take possession and dispose of their country without their consent. 3. It requires that all the English should leave their territory forthwith, and restore the prisoners. 4. It states that if two months expired without redress, they would do themselves justice. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 261-266. 2 *Williamson, Maine*, 105. 4 *Charlevoix*, 114-116.] It is said that the priest of Narantsouak wrote his name Seb. Rale, without an s in the surname, or any accent, circumflex or acute. [*Historical Magazine, New York, for January, 1860, page 30.*]

Governor Philipps sailed from Annapolis in the sloop William Augustus, captain Southack, about the middle of August, 1721, and arrived at Canso on the 5th or 6th September.—On the 13th September, the schooner Hannah, William Souden, master, with provisions and cloathing for the garrison of Annapolis, was cast away on the Tusketts,

and the vessel and cargo proved a total loss. One-third was offered as salvage for goods found.—26 September, 1721, captain Alden's sloop from Boston was put in quarantine at Annapolis, as the small pox was rife in Boston. The woollen goods and cotton wool on board were ordered to be aired before landing them. The Massachusetts Assembly met 23rd August, at the George tavern, beyond Boston neck, in consequence of the disease.

On the 1st October, 1721, governor Philipps writes to the lords of Trade, dating from "Cansoe." He says it was an agreeable surprize to find Cansoe in a flourishing state. It would have been broken up for good, if he had not sent the detachment there, which he had since reinforced with two companies. "So that my good neighbors at cape Breton" "seem to give up their pretention of right, and talk only of" "its being a place neutral." He urges the importance of Canso to the fishery and to the settlement of the province; recommends it to be made a free port for three or four years. "My arrival here gave a general joy, being taken as a good" "presage of the government's intention to assert its right;" "and, to confirm the opinion more, I have determined to" "pass a bad winter here, without the necessaries of life," "which hinders me from being more particular to your lord-" "ships, my papers being left at Annapolis Royal." He notices that he remains under an incapacity to receive families and begin the settlement. "There are several that offer at this" "time, but your lordships, who drew my instructions, know" "the extent of my power." When the surveyor comes, it will take two or three years before he can make any progress. (This alludes to a regulation of the British government, which directed that all tracts of forest land, suitable for masts and timber for the navy, should be set apart and surveyed as crown reserves, before any lands for settlement could be laid out and measured.) Philipps suggests whether "a reserve" "(in every settlement to be made) of all woods fit for the use" "of the Royal navy, may not answer the ends of a survey," "and save time." He says: "In the meantime, I have made" "dispositions of small plots of ground, and little rocks or"

“islands in this harbour, for the conveniency of the fishery,”
 “which I have promised to confirm.”

In November, a party of militia from New England, under colonel Westbrooke, went to Norridgewock to seize Ralle. He escapes himself, but they get his box of papers, in which his correspondence with Vaudreuil was found. The evidence of the intrigues used to stir up the Indians to hostility against the English, was amply supplied by the documents thus obtained. [*Graham's Col. Hist.*, 2 v., p. 71.] In December, young St. Castin was taken prisoner to Boston, having been captured by stratagem, and there placed in close confinement; but after some examinations, he was set at liberty. [*2 Hutch, Mass.*, 272. 4 *Charlevoix*, 115–116.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLIV.

(1.)

A description of Nova Scotia, signed by P. Mascarene, engineer, and certified as accurate by governor Philipps, appears to have been prepared for the information of the British government in 1720 or 1721. He bounds the province of Nova Scotia, or Acadie, on the Kennebec river, about 44° N. Lat., and says its breadth extends from the easternmost part of the island of cape Breton to the south side of the river St. Lawrence, leaving to the French, by the treaty of Utrecht, the islands in the gulph, including cape Breton. The climate is cold, and very variable, and subject to long and severe winters.—Soil fertile; produces wheat, rye, barley, oats, all manner of garden roots and herbs; abounds in cattle. Plenty of wild and tame fowl. Well timbered with oak, fir, pine of all sorts fit for masts, pitch and tar, maple, ash, beech, asp, &c. Iron mines, copper mines at cape Doré. “The whole cape being of a vast height, and an entire”
 “rock, through the crevices of which some bits of copper are spued. Good”
 “coal mines, and a quarry of soft stone, near Chignecto, and at Musquash”
 “Cove, ten leagues from Annapolis Royal.—Also in St. John's river, very”
 “good and plenty of white marble is found, which burns into very good lime.”
 “Feathers and furs are a considerable part of the trade of this country, but the”
 “most material is the fishing of cod, which all the coast abounds with, and”
 “seems to be inexhaustible. There are four considerable settlements on the”
 “south side of the bay of Fundy, Annapolis Royal, Manis, Chignecto and”

"Cobequid. Several families are scattered along the Eastern coast. The inhabitants are all French, mostly of the Romish persuasion." He considers the fear which the French allege they entertain of the Indians in case they should take the oath, &c., as a pretence, as he says the Indians are but a handful in this country, while the French are able to appear a thousand men under arms. The French are not industrious. English settlers would be much more so, and would lessen the necessity of military expence. He accuses the government of Cape Breton of inducing the people not to take the oath of allegiance. Cape Breton is barren, and dependant on Nova Scotia for provisions. Recommends 600 troops to be sent, and the oath to be tendered to the inhabitants or their removal to be effected. Contemplates that the cattle be retained for new English settlers.

In describing Annapolis, he says: "Two leagues above Goat Island is the "Fort, seated on a rising, sandy ground, on the South side of the river, on a "point formed by the British river," (formerly la rivière du Port Royal, or rivière Dauphin, now called the Annapolis river), "and another small one, called Jenny "river," (the L'equille of Lescarbot, called also Allen's river and Little river.) "The lower town lies along the first, and is commanded by the Fort. The "upper town stretches in scattering houses a mile and a half South East from "the Fort, on the rising ground between the two rivers. From this rising "ground to the banks of each river, and on the other side of the less one, lie "large plats of meadow, &c. On both sides of the British river are a great "many fine farms, inhabited by about 200 families.—The fort is almost a "regular square—has four bastions; and on the side fronting the point, which "is formed by the junction of the two rivers, it has a ravelin, and a battery of "large guns, on the counterscarp of the ravelin, which last, with the battery, "have been entirely neglected since the English had possession of this place, "and are entirely ruined. The works are raised with a sandy earth, and were "faced with sods, which, being cut out of a sandy soil, (the whole neck between "the two rivers being nothing else), soon mouldered away, and some part of "the work needed repairing almost every spring. The French constantly "repaired it after the same manner, except part of the Courtin, covered with "the ravelin, which they were obliged to face with pieces of timber some time "before they quitted possession of this place. The English followed that last "method in repairing of this fort, revesting of it all round with pieces of round "timber of six or seven inches diameter, to the height of the Cordon, and raising a parapet of sod work." The expences were so great as to create a disgust of repairs.

Thus the fort laid for a great while tumbling down, till governor Phiippi found it necessary to put it into a posture of defence. The French of the river could arm and assemble four hundred men in twenty-four hours' time. He recommends a garrison of 200 men, and a thorough repair of the existing fort at a cost of £800 for service, until a stone redoubt can be erected.

Manis, (called Minas, (Spanish), Menis and Manis, also by some of the English), called by the French les Mines, from the copper mines at Cap des Mines or Cap Doré. Vessels of 40 or 50 tons run up with the tide, which rises 9 or 10 fathoms, up a creek to the town, where they are left dry on a bank of mud by the receding tide. It might be made the granary of the province and neighboring governments. Mentions a meadow of nearly four leagues in extent, partly dyked,

(Grand Pré.) "The houses, which compose a kind of scattering town, lie on a rising ground along two creeks, which run betwixt it and the meadow, and "makes of this last a kind of peninsula." This place has great "store of cattle." Near the shores they catch "white porpoises."

The population of Mines is greater than that of Annapolis river. The Indians are there also frequently. The people are less tractable than those of Annapolis. "All the orders sent to them, if not suiting to their humours, are scoffed and "laughed at, and they put themselves upon the footing of obeying no government. It will not be an easy matter to oblige these inhabitants to submit to "any terms which do not entirely square to their humors, unless a good force "be landed there, and a Fort or Redoubt of earth be thrown up, well ditched, "freezed and palissaded, till a more durable may be built. This Redoubt must "have four pieces of cannon, (sakers), and command the meadow which is their "treasure." The language of governor Brouillon as to these republicans, is repeated almost verbatim. The force should be 300 or 400, as the harbor is so wild no ship of force can remain there; and if she could anchor safely, it would be near twelve miles from the redoubt. Smaller vessels must lie dry for sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, so they might be burned, and a retreat cut off. The redoubt should contain 150 men, which would be sufficient garrison. Cobequid has about fifty French families. There is thence a communication by a river to Chebucto. The Indians resort much to Cobequid.—Chignecto contains about seventy or eighty families. There is much grain and more cattle there than anywhere else. There are very good coal mines there, of easy access; but shelter is wanting for the vessels, which have to anchor in the open bay. Near the town itself, which lies four leagues beyond the coal mines, there is a small island, which has a good quarry of soft "stone. It cuts in layers of four or six inches "thick, and hardens soon after it is cut." The inhabitants are given to hunting and trading. The trade with cape Breton consists in carrying furs, grain, cattle, &c., and receiving in return linens and other goods. A small fort should be built on the neck, with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men.—The French have this summer sent four ships, with two hundred families, with provisions, stores, and materials for erecting a fort, and making a settlement on the island of St. John.

Canso is an island, with several less ones adjoining, lying at a small distance from the Main, and at S. E. and N. W. from the passage which bears the same name, and separates the island of cape Breton from Nova Scotia. There is a great resort there for the cod fishery by the English, and was so by French *before the seizure* made by captain Smart, in H. M. ship Squirrel. Twenty thousand quintals of dry codfish would have been exported thence this season but for the Indian attack. If duly protected, Canso, with a fort and garrison, would be likely to become the chief place of trade, though not so conveniently situated for a seat of government as Port Rosway, Lahave, Marligash, Chibouctou, &c. Respecting these, he promises information hereafter.

(2.)

9 May, 1721. An order of governor and council passed, requiring any person leaving the province to report his name ten days previously in the Secretary's office, that creditors might have notice and get security. This regulation is bor-

rowed from the act of Virginia, 1662, c. 127, which was afterwards in substance re-enacted by the general Assembly at Halifax, and remained in force until a recent period, making masters of vessels liable for the debts of those they took away without passes.

10 October, 1721. John Adams having filed a caveat against Peter Boudre, as leaving the province, the Council decided that as he was going to Canso, the caveat was improper.

CHAPTER XLV.

1722. In this year, 1722, a war broke out between the Indians and the people of New England, which lasted three years, and was called Lovewell's war. On the 18 June, a party of Indians seized five Englishmen on the Kennebec, whom they carried off as hostages in place of the four Indian hostages kept at Boston. They subsequently attacked a fishing vessel at Damariscove, and the English fort on the river St. George, but without success. A vessel, in which Mr. Newton, collector of the customs at Annapolis Royal, and John Adams, son of Mr. Adams, of the council of Nova Scotia, were passengers, with captain Blin, from Boston, touched at Passamaquoddy, for water. They were not aware of the Indian hostilities, and going on shore they were made prisoners by a party consisting of ten or twelve Indians and about an equal number of French. The people in the sloop cut their cable, and fled to Boston. The prisoners were afterwards released on ransom. Douglas attributes their liberation to the fact that lieutenant governor Doucett had secured twenty-two Indians by way of reprisals. Further hostilities occurred on the New England frontiers, and the governor and council at Boston declared war against the Eastern Indians on the 25 July, and the general court or assembly of that province confirmed this step on the 8th August, and voted to raise one thousand men to carry on the war. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 277.] A letter from the lords of Trade to governor Philipps, dated Whitehall, 6 June, 1722, acknowledges the receipt of his despatches of September and November, 1720, and of 1 October, 1721. The measures of

improvement and defence he urged on the government are civilly alluded to ; but the delay of reply, and the cool answers, must have tended to check the zeal he had evinced for the prosperity of the province. As to the attack on Canso, &c., they “ hope some redress may be had therein, as soon as his ” “ majesty’s affairs will permit.” The building a fort at Canso is in the hands of the Ordnance, who are waiting an order from the king before they will send materials and workmen. He should have applied to the treasury on the subject of contingencies. As to the want of a surveyor to set out tracts of wood land for furnishing H. M. navy, they have proposed to his majesty that the governor should be empowered to set out the lands. That he may then grant lands to settlers. They do not understand him about a free port at Canço—think it may be impracticable. As to the small settlements on little islands about Canço, he must remember his instructions, that “ the coast is left free for the fishery to all H. M. subjects.”

In July, 1722, the Indians captured several trading vessels in the bay of Fundy, and eighteen vessels in the harbors on the coast, among which was a sloop that governor Philipps had despatched with bread for the use of the garrison of Annapolis. [*Douglas’ Summary*, 317, 560.] Nothing could be more unexpected, as the governor but a short time before had the chiefs with him, and feasted them, while they gave solemn promises of friendship and alliance. The Indians flattered themselves with hopes of reducing Annapolis by famine and blockade, but provisions arrived in the meantime at Canso from Europe, and Philipps armed some vessels there, which got safe with these supplies to the garrison. Lientenant governor Doucett made prisoners of about twenty Indians, who lay encamped in the woods, including women and children in that number. By this time they were in the middle of the fishing season at Canso, and its harbor was full of ships, waiting for their cargoes, when fresh advices came that the Indians were cruising upon the banks with the sloops they had taken, assisted by the prisoners, whom they compelled to serve as mariners ; and that they gave out that they were to attack Canso with all their strength. This alarmed the people there

greatly, bringing to mind their sufferings two years before. They were disheartened to find that measures had not been taken this year for the security of the place, and they were inclined to break up, and let every man shift for himself. Philipps had just then received, by express, from governor Shute, of New England, the declaration of war that province had made against the Indians, with a request for assistance. He assembled the people of the harbor of Canso, and prevailed on them to concur with him in fitting out and manning two sloops to protect the fishery. He placed an officer and a party of soldiers on board each of them. They were partly manned by volunteer sailors from the merchant vessels in the port. One of them was commanded by John Eliot, of Boston, and the other by John Robinson, of Cape Ann. Both were sent out after the enemy. [*Gov. Philipps' letter to the lords of Trade. Canso, September 19, 1722.*]

“Eliot, as he was ranging the coast, espied seven vessels in
“a harbor called Winnepang, and concealed all his men,
“except four or five, until he came near to one of the vessels,
“which had about forty Indians on board, who were in expectation of another prize falling into their hands. As soon as
“he was within hearing, they hoisted their pendants and called
“out, ‘Strike, English dogs, and come aboard, for you are’
“‘all prisoners.’ Eliot answered that he would make all the
“haste he could. Finding he made no attempt to escape, they
“began to fear a Tartar, and cut their cable, with intent to run
“ashore, but he was too quick for them, and immediately
“clapped them aboard. For about half an hour they made a
“brave resistance; but at length some of them jumping into
“the hold, Eliot threw his hand granadoes after them, which
“made such havock, that all which remained alive took to the
“water, where they were a fair mark for the English shot.”—
“From this or a like action probably took rise a common expression among English soldiers, and sometimes English hunters, who, when they have killed an Indian, make their boast
“of having killed a black duck. Five only reached the shoar.
“Eliot received three bad wounds, and several of the men
“were wounded, and one killed. Seven vessels, with several

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“hundred quintals of fish and fifteen of the captives, were recovered from the enemy. They had sent many of the prisoners away, and nine they had killed in cold blood. The Nova Scotia Indians had the character of being more savage and cruel than other nations.” (This opinion has most likely no better foundation than the notion long entertained in Nova Scotia, that the Malecites and Abenakis were more ferocious than the Micmacs ; or that which prevailed among all the maritime Indian tribes, of the extraordinary malice and cruelty of the Iroquois, and especially of the Mohawks.) “Robinson retook two vessels, and killed several of the enemy. Five other vessels the Indians had carried so far up the bay, above the harbor of Malagash, that they were out of his reach, and he had not men sufficient to land, the enemy being very numerous. The loss of so many men had enraged them, and they had determined to revenge themselves upon the poor fishermen, above twenty of whom yet remained prisoners at Malagash harbour, and they were all destined to be sacrificed to the manes of the slain Indians. The *powowing* and other ceremonies were performing, when captain Blin, in a sloop, appeared off the harbour, and made the signal, or sent in a token which had been agreed upon between him and the Indians, when he was their prisoner, should be his protection. Three of the Indians went aboard his vessel, and agreed for the ransom both of vessels and captives, which were delivered to him, and the ransom paid. In his way to Boston, he made prisoners of three or four Indians, near cape Sables ; and about the same time captain Southack took two canoes, with three Indians in each, one of which was killed, and the other five brought to Boston.” [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 295, 296.]

This expedition of the two sloops from Canso was so effectual, that, as Philipps says, in three weeks’ time they retook all the vessels and prisoners, except four, “which the New England people poorly ransomed.” On this occasion many Indians were killed, among their number four chiefs, who had been with governor Philipps but a month before, receiving the king’s presents upon the most solemn assurances of their

intention to live in peace and friendship with his majesty's subjects. Being asked the reason of their sudden change, all of them agreed in one story, that they were set on by the French governors. He also says: "It is certain that they" (the French) "did expect, by their advices from Europe, a "speedy rupture between the two crowns ; and the troubles "in Great Britain" (alluding to the South Sea bubble of 1721, and an alleged conspiracy in favor of the Pretender in 1722) "being magnified here, they concluded they had been —— " (a word defaced by decay in mss.) "and gave the hint, (as is "reasonable to imagine), to the Indians, to do what mischief "they could by surprise. However, they have paid dear for "it, having never received such a check in this country, and "we are now as easy and quiet as if there was not an Indian "in the country, so that the business of this place will con- "clude with success." Governor Philipps signified his intention of going to England as soon as the ships were despatched, and the garrison put in a good posture of defence. He had not left Canso, however, on the 23 Sept'r., 1722, o. s., being 4 Oct'r., new style. In the latter part of the year, several Indians came to the Fort of Annapolis, and made submission.

1723. A conspiracy to restore the Pretender having been detected in England in 1722, many arrests took place there, and a Mr. Layer was executed. [*Smollett's History*, p. 333.] We find in the records of Annapolis Royal that "on the good "news that arrived there in the printed papers" respecting the detection of this "horrid, bloody, cruel and most barba- "rous, inhuman conspiracy against his" (the king's) "sacred "person and government," thursday, the 21st March, 1723, was appointed as a day of thanksgiving.

The Indians continued this year to make war on the English in Nova Scotia, and on the frontiers of Massachusetts, where they kept up a petty skirmishing. [*2 Hutch., Mass.*, 303.] In July, the Indians surprized one captain Watkins, who was on a fishing voyage at Canso, and they killed Watkins, two other men, one woman and one child, upon Durell's island. [*Douglas' Summary*, 317.] In the autumn, letters from the

chiefs of the Indians in different places of the province, professing peaceable intentions, were presented to the lieutenant governor Doucett and his council, at Annapolis, at which time governor Philipps was in England. On receipt of one of those, the council resolved, "that a civil answer be sent to amuse" "them till farther instructions from Britain," from which we must infer that the pretended pacific views of the Indians were considered hypocritical. A feeling of distrust and anxiety evidently prevailed during this year. The smallness of the garrison—the absence of the governor—the intercourse kept up by the inhabitants with the rulers of Quebec, tended to create constant alarm.

The regent duke of Orleans, who supported the policy of peace with England, died 22 November, 1723.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLV.

(1.)

From a letter of Governor Philipps to the lords of Trade, 30 Nov'r., 1734.

The presents shipped by Bamfield arrived in Boston in November, 1720, and they came to Nova Scotia on 30 July, 1721. The Indians had notice to assemble at Canso in the Spring, to receive these presents; but in stead, they rendezvoused for the purpose of a war upon the English. Meanwhile, one of the chiefs, with his followers, went to Canso, and was entertained two days civilly, and got their portion of the presents. Within four or five days after the news reached Canso that the Indians had surprized many of the fishing sloops in several of the harbors, putting part of their crews to death, and reserving the rest to navigate the vessels, in order to turn pirates, their intention being to take all vessels they met on the banks, and then to attack Canso. Two vessels were fitted out at Canso, with soldiers and an officer in each, which met and routed them with great slaughter—made many prisoners—recovered some twenty of the captured vessels, and released many prisoners from impending death, "and among the trophies" "of victory brought home, was the head of that very chief who had received" "the king's presents of me but three weeks before."

(2.)

There is a letter dated Canso, 23 Sept'r., 1722, signed by governor Philipps, in which he gives a house and ground in Annapolis Royal to doctor William Skene, promising a formal confirmation, or grant. This letter is recorded in the Register Book of Grants and Deeds, under date of 1740.

(3.)

On 27 September, 1722, Armstrong petitions the lords of Trade for relief from his losses in the public service.

(4.)

During the latter part of this year, several of the Indians came to Annapolis Royal, and submitted under the terms of the proclamation issued at Canso by the Governor. The first entry I find of this kind is "At a council held at the " Hon'ble. lieut. governor John Doucett's house, in his Majesty's garrison of " Annapolis Royall, on friday, the 19th of October, 1722. Present : "

" The Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor, President. "

" Major Paul Mascarene.

William Skene, Esq. "

" John Adams, Esq.

William Shirreff, Esq. "

" Hibbert Newton, Esq.

Peter Boudre, Esq. "

" The hon'ble lieutenant governor acquainted the Board that Jackish, the " Indian, who has his wife and children here prisoners, was come to submit " " himself upon the terms of his Excellency's proclamation." The council agreed to admit him to terms of submission, which were to be prepared and signed by him and other Indians. Jackish was ordered to remain near the garrison.

In council, 5 Nov'r., 1722. The terms to be signed by the Indians were reported, and ordered to be translated into French, "for the Indians better understanding the same."

Monday, 12 Nov'r., the terms were read, and interpreted to the Indians. They signed it, and a copy was given to them.

Wednesday, 14 Nov. Three more of "this river Indians" came before the council, and signed terms.

Mr. James Blin and his crew, being aspersed for "selling shott at Shicka- " necto," came and swore to their innocence.

Three boys, Charles Davis, Nicholas Hutton and George Willis, who had been taken prisoners on the Eastern coast of this province by the Indians, and ransomed by the French at Mines and Pisaquid, by the said James Blin, were examined under oath, stated that a great many of the inhabitants of Mines and Pisagett were under arms, pretending fear of an attack by the English. Heard the French say "That if they were attacked this summer, they would, with 600 " " Indians who were already arrived from Canada, and 1500 of themselves, go " " and burn Annapolis in the winter ;—that they expected six ships, with 600 " " men, to sail from Cape Breton, in order to take this fort." Charles Davis said "he had lain in the woods some nights with the inhabitants, who had removed their goods from their houses, in expectation the English would come."

20 Nov'r., two more Indians came in, and signed terms. 23 Nov'r., two more came in.

3 Dec'r., 1722. Philip Melanson, from Mines, brought two Indians who had a letter addressed to the lieutenant governor. These were two Indian chiefs who came in with him from the body of Indians at Mines. This letter, which demanded hostages from the government, was voted impertinent, and the Chiefs were detained as prisoners. One of them, subsequently, made his escape.

11 Dec'r. Germain, an Indian, of "this river," came in and signed the terms of submission.

13 Dec'r., 1722. Captain John Jephson, commanding the volunteers against the Indians, offered, if the lieutenant governor would give him twenty men, to go up the river to the Mass house, in order to look for Indians. The council advised against it. 1. For the danger to the lives of those Indians who are under the protection of the government, who have hostages and passports. 2. Disturbing the French inhabitants, who own the church. 3. Evil effects, if any accident befel the party.

(5.)

Douglass, in his Summary, p. 330, says : " In time of peace, the Garrisons in " Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, with a reduced regiment of foot and detach- " ments of the Train, cost Great Britain about £15,000 per annum."

Boston at this time contained near 12,000 inhabitants, of whom 844 died in 1722, of small pox. Massachusetts then contained 94,000 inhabitants. [*Douglass' Summary, p. 531.*]

(6.)

Monday, 30 Sept'r., 1723. Joseph Douglas, came in a schooner, with letters from M. Beaucours, lutenant governor of Cape Breton, and M. Demazy, commissaire ordinateur, recommendatory. As Douglas was an inhabitant who withdrew in 1714, in general Nicholson's time, he was held to have forfeited all property here. He had also a letter from major Alex'r. Cosby, at Canso, to the lieutenant governor, requesting to purchase and ship provisions for that garrison ; but as Douglas had French merchandize, it was resolved he should not break bulk, but be sent away. Cosby had shipped things to buy pease and pork with, the lieutenant governor of Placentia having taken provisions destined for Canso.

(7.)

14 October, 1723. Vaudreuil and Bégon state that Alexandre du Bourg, notary at Port Royal, Mines and Beaubassin, came here (Quebec) last year by express, with another inhabitant of Acadie, to demand of us, for themselves and nine others, payment of the sum of 1145*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*, (livres, sous and deniers), being the amount of supplies furnished by them in 1711 and 1712 to war parties. They brought the orders, &c., and said they had left their claims with M. Clignancourt, ensign, but not getting paid, came at length themselves. They say that they are continually obliged to assist the Micmacs, who being at war with the English, take from them by force their cattle and other provisions, when they do not give them of free will, and that the English blame them for the injury done by the Indians. The governor general and intendant recommend payment of this demand, and the more so, that in case of a war, the inhabitants and Indians united could drive the English out of Port Royal. They add that some of the inhabitants have openly declared for the English, and interfere to prevent the Indians from making war. They recommend the payment to be made to the missionary, who will distribute it among the eleven claimants.

(8.)

In council, 20 Oct'r., 1723. One monsieur Mutton, a surgeon at Mines, came to Annapolis, and the lieutenant governor having heard that he had cured several of the enemy Indians that had been wounded by the 'partys' sent out against them, made him prisoner, and asked advice of the council. " Said Mr. Mutton " " being called before Board and examined, the opinion of the Board is, that for " " want of evidences, the said Mr. Mutton shall give good security to the Gov- " " ernment for his good behaviour for the future, and appearance here whenever " " called for."

(9.)

In a paper drawn up by governor Philipps, dated 28 Nov'r., 1723, (at which time he was in England), he states that the garrison of Annapolis consists of five companies, amounting in the whole to two hundred men, exclusive of commissioned officers. There were then about ten or twelve families of English, who lived together in a small *fauxbourg*, (suburb), under cover of the Fort. The river just within the entrance forms a large basin, capable of containing a very great fleet of ships. This is just above the town. At Canso, he (the governor) had erected a small fort, and a battery for twelve guns, at his own expence. Three cannon are now mounted in the Fort, which is garrisoned by four companies, and the ships that come there place their guns in the battery. The fort of Annapolis Royal is quite gone to decay ; more than one third of the ramparts are level with the ground.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1724. In February, 1724, père Isidore, a Franciscan friar, came to Annapolis. He had been selected by père Claude Sanquiest, superior of the Recollects at Louisbourg, to be resident priest at Pigiguite, (now Windsor.) Major Alexander Cosby, who commanded at Canso, wrote to lieutenant governor Doucett, at Annapolis, that his Excellency, the governor, had authorized Sanquiest to appoint a curé for Pigiguite. The council considered that Isidore had come for approbation, "which," they say, "is more than any have heretofore done," and agreed that he should have the cure of Pigiguite, with its accustomed perquisites, &c., and advised the lieutenant governor to give him an order to that effect. The council attending at this time consisted of the lieutenant governor Doucett, president; and messrs. Adams, Newton, Skeen and Shirreff. These gentlemen, and several of the officers of the garrison, took the oaths of allegiance, &c., 27 Jan'y., 1723-4.

The Indians continued this year to make war on the frontier settlements of New England. May 1, they killed James Nock, who was riding home. 16th, they captured two men and two children. 14th, from an ambush they killed a man and a woman who were returning home from church. 2 June, they captured two men. 10 June, at Oyster river, they killed a man and his son, who were at work in the fields. One of the Indians was slain on this occasion. "The slain Indian was" "a person of distinction, and wore a kind of coronet, of scar-" "let dyed fur, with an appendage of four small bells, by the"

“ sound of which the others might follow him through the ”
“ thickets. His hair was remarkably soft and fine ; and he ”
“ had about him a devotional book, and a muster roll of 180 ”
“ Indians, from which circumstances it was supposed that he ”
“ was a natural son of the Jesuit Ralle, by an Indian woman ”
“ who had served him as a laundress. His scalp was presen- ”
“ ted to the lieutenant governor in council, by Robert Burn- ”
“ ham, and the promised bounty was paid to captain Francis ”
“ Matthews, in trust for the company. June 27. The Indians ”
“ entered the house of a quaker, named John Hanson, in ”
“ Dover, killed and scalped two small children, pillaged the ”
“ house, and carried off the wife, an infant of 14 days old, the ”
“ nurse, two daughters and a son. This was done so secretly ”
“ and suddenly, that the first person who discovered it was ”
“ the eldest daughter, at her return from meeting before her ”
“ father.” [2 *Belknap, N. H.*, 57-59.] Hanson went to Canada
and ransomed his wife, and all his children except one girl of
seventeen. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 308.]

Captain Josiah Winslow, and thirteen men belonging to the
fort at St. George's river, who were out in whaleboats, were
watched by a party of Indians, about one hundred in number,
in thirty canoes, who surrounded and killed them all ; but
three Indians, who were in the English boats escaped, and
carried the news to the fort. The Indians also took several
fishing vessels, one having swivel guns. Two vessels which
were armed and sent after them, returned unsuccessful. The
Indians took, in all, eleven vessels, with forty-five men, of
whom they killed twenty-two, and carried away twenty-three
as captives. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 307] While thus active in New
England, they were not wholly idle in Nova Scotia. After
their own fashion, they made what they called war, but which
the English described as robberies and murders. In order to
check their proceedings, the government of this province
seized and detained several Indians as prisoners. This mea-
sure induced some of the Indians of Annapolis river to make
submission, and to enter into engagements to demean them-
selves peaceably, and to inform the government of any insult
or attack that should be intended against it. They signed to

this effect ; and they were given to understand, that if any British subject should be murdered near the garrison, or a shot fired against it, reprisals would be made on the prisoners. [*Minutes of Council of 8 July, 1724.*] In the summer of 1724 a party of Indians, consisting of thirty Malecites and twenty-six Micmacs, attacked Annapolis, and killed two of the garrison, viz., serjeant McNeal, whom they shot and scalped, and a private man of a party that sallied out. An officer and three men of the sallying force were also dangerously wounded. The Indians withdrew, their loss being two wounded. The English, thus repulsed, were confined to their fort. After eating some sheep belonging to the inhabitants, the Indians abandoned their design. Subsequently the English burned three French houses, as reprisal for an English house that the Indians had burned. So says father Felix ; but Douglass states that two French houses were burned in reprisal for two English. Several of the English, living without the fort, were captured by the Indians, but soon after ransomed by the French. Two men, a woman and two children, belonging to the garrison, were also taken, but soon released. The English took father Charlemagne, missionary of Port Royal, and sent him to Louisbourg, alleging that he could and should have given them notice of this intended attack. (See news from Acadie, related by father Felix, missionary.) They also passed a standing order that there should be no more Mass said up the river ; that the *Mass house* (so they termed the church) there should be demolished, and one built at Annapolis, to which they might all resort, "as an eternal monument of" "their said treachery." [*Records of Council, 18 May, 1736. Douglass' Summary, 317.*] The English shot and scalped one of the Indian prisoners, who had been two years detained there. He was put to death on the spot where serjeant McNeal had been slain. The decision to execute this Indian hostage or prisoner took place in council, at the hon'ble. John Doucett's house, in the garrison of Annapolis Royal, on Wednesday, 8 July, 1724. Present : the hon. lieutenant governor, president ; major Paul Mascarene, John Adams, Hibbert Newton, William Skeen and William Shirreff. Some of the

very Indians who had signed the instrument of submission, were guides and actors to the hostile party. The execution of this hostage I cannot but regard as a blot on the fair fame of our people, while great allowance should be made for the feelings of the English, exasperated as they doubtless were by the barbarous cruelties exercised on their countrymen in New England and Nova Scotia, and the treachery they found at work everywhere. However this execution may be palliated, I see no grounds on which it can be in any way justified.

Père Felix recounts in the same narration above referred to, that a second party of eight Malecites, being twenty leagues distant from Canceaux, towards Mocodome, (Country harbor), on the East coast, took a vessel about three leagues from land, and that three canoes boarded a French schooner of Port Toulouse, commanded by an Acadian named Pelerin, that had been taken by the English in the passage of Fronsac, (streights of Canso), coming from *baie Verte*, laden with cattle, and in which Mr. Cosby, an English major, commandant at Canceaux, had placed eight men and two cannon, under command of a serjeant, to cruise and capture the Acadian vessels. The eight Indians boarded the schooner in the night, killed the captain and five men, and took three prisoners. Father Felix charitably ransomed the serjeant, Pierre leBlanc ransomed a second, and Paul Melanson the third prisoner.

At the same time a party of about seventy or eighty Indians collected at Mines, thirty of whom were Malecites from St. John's river, the rest belonging to Shickabenacadie, (Shubenacadie?) and the Eastern coast. Mr. Blin arrived there with his vessel, and anchored at Baptist cove. The Indians forbade the inhabitants going on board. Mr. Winniett arrived with his vessel, and finding Blin's vessel where he had not expected to see her, he put up his ensign in the shrouds, and fired a gun. Receiving no signal in return, he supposed Blin had been captured by the Indians; but Blin sailing immediately, they spoke each other. Blin informed Winniett of the interference of the Indians, and that a Frenchman, who had been aboard of him, had been stopped some time by them. On consulting together, they were of opinion that two vessels

together would be quite safe, and on this they went and grounded on the mud bank, on Saturday. Winniett received a letter from two of the inhabitants to assure him they would be on board the next day. They came accordingly, and informed him that the Indians would have attacked the vessels, (separately), but that the presence of the two together broke their design. On the monday, several inhabitants came on board, who stated publicly that the Indians had held several councils, and were very much divided in opinion. Some designed to attack Annapolis—others Canso, and the rest were for dispersing. [*Minutes of Council, 16 July, 1724.*] Winniett was told at Mines that the priest of Annapolis Royal and some of his men had been there.—The council ordered the empty, ruinous houses in the lower town of Annapolis to be appraised and pulled down, lest the enemy should burn them; the owners were to be compensated with vacant land in the town. In July and August, the governor and council at Annapolis examined father Charlemagne, and three of the people who had been with him at Mines, as to their conduct. They afterwards examined father Isidore, and they took into consideration a letter from father Felix. Charlemagne was detained in custody, to be sent out of the province; the three inhabitants were liberated, Isidore promoted to the cure of Mines, and Felix ordered not to return to the province. (*See particulars in appendix to this chapter.*)

The people of New England, looking on Ralle as the chief instigator of the Indian war, resolved upon sending an expedition against the principal settlement of the Indians at Norridgewock, (Narantsouac.) Four companies of militia, consisting in the whole of 208 men, commanded respectively by captains Harman, Moulton, Bourn, and lieutenant Bean, were ordered up the river Kennebec for this purpose; and three Indians of the six nations, (Iroquois), were prevailed with to accompany them. This party left Richmond fort, on the Kennebec, 8 August, o. s., (19 August, n. s.) Next day they came to Taconick. There they left their whaleboats, with a lieutenant and 40 men as a guard, and the remainder proceeded by land on the 10th for Norridgewock. The same evening

they discovered two Indian women, and *fired* at them. One, the daughter of the chief Bomazeen, they killed, and made the other prisoner. From the latter they obtained information of the state of Norridgewock. On the 12-23d., a little after noon, they came near the village. Supposing that part of the Indians might be at their corn fields, which were at some distance, the English divided their force. Harman, with about eighty men, went direct towards the fields, while Moulton led as many more straight to the village, of which they came in sight about 3, P. M. Not an Indian was visible, all being in their wigwams. The English were ordered to advance softly, and in profound silence. An Indian coming out casually, looked round, and perceiving the English advancing, gave the war whoop, and ran for his gun. The whole village, which consisted of about sixty warriors, besides old men, women and children, then took the alarm, and while the warriors hastened to meet the English, the rest fled for their lives. Moulton, instead of suffering his men to fire at random through the wigwams, charged them, on pain of death, not to fire until the Indians had first discharged their guns. It happened, as he expected, in their surprize they overshot the English, of whom none was hurt. The English then discharged in their turn, and made great slaughter, but every man still kept his rank. The Indians fired a second volley, and immediately fled towards the river. Some jumped into their canoes, but had left their paddles in their houses. Others took to swimming, and some of the tallest could ford the river, which was about sixty feet over, and the water being low at the time, it was nowhere more than six feet deep. The English pursued. Some furnished themselves with paddles, and took to the Indian canoes which were left; others waded into the river. They soon drove the Indians out of their canoes, and shot several in the water. It was conjectured that not more than fifty of the whole village reached the other side of the stream, and that some of this remnant were killed before they got to shelter in the woods. The English after this returned to the village. There they found the Jesuit in one of the wigwams, firing at a few of their men who had not joined in the pursuit

of the Indians. He had an English boy, of about fourteen years old, in the wigwam with him, who had been taken about six months before. He shot this boy through the thigh, and stabbed him in the body, but he afterwards recovered by the care of the surgeon. (This cruel act seems to have little probability about it. Harman appears to have made oath to this charge ; but as he was absent at the corn fields, he could only repeat what he was told.) Moulton had given orders not to kill Ralle ; but one of the English force having been wounded by his firing from the wigwam, a lieutenant, named Jaques, stove open the door and shot him through the head. Jaques alleged that when he entered the wigwam, Ralle was loading his gun, and declared that he would neither give nor take quarter. Moulton allowed that something was said by Ralle which provoked Jaques, but expressed doubts of the correctness of the latter's statement, and always disapproved of his act.

An Indian chief, named Mog, was shut up in another wigwam, and, firing from it, killed one of the three Mohawks, (Iroquois.) The brother of the slain Indian broke down the door, and shot Mog dead. The English followed, and killed the squaw and two helpless children. Having cleared the village of the enemy, they plundered the huts of which it consisted. The plunder was not very valuable—a little corn, some blankets, kettles, a few guns, and about three barrels of powder, formed the booty thus obtained. In addition, the plate was taken from the church, and the crucifixes and images found there broken up. This building had been built a few years previously by carpenters from New England. Harman and his party, who went towards the corn fields, did not come back till near night, when the action was over. Both his and Moulton's men lodged in the wigwams that night, keeping up, however, a guard of forty men. Next day they found twenty-six dead bodies, besides the corpse of Ralle, and they held one woman and three children prisoners. Among the dead were Bomazeen, Mog, Job, Carabesett, Wissememett, and a son-in-law of Bomazeen,—all noted warriors. The English marched early for Taconick, being anxious about the men and boats

they had left there, which they found were in safety. After they had begun their march from Norridgewock, Christian, one of the three Mohawks, went back and set fire to the church and wigwams, and then rejoined the party. On the 16-27 they all arrived at Richmond fort.

Harman went to Boston with the scalps, and being chief in command, was promoted to be a lieutenant colonel. Moulton had no official recompense at the time. He is said to have had the "applause of the country in general" for this exploit. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 309-314] There are in the details of this affair, which in the main must be reliable, as they are adopted by Hutchinson, many things that are revolting to contemplate. The capture and the slaughter of women and children, perpetrated by men who lay claim to civilization, seem wholly inexcusable. We must, however, bear in mind that the doctrines of the New England puritans at that period were deeply tinged with ideas drawn from the ancient Jewish history, in the old testament, whence they also drew their maxims of reprisals and retaliation. Actuated by such notions, and excited by such border wars as the Indians carried on against them, it is more to be regretted than wondered at that they became, under the pressure of particular exigencies, in some instances, more savage than the savages themselves. There is a dangerous ferocity in human nature when the restraints of true religion and pure moral sentiment are wanting, and no dependance can be placed on gentle habits or social refinements as a safeguard when the tide of evil passions is once let loose. Hutchinson, who wrote some thirty years after the destruction of Norridgewock, does not make a single remark implying blame on any part of the proceedings; on the contrary, he appears indirectly to justify or palliate the whole line of conduct pursued by the New England commanders and their men on this occasion. He only seems to regret that Moulton was not immediately rewarded for his share in this enterprize, although he informs us that captain Moulton was 'many years together' a member of the council—colonel of a regiment in the expedition to Louisbourg in 1745, and with reputation sustained the first military and civil offices in the

county of York, and that he died at York in 1765. One cannot fail to observe that Moulton conducted the attack on the Indian village with military prudence and skill.—When we reflect on the shooting at the two Indian women before their arrival at the village, with the subsequent acts, we find Moulton blaming lieutenant Jaques only, and we may conclude that the fault found with him was simply for negligence in forgetting the order given to take Ralle alive, and that the other excesses and plunderings were regarded as matters of course. Charlevoix (vol. 4, p. 120–122) states the number of the English and their Indian allies in this affair at eleven hundred. Looking at the circumstances, one can hardly doubt that Hutchinson gives us the true number as two hundred and eight. Charlevoix mentions the sacrilegious treatment of the sacred vessels of the host, &c.—the burning down of the church, and the scalping and mutilation of Ralle's corpse. He informs us that Sebastian Ralle (or Rasle) was of a good family in *Franche Comté*, and died in the 67th year of his age : that he had undergone a long and painful illness, and a severe operation several years before : that he was skilled in the Indian languages, and though strongly urged to quit his dangerous post, refused to do so. Belknap (2 N. H., 60) says Ralle had resided twenty-six years at the mission of Narant-souak, and that he had spent six years before that in travelling among the Indians.

In Sept'r., 1724, the misconduct of a clergyman employed at Annapolis, in the garrison, led to his arrest and dismissal. (*See appendix to this chapter.*) In Oct. leave was given for provisions to be sent to Louisbourg, at the request of governor St. Ovide, as he had conferred a similar favor on governor Philipps and the garrison at Canso in their necessity. In November, in consequence of a letter of lieutenant governor Dummer, of New England, of a contemplated treaty with the Indians, terms of peace with them in Nova Scotia were prepared, and sent to Mr. Newton, who was then in Boston.

The priest Breslay received permission to stay and officiate at Annapolis Royal.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLVI.

(1.)

Governor Philipps, who appears to have remained in England from the close of 1722, addressed several letters to the Board of Trade, respecting the sloop William Augustus, which had been built at Boston for the use of his government. In May, 1721, materials of iron work, cordage, and duck for sails, had arrived at Boston, consigned to him. Capt. Durell, of the Royal Navy, had held a consultation in London with colonel Armstrong, of the Board of Ordnance, and colonel Gardner, (governor Philipps' agent), respecting this vessel, and captain Durell made a draft of her. Governor Philipps entrusted the building of her to captain Durell's management. She was launched and fitted for sea in July, 1721, and arrived at Annapolis in August, 1721, captain Southack being her commander. Having been victualled, she sailed about the middle of August, 1721, with the governor and engineer on board, to begin the survey of the Eastern coast. A sketch of the Eastern coast, and an exact survey of Canso harbour, were prepared and sent to the Secretary of State. She arrived at Canso on the 5th or 6th September, 1721. In March, 1722, governor Philipps went in the William Augustus along the shores north of the Gut of Canso. On his return in a few days after, she was sent to Placentia, to remove troops thence to Nova Scotia, whence she returned in August, 1722, at the time the Indian war broke out. In this war service she was employed until October. She then went to Boston, and returned with provisions for the garrison at Annapolis, where she arrived in December, 1722. In the early part of 1723, she was employed by the lieutenant governor at Annapolis as a guard ship, and in the summer she was sent to Canso with war stores. She got there in August, and in September, 1723, was laid up by the governor's orders, as he could no longer sustain the expence of keeping her running. The expences he estimates at the navy rate of £4 a man per month, which, for 12 men, would be £48 per month. He prays to be allowed for her cost, and that she should be re-commissioned. Captain Durell had stated that it would be impossible that the man-of-war he commanded on the Boston station could perform the duties required for Nova Scotia.

(2.)

In Council, 28 April, 1724 :—

The honourable lieutenant governor acquainted the Board that he had received a petition from Joseph Dougas and John Bourg, of Cobaguite, complaining of some hardship done them by Peter Triquette, (alias) Patron, who pretends to be the heir of Mathew Martain, the late senior of that place, as upon file, and being read—

“ It is the oppinion of the Board that the said Mathew Martain was not qualified by will to make the said Patron his heir, and that therefore the seniority of Cobaguite falls to his majesty, and that the governor should send an order there to signifie the same.”

“ Then John Adams, esq., having no post nor sallary from the Government, desired, in behalf of himself and others of the Board, that a petition, setting ”

“ forth the same, might be sent, to be laid before his majesty, requesting some ”
“ consideration for their necessary attendance at the Board.”

“ Which being considered and advised on, agreed that John Adams and ”
“ Hibbert Newton, esqr's., draw up and prepare the same.”

The above petition signed by President, in Council, 11 May, 1724.

(3.)

Monday, 1 June, 1724. Council are of opinion that LaVerdure's children, having abandoned and left the country, have no right to any of the marshes. And further, that those who neither had nor would not undertake to repair their marshes according to his Excellency General Richard Philipps' proclamation, forfeited the same to his majesty.

(4.)

In Council, 22 July, 1724 :—

Examination of father Charlemagne, the Romish priest of this river, before the Governor and Council.

Question. 1st. Father Charlemagne : Why did you not, at yo'r arrival, (when you waited on the Governor), acquaint him of the party of Indians being at Mines, and of their designs against us ?

Ans'd. I must then have been a wizard.

Quest. Did you know of any party of Indians when you was at Mines ?

Ans'd. There were Indians of this province mett there with Golin, their missionary, on account of devotion.

Quest. Did you know of any strange Indians being there, and that it was talk'd of their coming here ?

Ans'd. There were six strange Indians, who came there the friday before I came away.

Quest. Wherefore, then, did you not acquaint the governor of these six Indians, when at yo'r arrivall he asked you what news, when at the same time you told him there was none ?

Ans'd. My business is only to attend my function, and not to enquire into or meddle with any other business, news or affairs ; and that not finding any Indians in my way hither, and finding everything quiet here, I thought it was only talk of the Indians, and that they had no further designe.

Quest. Do you not think that all people that are under the protection of any gov'mt. are obliged to discover any treason or enterprize carried on against it to its detriment ?

Ans'd. It may be justly required, but I would not do it at the risk of my own person, for I love my skin better than my shirt, and I had rather have warrs with the English than the Indians.

Quest. Was you not detained some time there by the Indians, that you might not gett here to give intelligence ?

Ans'd. No, I was not ; but I heard they had such a designe.

Quest. Did not the Indians at the church door threaten to scalp you, if you should give any advice of their coming ?

Ans'd. They did not tell me so, for they are better instructed.

Quest. Why, then, as you are not apprehensive of any danger, did you not find a way to give intelligence when they were up the river at your Mass house ?

Ans'd. I could hardly make to my own house.

Quest. Was there not a person at Mines who, in conversation with you, mentioned to you the necessity of acquainting the governor of the Indians' designe, for fear of the ill consequences that might ensue ?

Ans'd. I had no such conversation with any at Mines.

Quest. Why did you assemble the inhabitants to prayers on that particular day, which occasioned them to pretend an impossibility of giving notice to the governor ?

Ans'd. It was on occasion of the late earthquake.

"It is to be observed that in the course of this examination he often prevaricated, never answering directly to any question without being often repeated and put to him, runing in long discourses foreigne to the point."

"From all which, and the several depositions of the Traders, it appears to the Board that the said father Charlemagne, Romish priest of this river, knew of the enterprize the Indians had formed against this place ; and that his assembling the inhabitants at that juncture was on purpose to facilitate their designe, by furnishing them with the inhabitants' cannoos, which they actually made use of, having no other."

"Resolved, That the said father Charlemagne be kept in custody till an opportunity be found of sending him out of the province, and that when such is found, he be actually sent away, with orders not to returne into this Govm't. again at his peril, which we think an easy punishment, and notwithstanding his crime. But in consideration of the strick alliance of the two Crowns of Great Britain and France, we are willing to shew, by all Tokens of Lenity, our desire of maintaining the same, and of avoiding all acts, as much as in us lies, that may be by our neighbouring French governments be interpreted to the contrary."

The last entry of a baptism by father Charlemagne in the Church register of Port Royal is 25 July, 1724 ; and we find de Breslay officiating as curé, Oct'r. 7, 1724.

(5.)

Several of the Annapolis people, who had been at Mines with father Charlemagne, were examined before the council on the 12 August, 1724.

Alexander Girouar, (alias Drew). when questioned, prevaricated, and was sent to the guard.

James Michel said "that six Indians belonging to the party that afterwards came here, were then at Mines, when he was there with father Charlemagne ; that it was publicly talked there that the Indians were at Isle of Hault, with intention to make an attempt on Canso or Annapolis Royall ; that at his arrival here, he allways thought the priest would have acquainted the governor with the news. And further said, that being at Mines, the priest told them that their brains should be beat out if any of them should speak of this at Annapolis Royall ; that upon that he did not, still trusting that the priest would give notice to the governour."

Joseph Brusar said "that he was afraid the priest, father Charlemagne, would discover him to the Indians, and that his mother and family would be thereby

“destroyed;” and he made oath to every thing mentioned in their petition, (the persons examined had before signed a petition to the governor, confessing their fault), except these words, “Car il nous dit de prendre garde à nous.” &c.; “and the said Joseph Brusar, being further examined upon his abusing Lewis Tibeau, and contempt of orders,” (in not appearing to answer complaint of Tibeau), “was put prisoner upon guard.”

The deputies urged that Girouar was ignorant, and asked for his recal. He was again brought in, and he then admitted, under oath, the truth of the petition.

The deputies interceded for their pardon.

A consultation took place, when, as an act of pardon, and to conciliate and prevent the inhabitants joining the Indians, and on account of want of sufficient force to keep them in subjection, it was agreed to let the three prisoners go. So it was stated as a favor to the deputies; and Brusar, Girouar and Michel, were reprimanded, and let go.

(Minutes of Council, 10 and 12 August, 1724.)

(6.)

In Council, 29 August, 1724. Present: Lieutenant governor Doucett, major Paul Mascarene, John Adams, esq., William Skene, esq., William Shirreff.

Père Isidore, from Piguit, examined.

Q. Father Isidore, was you with the other missionarys at their councils?

A. No. I was at my own house.

Q. Whether, if it had been in your power, would you not have given advice to the Gov'r., of any treason, or attempt formed against the government?

A. When I heard of the rumour of the Indians' designs on this place, I hired two men, for the value of forty livres, to carry two letters directed to the Governor, wherein what I know of the matter was contained. But having advice that all the people from Annapolis Royal were stopt at the Grand Pré, I recalled my letters for fear of falling into their hands, and I afterwards gave them to Mr. Blin, which I hope he delivered. And I declare, that whilst I am in the territory, and under the protection of the English Gov'm't, I think myself obliged, in conscience, to give notice of any ill designe against it, my conscience being dearer to me than any worldly intrest.

And he likewise informed the Governour and Council that it was publicly talked that when the Indians (were) at their returne from Annapolis Royall to Mines, that Jacques Teriot, one of the inhabitants at Mines, went to père Felix, and told him that as his soldiers were come back from his expedition, he ought, as being their General, to provide for them, and not suffer them to eat up the inhabitants; and the said father Felix denieing that he had any hand in it, the said Jacques Teriot made answer that—That is not true, for I saw yo'r Letter by which you sent for them, at St. John's river.

Then the Gov'r. told him that he had rec'd. his two letters from Mr. Bline, and thanked him for his care and intelligence, tho' it came too late, and being desired to withdraw.

The Governour (evidently Mr. Doucett, the lieut. gov'r., is at that time meant where the governour is spoken of, as gov'r. Philipps was then in England) laid before the Board a letter from père Felix, (as upon file), in excuse for not obeying his orders in coming here, he being about to depart the country, &c.

"Resolved, That an order be sent to Mines, to be there published at the Mass house, to discharge the said father Felix from ever, at his utmost peril, entering this province without the consent and approbation of the government."

The governor and council gave father Isidore the cure of Mines; and they gave Lewis Allein leave to return to his family, upon Mr. Gotié, his son-in-law's, security.

(7.)

In Council, 22 September, 1724 :—

"The Board unanimously agreed, that whereas it appears that the Rev'd. Mr. Robert Cuthbert hath obstinately persisted in keeping company with Margaret Douglass, contrary to all reproofs and admonitions from Alexander Douglass, her husband, and contrary to his own promises and the good advice of his Honour the Lieut. Governor. That he, the said Mr. Robert Cuthbert, should be kept in the garrison without port liberty; and that his scandalous affair, and the satisfaction demanded by the injured husband, be transmitted, in order to be determined at home; and that the hon'ble. lieut. governor may write for another minister in his room."

Then the Reverend Mr. Robert Cuthbert being sent for to give his reasons for stopping of Alex'r. Douglass's goods, &c., as is represented in said Douglass's petition, who, having come, and being asked, made answer, No, that he did not; he might have them when he pleased, and that he did not insist upon any thing either for him, his wife, or child.

(8.)

At a Council held at the honourable lieutenant governor John Doucett's house, in his majesty's garrison at Annapolis Royall, on Munday, the 19 October, 1724. Present: the honourable lieut. governor, president; major Paul Mascarene, William Skeen, esq., John Adams, esq., William Shirreff.

The honourable lieutenant governor advised the Board, that mons. St. Ovide, the gov'r. of Cape Breton, had sent a vessel to transport the messengers that were sent by the inhabitants of this river; and that he had write to him for liberty to purchase some refreshments, of which they stood very much in need there; which being advised on:

Agreed, that as he had, when the garrison at Canso was in very great necessity and want, supplied his Excellency General Richard Philipps, when there, with things suitable to his necessity, That liberty may be granted as far as his Honour the Governor should think convenient.

(9.)

30 October, 1724. The lieutenant governor informed the Council that he had received a letter from père Felix, informing him of his return to the province, and settling at Shickanecto, on an assurance of a letter from the governor of Cape Breton in his favor. Also, two priests that Felix had brought with him, had written letters to the lieutenant governor. Council advised orders for them to leave the province, &c.

(10.)

3 November, 1724. In consequence of a letter to the lieutenant governor from lieutenant governor William Dummer, esq., of New England, of an expected negociation in October or November for a general peace with the Indians, Articles were drawn up and ordered to be sent to Hibbert Newton, esq., then at Boston, of the terms required in behalf of Nova Scotia, in substance :—

1. Acknowledgment of the king's title to the province.
2. Not to molest persons settling.
3. Restitution to traders who are plundered by the savages.
4. Missionaries to be approved of by the governor.
5. Offenders to be given up by the Indians.
6. Hostages to be required.

(11.)

In Council, 3 November, 1724. Brely, (Breslay), the priest, who came from Cape Breton on request of inhabitants, was, on their petition, permitted to stay ; and that his residence and place of worship be at the house " called the Mohauck " " Fort." Same day the minutes of council were ordered to be sent to his Excellency the Governor, to be laid before the Secretary of State and Board of Trade ; " and that William Shirreff, esq., one of the members of this board, who hath, " " for want of a secretary, acted these two years past as such, countersigne the " " same," &c.

(12.)

6 November, 1724. Complaints against lieut. John Washington, for not paying his debts. Major Mascarene, as engineer, was ordered by the Board of Ordnance to send lieut. Washington home. Lieut. Millidge, belonging to the Board of Ordnance, was sent for in Council. Mr. Daniel Quinton, a creditor, took lieut. Washington's bill for £68. 18s. 11d. N. E. on Daniel Johonnett, merchant, Boston.

(13.)

In Council, Saturday, 7 November, 1724 :—

The honourable lieutenant governor acquainted the Board that doctor St. Seine and Peter Surrett, both inhabitants of the upper town of Annapolis Royall, had presented him with memorials, praying liberty to depart this province and to go to the French government of Cape Breton ; and having laid their said petitions before the Board, and the same being read—

The Board agreed that their petitions be granted.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1725. In January, 1725, father Ignace, a Flemish priest, who had been sent by his superior père Jocunde, in Cape Breton, recommended to the people of Mines, arrived at Annapolis with the deputies from that place, and requested the permission of the government to officiate, promising to behave as a loyal subject. The governor and council appointed him to *Shickanecto*, (Chignecto, in Cumberland,) in the 'hope of rooting out Felix.' 22 January, père Pierre, who had gone to Cobequid without leave, was ordered to be 'banished the country;' and the government were offended with the people of Cobequid for referring a question of building a church to the bishop of Quebec.

Lawrence Armstrong, esquire, was appointed 'lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia, or Accadie.' His commission is dated 8 February, 1724-5.

Father Charlemagne was sent to Cape Breton in Gotié's (Gautier?) vessel previous to the 22 March, 1724-5. 21st April, John Duon, notary, had leave to quit the province, giving in all the papers he held officially.——The rev. Dr. Cuthbert took possession of a house or hovel belonging to Samuel Douglass, bought from lieutenant John Jephson in 1715, claiming it as church property. It was built by governor Vetch. The council gave Douglass leave to remove it.——22 May, Prudent Robichau had entertained an Indian clandestinely, and was imprisoned, but now liberated on giving security for his good behavior.

The border war in New England was renewed in the spring of this year. A captain Lovewell, whose name was given to the war itself, fought twice with success ; but in a third encounter with the Indians, he was defeated and slain. Commissioners had been sent from Massachusetts to Canada, to negotiate for a peace with the tribes. They obtained the release of sixteen captives upon payment of ransom, but failed in effecting a treaty. The Indians demanded that the English should "demolish all their forts—remove one mile Westward" "of Saco river—rebuild their church at Norridgewock, and" "restore to them their missionary father." The Jesuit père la Chasse was present as interpreter. The interview took place in the house of Vaudreuil, between the commissioners and the Indian chiefs.

Lieutenant governor Armstrong arrived from England at Canso, 29 May, 1725.

In June, ensign James Campbell, and James and Charles Poubomcoup, petitioned lieutenant governor Doucett and the council at Annapolis, claiming rights under the will of Marie de Menou, and exhibited the will and other papers. Madame Belleisle filed a counter petition, and appearing before the council, 3 June, (Doucett, Mascarene, Adams, Skene and Shirreff, being present), said her papers were at Mines, and the inquiry was adjourned "*till the Fall*," that she might have time to produce them.

12 June, 1725. In council. "It is the opinion of this" "Board that père Isidore has behaved himself with moŕe" "honesty and integrity to this Gov't. than any of the other" "Romish priests. That Gaulin's insolence to this Gov't. is" "unpardonable ; and that those inhabitants who regard and" "qbey said Gaulin's orders touching anything to be done in" "this Gov't., and who have been accessary in pushing père" "Isidore out of the country, are mallcontents, and enemys" "to his majesty's government."

Although the conference for peace in Canada did not prosper, another held in July, between commissioners from Massachusetts, and thirteen chiefs of the Eastern Indians at St. George's fort, was more successful. In the absence of

Vaudreuil and la Chasse, a pacific temper prevailed, and a cessation of arms was agreed upon.—Lieut. governor Dummer, of Massachusetts, wrote to Armstrong, now the lieut. governor of Nova Scotia, stating that the Indians were suing for peace. Armstrong held a council at Canso on the 31 August, and, with their approval, appointed major Paul Mascarene to be present as commissioner for Nova Scotia in the pending treaty, and protect its territorial rights. He is authorized to consult Mr. Newton. His instructions direct him to demand the terms proposed by the governor and council at Annapolis, 3 November, 1724, viz. : 1. The Indians to acknowledge the king's exclusive right to all Nova Scotia. 2. They are not to molest settlers, &c. 3. They are to make restitution for past plunders. 4. They are to have only such priests as the government approve. 5. The Indians to surrender any of their people who break the treaty, to be punished according to law. 6. That hostages be required of the Indians. 7. Friendship promised them, if they keep to the treaty. Armstrong also wrote very fully on the subject to Mr. Dummer.

11 August, 1725. Armstrong laid before the council (at Canso) a list of all the ships and fishing vessels that had been there to this date, and which had this year been loaded with fish for foreign markets. The number of such vessels was 197. At this council there were present—the lieut. governor Armstrong, major Mascarene, Hibbert Newton and William Shirreff. Armstrong proposed that he should write to St. Ovide, at Louisbourg, to complain of the underhand conduct of the French in giving arms, ammunition, &c., to the Indians, and to send Mr. Newton and captain John Bradstreet to carry the letter, and to confer with St. Ovide on this and other grievances. This was agreed to. The gentlemen appointed went accordingly to Louisbourg, and on their return reported fully the results of their mission. The points debated turned on small details that would not now have much interest. Apparently St. Ovide had no unfriendly disposition to the English, and we must candidly say that it was not from Paris at all, or much from Louisbourg, but chiefly by M. Vaudreuil at Quebec, that the ill feelings of the Indians to the English

appear to have been fostered and fomented. However, the council, on the return of their deputation, resolved : "The " "council were of opinion that his (M. St. Ovide's) letter is " "trifling, and his promises of friendship not to be depended " "on, and no credit to be given to his pretended ignorance, " "there being too much proof to the contrary," and directed that copies should be sent home.

On the night of 25 August, 1725, the French man-of-war *le Chameau*, going from France to Quebec, was lost on the reefs near Louisbourg, cape Breton, and all on board perished. Besides the ship's company, there were many passengers. M. de Chazel, appointed intendant of Canada ; Louvigny, governor of Trois Rivières ; M. de la Gesse, son of de Ramezay ; several other officials, ecclesiastics and settlers. [4 *Charlevoix*, 159, 160.] *Le Chameau* was a 60-gun ship, and was lost within a league of the harbor of Louisbourg. This occurred while Newton and Bradstreet were at Louisbourg.

Armstrong wrote 5 September to the secretary of State, He urges the building a fortification at Canso, on account of the constant insults and massacres the English there are exposed to from the Indians, supported and clandestinely encouraged by the French, who supply them with powder and ball. He relates the correspondence with St. Ovide, and the mission of Newton and Bradstreet to Louisbourg. He says St. Ovide supplied 200 Indians this year, and treats his excuses as deceitful. He also mentions sending Mascarene and Newton to assist in the Indian treaty. He had induced the people at Canso to build several block-houses for defence, chiefly at their own cost. He had not been able to go to Annapolis, but intended to do it in the spring. The government schooner *William Augustus* was out of repair. and had not anchors, cables, sails or rigging worth anything. "It being very " "demonstrable, from the great concourse of English subjects " "here, that this is the principal seat of government, I intend " "to bring major Paul Mascarene, Hibbert Newton, William " "Skeen and William Shirreff, esquires, gentlemen of the " "council at Annapolis Royal, down to that place, in order to " "have a quorum." He says there are several vacancies in the

council, and sends names of persons to fill them. The inhabitants (except one or two families at Annapolis, of English, and the troops), are all French, who have never taken the oath of allegiance. This applies to all parts of the province, except Canso. "I shall be glad of directions in relation to" "them, *and for constituting of an assembly* and other courts of" "judicature here, the people so much desiring it." It would add, he says, to the authority of government, and in a little while lessen the public charge. The assembly he proposed to be composed of twenty-four inhabitants, to make laws for the good government of the province, (in his letter to Mr. Alured Popple), "otherways the best man on earth cannot manage" "and govern them;" and he says that though he has not received the value of one shilling from any of them, yet he anticipates unfounded complaints, which "may do an honest" "man hurt at this distance from home." Complains of having to expend £693 in feeding 152 men for three months, from the contractor's omission, and of the difficulties about credit. He sends Mr. Popple six sable skins, for a tippet for Mrs. Popple, and a *loup cervier* skin for himself.

On the 3 October, 1724, the man-of-war Ludlow Castle, captain John St. Lo, was about sailing from Canso for Lisbon. The ship not wearing, run aground in a narrow passage, on a ledge of rocks, where she continued until the 5th. With the aid of the whole garrison and the vessels in port, they lightened her by taking out her guns and stores, and she was got off, but with some damage; and on a survey, was obliged to go to Boston to refit this winter, in order to return early in the spring for the protection of the fishery. The captain, lieutenant Conditt, and the crew, all behaved extremely well. [*Letter of lieut. gov. Armstrong to the duke of Newcastle, dated Canso, 24 Oct., 1725.*]

Armstrong states to the secretary of State that he had written to the government of New England to send him "sixty" "Indians of that country, with 12 whale boats, which, joined" "with so many of our troops and forty men from Commodore" "St. Lo," he intends to take a tour through the province, "to" "humble the villainous French inhabitants as well as Indians."

He proposes to "land at Chicanecto, in the bay of Verte ;" "from thence to Mines in the bay of Fundy, and so to Pisgid" "and Cobigid to Annapolis, and round the coast to Canso ;" "and he says as governor Philipps and colonel Gardner are" "both in London, and capable of giving your grace a just" "account of these my proceedings, I am sure this will put it" "out of the power of the French and Indians to insult us" "any more, which they have constantly done this four years" "past." Intelligence had reached him of 800 Indians intending to attack him in the winter, "by the underhand orders" "of the French governors of Quebec, Troy river, (Trois" "rivières), Mount Royall, (Montreal), and cape Breton." He says, "I hope we shall do our duty; and give a good account" "of them." At this time he transmitted his observations on the province. He gives Nova Scotia a circuit of five hundred leagues. The great number of harbors is most convenient for the fishery. Canso is the only settlement on the coast. Its inhabitants amount to forty-nine families. The New England people trade in the cod fishery on this coast to the extent of £150,000, New England currency, annually ; yet they are under the disadvantage of having to take the fish 150 leagues home to cure it, from which necessity settlers on the coast would be free. He comments on the different fish, the timber, masts, &c. The province would be a nursery for seamen. He mentions the productiveness of the soil, provisions, naval stores, &c. "The French inhabitants are about 800 or 900 families, all papists, and not one" "of them will take the oaths to king George." They have many missionary priests, who teach the Indians "a hatred" "inexpressible against the English." The French make presents of arms and ammunition to the Indians, and obtain all the fur trade. Armstrong was sent in 1720 to the French governor at cape Breton. He recommends several little Forts to be built in the harbors and settlements. Armstrong, in a letter of 24 October, to Mr. Popple, says, "An angel from" "heaven can't please nor govern these fishermen." He complains of captain John Eliot, captain Franklin, (in the service of Mr. Missing, the contractor), captain Kenwood, and several

others. He had written by lieutenant Daniell and ensign Bradstreet.

Early in November, 1725, four eminent *sagamores* arrived at Boston, who were empowered to represent the tribes of Penobscot, Norridgewock, St. John's, Cape Sable, and other places in New England and Nova Scotia, to negotiate a treaty with the government of Massachusetts, &c. This treaty (which has been since usually called Dummer's treaty) was signed 15 December, 1725, by the four chiefs: 1. Sanguaaram, (alias Loron.) 2. Arexus. 3. François Xavier, (who lived at St. John's), and 4. Maganumba. (*See the treaty in appendix to this chapter.*) It was finally ratified at a conference held at Falmouth, in Maine, which was opened 30 July, 1726. The lieutenant governors of Massachusetts and of New Hampshire, Mascarene, delegate from Nova Scotia, and several councillors and representatives of New England, appearing for the English interest, and about forty Indian chiefs who met with them. It was finally concluded, signed and sealed on the 6-17 August, by William Dummer, John Wentworth, Paul Mascarene, and several provincial councillors; and by Wene-movet, chief sachem, and twenty-five other Indian chiefs. A public dinner closed the proceeding. Williamson says that the original treaty is in the secretary's office at Boston. (This treaty was renewed at Chibouctou, (Halifax), 15 August, 1749, and again renewed with several tribes there in 1760.) The French were much dissatisfied with the peace, and the governor of Canada rebuked the chiefs who had taken part in it—withheld the accustomed presents from them, and threatened to withdraw their missionaries.

The marquis de Vaudreuil died at Quebec 10 Oct'r., n. s., 1725. He was succeeded in the year following by the chevalier de Beauharnois, captain in the navy. [4 *Charlevoix*, 160.] In a letter from Canso, 2 December, 1725, lieutenant governor Armstrong asks the duke of Newcastle for authority to oblige the French inhabitants to take the oath or to quit the province, "for we never shall be safe or secure so long as they" "are permitted to be snakes in our bosom, that would cut" "our throats on all occasions." He states also that he had

relieved forty-two British subjects on the isle of Sable. About this time, one John Baptiste, his son, and three Indians, attempted to take a Plymouth fisherman (fishing vessel) in the harbor of Nova Scotia. They were overcome, taken to Boston, and there tried for piracy, found guilty, and hanged. This and one or two other acts of hostility besides, occurred after the peace, and were traced to Indians from Canada. [2 *Williamson, Maine*, 148, 149.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLVII.

(I.)

Articles of submission and agreement made at Boston, in New England, by Sanguaaram (Sangacoram), als. Lorn, (Loron), Arexus, François Xavier, (and) Maganumbo, delegates from the tribes of Penobscott, Naridgwalk, St. John's, cape Sable, and other tribes of the Indians, inhabiting within his majestie's territories of Nova Scotia and New England :—

Whereas his majesty king George, by the concession of the most Christian king, made at the treaty of Utrecht, has become the rightful possessor of the province of Nova Scotia, or Accadie, according to its antient boundaries :

We, the said Sanguaaram, als. Lorn, Arexus, François Xavier, Meganumbo, delegates from the said tribes of Penobscott, Naridgwalk, St. John's, Cape Sable, and other tribes inhabiting within his majesty's said territories of Nova Scotia or Accadie, and New England, Do, in the name and behalf of the said tribes we represent, acknowledge his said majestie king George's Jurisdiction and Dominion over the territories of said province of Nova Scotia, or Accadie, and make our submission to his said majestie in as ample a manner as we have formerly done to (the) his most Christian king.

And we further promise, in behalf of said tribes we represent, that the Indians shall not molest any of his majesty's subjects, or their dependants, in their settlements already or lawfully to be made, or in their carrying on their trade or other affairs within the (said) province.

That if their happens any robbery or outrage committed by any of the Indians, the tribe or tribes they belong to shall cause satisfaction and restitution to the parties injured.

That the Indians shall not help to convey away ("soldiers belonging to H. M. Forts"—copy 1760) any of his majesty's soldiers belonging to any of his Forts, but on the contrary shall bring back any soldier they shall find endeavoring to run away.

That in case of any misunderstanding, quarrell or injury, between the English and the Indians, no private revenge shall be taken, but application shall be made for redress according to his majestie's laws.

That if the Indians have made any prisoners belonging to the government of Nova Scotia, or Accadie, durement the course of the war, that they shall be released at or before the ratification of this treaty.

That this treaty be ratified at Annapolis Royall.

Dated at the council chamber at Boston, in New England, (this fifteenth day of December), An. Dom. one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five. Annoq: regni regts Georgii Mag. Brit., &c. &c., duodecimo.

(2.)

(From report of Messrs. Newton & Bradstreet, 1725.)

ENGLISH VESSELS TRADING TO LOUISBOURG.

1. William Blin, in a ship from Boston, laden with boards, cattle, sheep and bricks.
2. Barber, of Boston. Sold sloop and cargo.
3. Samuel Butler, of Martin's (Martha's) Vineyard. Sold sloop and cargo.
4. Jenkins, of Martin's Vineyard. Sold salt, and gone to load for coals.
5. Breed, of Boston, in a sloop. Sold his cargo—laden with molasses, for Boston.
6. Lord, of cape Ann, in a sloop. Sold his cargo—loaded with rigging, anchors and cables, for cape Ann.
7. Turner, in a sloop, called here and went to Newfoundland.
8. Clarke, of New York, in a sloop. Sold his cargo—gone laden with claret and brandy, for New York.
9. Aubin, of Boston, in a sloop laden with creatures. Sold them.
10. Green, of New London, laden with cattle and sheep. Called here, and gone for Newfoundland.
11. Dyke, of Salem. Sold his sloop and 400 fish.
14. Three schooners from Nova Scotia, laden with cattle and sheep—two from Bay Verte, and one from Chebucto.

(3.)

Among the papers of this period is a list of 49 allotments at Canso, called fishing rooms, with the names of the different holders. No. 1 is a large island, capt. Thos. Durell and company. They are of various measurements. Cyprian Southack has a peninsula of 2740x1620 feet. Capt. Edward How has on How's island 1100x500 feet. r. Hunking Wentworth has one of 121x400, and another called Wentworth's point, of 1180x580 feet; one is only 83x300.

"No. 43. Mr. Samuel Bassett and Samuel Buttler's room being a high head"
 "of land with a low point of beach, the same being formerly called Petipas",
 "now Bellenden's head, *in memento mori* of lieutenant John Bellenden, being"
 "descended from a noble family, and buried there."

Dr. Cuthbert has 272 feet front at Topsham's cove.

Sir Thomas Bury and Richard's room was a small island 920 feet long and 270 feet broad. (Anno 1725.)

(4.)

At a council held at the hon'ble. lieutenant governor John Doucett's house, in his majesty's garrison of Annapolis Royall, on Thursday, the 7th of Dec'r., 1725, Present : The hon'ble. lieutenant governor John Doucett, president ; John Adams, esq., William Skeen, esq., William Shirreff.

The hon. president acquainted the Board that there were three French strangers come (as they say) from Canada, and having no passport from the governor of that place, or any credentials but from the Bishop there, signifying that they had duely frequented the communion of that church ; and the said three strangers having reported that they were gentlemen belonging to old France, and had killed Aeneas, and another Indian, and that they were come here for refuge, he asked the oppinion of the Board what he should do in the case, believing them rather come as spies, in order to discover either the state of the town and garrison, or to entice the desertion of the troops.

Whereupon the Board judged necess'y. that they should be put into custody, and examined separately, in order to find out, if possible, the truth of their designs and allegations ; and his honour the lieutenant governor acquainting that he had already put them prisoners, it was accordingly agreed that they should be examined.

And one of the said prisoners being brought before the Board, who called himself Paul François Dupont de Veillein, and the hon'ble. presid't. having asked him what he was, from whence, and the cause of his and the other two's coming here, the said Paul François Dupont de Veillein made answer that he was a gentleman of a family of good report in France—that his parents had designed him for the Ecclesiastick order, but that he had served as an officer in the French army, and that being put into the Bastille the first of October, 1722, for what he knew not, where he remained about twenty-two months, was sent to Quebec, by order of mons'r. Bellamis, the commis'y. ordonnateur, to the care of the governor of that place, where he lived about twelve months, and was there entertained like a gentleman, through the means of (as he supposed) some certain advice, but from whom he knew not, of some who knew him in old France. Then being asked, seeing he was so well entertained there, why he left that place in such a vagabond manner, and to come without the govr's. passport, he answered that he would not give him one, but told him he might go if he pleased, and that he would not stop him ; and that upon his denying him one, he and the rest contented themselves with the Bishop's certificate. And being asked why they did not rather go from thence directly to old France or to cape Breton, he made answer that none of the masters of vessels would take them on board without the govr's. passport. Then being asked why they ventured to come to this or to any of the English govts. without one, he answered that his father was of Blois, and a chevalier, and that being sent away in such a manner, he was resolved to run all risques to gett home to sue for justice, and that finding that none would take him on board, he and the other two agreed with one Aeneas, an Indian, to bring him to the river St. John's, whom, with another Indian, his relation, they kill'd about fifty leagues above Meductuck, because they found he was going to deceive them, and not performe the agreement, after they had paid him for his pilotage, but tarry in the woods, where they must have infallibly perished with hunger, had they not taken his cannow by force ; and in the scuffle he shott Aeneas as he was going to fire upon him

and his commarads. and that mons'r. Babour shott the other Indian, his relation, as he was going to kill mons'r. St. Joyly, with a lancett, and that they then proceeded in the best manner they could on their journey. He was asked if they did not meet with other Indians who knew the cannow. Answered, not till they came to St. John's, where the priest lives, to whom they applied for his assistance and direction how to gett to the French plantations ; and there being then several Indians going from thence to Beaubassin, he recommended them to their care, who, not knowing the cannow, (it being a new one, just finished before they departed from Canada,) they piloted them to the river of Beaubassin ; and y't. being informed of a place called Mines, where there were also French inhabitants, they chused rather to go there than to Beaubassin, least, during their stay there, they should be delivered, and fall into the Indians' hands ; and so taking their direction which way to steer along shoar, they found the place, where having stayed a few days, and beging the assistance of the inhabitants, they discovered to them the ffact, who ordered them to depart immediately, for that there was no shelter for them there, and make the best of their way to this place, and aske the protection of the gov'r., for that the Indians would certainly destroy them ; and said that having but little provisions and no guide, they had allmost perished in the way. And being asked what the other two were, and whether he and they were deserters from the troops, he said they were both gentlemen of good family, and had mett with ill usage, and such misfortunes as his own ; and said that he had a greater acquaintance with mons'r. Alex'r. Poupart de Babour than he had with the other mons'r. St. Joyly de Pardeithan, he being in the Bastile at the same time that he was there, and at Canada for some time together, and that he knew St. Joyly only but since he came to Quebeck from Messicippy, which was but a few months before they left Quebeck, and that none of them were in the troops.

St. Joyly de Pardeithan being called, he gave the same acco't. of their journey from Quebeck, and of killing the two Indians, as the aforegoing of mons'r. Dupont, and said that he was sent away on acco't. of a duel, in which he was in some measure concerned, in behalf of a friend ; and being apprehended, was first sent to New Spain, where lived about three years, and from thence travelled to Messicippy, where he acted for some time as sec'y. ; and from thence he went to Quebeck, where he became acquainted with the other two, and knew no more of them than the acco't. they gave of themselves, and that they were respected there as gentlemen.

Alexander Poupart de Babour agreed in every respects with the other two, and said that he knew not the real cause of his transportation, but said he believed it had been so ordered by some of his family, on some account of amours, for that he had been a very wild youth ; and being further asked about the death of the two Indians, answered conforme to the preceding acco't. : That mons'r. Dupont shott Aeneas, and that he shott the other, which was about two months agoe in the river St. John's, about fifty leagues above Meductuk.

There being no proofs against their assertions, the gov'r. and council judged proper to keep them in custody untill further informed of the truth of their reports, they also requesting the same, being afraid to live among the inhabitants, or depart for fear of the Indians.

(5.)

Speaking of New Hampshire, Belknap says, vol. 2, pp. 82, 83 : "The militia
" at this time (1725) was completely trained for active service ; every man of forty
" years of age having seen more than twenty years of war. They had been used
" to handle their arms from the age of childhood, and most of them, by long
" practice, had become excellent marksmen, and good hunters. They were well
" acquainted with the lurking places of the enemy ; and possessed a degree of
" hardiness and intrepidity, which can be acquired only by the habitude of those
" scenes of danger and fatigue, to which they were daily exposed. They had
" also imbibed from their infancy a strong antipathy to the savage natives ; which
" was strengthened by repeated horrors of blood and desolation, and not obliterated
" by the intercourse which they had with them in time of peace. As the
" Indians frequently resorted to the frontier towns in time of scarcity, it was
" common for them to visit the families whom they had injured in war ; to recount
" the circumstances of death and torture which had been practised on their
" friends ; and when provoked, or intoxicated, to threaten a repetition of such
" insults in future wars. To bear such treatment required more than human
" patience ; and it is not improbable that secret murders were sometimes the
" consequence of these harsh provocations. Certain it is, that when any person
" was arrested for killing an Indian in time of peace, he was either forcibly rescued
" from the hands of justice, or, if brought to trial, invariably acquitted ; it
" being impossible to impanel a jury, some of whom had not suffered by the
" Indians, either in their persons or families."

(6.)

" A newspaper was first established in New York in the year 1725, and there "
" was now one bookseller's shop in the city." [2 *Graham's Colonial History of
the U. States*, 104.]

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1726. Lieutenant governor Armstrong stated to the lords of Trade, in his letter of 18 Jan'y., 1725-6, that "the barracks," "magazines and fort of Annapolis Royal, which were at first "erected with bad materials, and have been continually mouldering away, since in the possession of the crown of Great Britain, and as often repairing at a yearly expense, are now "reduced to such a bad condition, that without a speedy, "thorough repair, that garrison will be without lodgements, "provisions or defence." Canso, where "he thought it requisite to place a garrison of nine companys, is, to this day, "without other lodgements, magazines or fortifications, than "such as have been made at mine and my officers' expence." (Observe that it had been before said that the parties engaged in the fishery there had built a fort.) He recommends the protection of Canso, as "a frontier place, within seven "leagues of the French settlement at cape Breton," and as a business place. He urges the want of a vessel in the service of the government in so large a command, embracing even the inspection of Placentia, and suggests the refitting the government vessel laid up at Canso.

The marquis de Beauharnois was appointed governor general, and M. Dupuis intendant, in Canada, where they arrived in 1726.—A copy of the treaty with the Indians was received from major Mascarene, in March, and read in council in presence of the French deputies of Annapolis river, and a circular letter sent to the Indians, calling on them to send delegates

or chiefs to ratify it. May 12, a letter from Mr. Winniett, dated Mines, 25 April, confirmed the statement of the three French gentlemen who had sought protection from the Indians. Lieutenant governor Doucett, and messrs. Adams, Skeen and Shirreff being present in council, they resolved, "That it" "would be cruelty, as they came to this government for pro-" "tection and shelter for killing two Indians in time of warr," "now to deliver them up, and therefore to prevent their" "demanding of them at their coming to ratifie the peace," "agreed that they should be sent away by the vessells now" "bound for Boston, in New England." May 31. The chief of the cape Sable Indians came in to ratify the treaty. On Saturday, the 4 June, 1726, (15 June, n. s.,) the council went to the "*Flagg bastion*," where the Indians of the river, &c., being present, the articles of peace were read, (the officers, soldiers, and French deputies being also present), first in English, and then Abraham Bourg, and Prudence Robichau, senior, were sworn to interpret them. The articles were then distinctly read over in French, and interpreted to the Indians, which they assented to and signed. In the absence of lieutenant governor Armstrong, who was at Canso, lieutenant governor Doucett signed the articles. The Indian hostages were then released by his orders, and the Indians had an entertainment and several presents.—A thanksgiving day was appointed for the king's narrow escape in a storm when returning from Hanover. 23 June.—In Council. A vessel was ordered to be sent to St. John's river, with Abraham Bourg, to bring over the Indian chiefs to ratify the peace.

Major Mascarene was this summer at Casco, with the lieutenant governor of New England and the other commissioners, ratifying the peace with all the tribes of the several Indian nations.

Lieutenant governor Armstrong writes from Canso 27 July. He says the fishermen at Canso grumble at having to pay 6s. 8d. to the collector and 3s. 4d. to the naval officer, for each vessel, having never been taxed anything before this year. He adds, "In the middle of September next I shall meet a" "considerable body of Indians at Annapolis Royal, to con-" "firm the peace, and all other points that have not yet been"

"done to make it lasting." He says he will be at a loss for the want of the usual presents. He must raise £300 or £400 credit to effect this point.—Some of the French had transported their cattle and effects to cape Breton. Governor St. Ovide, with some troops and his council, had gone to the island of St. John, to mark out lands in that island for such inhabitants as would quit Nova Scotia and retire under the government of France. Armstrong says that he had given no offence to, and has lived in perfect friendship with, the governor of cape Breton, (St. Ovide.) "They are well fortified," "which Nova Scotia is not." His own expences are great, having no allowance but his lieutenant colonel's subsistence, and this year it falls short by £400. He begs relief to support the honor of the government. This he says was the first opportunity of sending home any account of his province this summer.

The Indians seemed quite tired of the war, and were extremely well pleased with the peace, and believed that they would never make war upon this government, whatever they might do with New England, without Great Britain and France should be at war. Many declared they would never take up arms against either of the two crowns, but that they would live neuter and friends to both. [*Letter of lieut. governor Doucett to the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, date Annapolis Royal, August 16, 1726.*] Doucett says "they" "have cost me near £300 in presents and feasting." He also alludes to a leave of absence for some months which he had obtained.

Armstrong arrived at Annapolis from Canso, 17 September, and on the 21st held a council at his house in the garrison. Doucett, the lieut. governor of the fort and garrison, Mr. John Adams, Dr. William Skene and Mr. William Shirreff, attended. Mr. Armstrong laid before them his commission of lieutenant governor of the province—copies of general Philipps' commission—instructions and additional instructions, and a copy of the earl of Orkney's instructions for the government of Virginia. Referring to the 7th article of the Virginia instructions, it was agreed, that three councillors being present, on extra-

ordinary emergencies, would justify going on with business. —The French deputies, who were in attendance, being called in, and the oath of allegiance proposed to them, they requested a copy to shew to the inhabitants, which they received, and Sunday, the 25th, (was) appointed for their answer. On Sunday, 25 September, 1726, a council was held, (the same persons attending as on the 21st.) The lieutenant governor named the Flag Bastion as the 'properest' place to meet the French inhabitants and deputies, and the council adjourned till they came. Afternoon, the same day, the lieutenant governor and council met the deputies and a number of the inhabitants at the Flag Bastion. The lieutenant governor addressed them, proposing the taking the oath of fidelity, and a French translation was read. "Upon which, some of them" "desiring that a clause, whereby they may not be obliged to" "carry arms, might be inserted," Armstrong again addressed them, stating that it was contrary to British laws for Roman Catholics to serve in the army, and that they would not be required to carry arms; "but they, upon motion made as" "aforesaid, still refusing, and desiring the same clause. The" "governor, with the advice of the council, granted the same" "to be writ upon the margin of the French translation, in" "order to get them over by degrees, whereupon they took" "and subscribed the same both in French and English." Then the governor addressed them briefly. They gave repeated promises, "and having drank his majesty's, the Royal" "family's," and several other loyal healths, the governor bid them good night.

In this autumn, captain Joseph Bennett and ensign Erasmus James Philipps were ordered to be sent to Mines, to administer the oath to the people there, but being detained by bad weather, their mission was countermanded afterwards. Père Gaulin petitioned the governor and council, making submission, &c. It was resolved (11 Oct'r.) that on his begging pardon, taking the oath of fidelity, promising not to meddle with government affairs, but confine himself to his religious functions, and giving "the other priests and ten or" "twelve deputies" as security for his behavior, he might

remain as a *missionnaire* in the province. This resolution was to be translated into French, and sent to him. Gaulin not being able to furnish the required security, offered apologies, promises, &c., to the governor, who suggested in council (24 Oct.) to please the Indians and the French inhabitants, by setting him at liberty and trusting him once more. At the same time, Armstrong calls him "that old, mischievous" "incendiary Gaulin." The council adopted the proposal, and advised that he should have the cure of Mines till further orders. Thursday, 10 November, in council, the governor stated "that old fellow Gaulin," as he was informed, "spoke" "slightfully of the government and disrespectfully of the order" "he had given him for the cure of Mines." Mr. Adams had made an affidavit on the subject, and Armstrong calls it "intolerable insolence." Gaulin denied the charge—said Adams misunderstood him; he had no intention to offend. The decision of the council was, that "notwithstanding he" "was such a vile fellow, it would still be better at this" "juncture to continue him, than either to keep him in prison" "or banish him the province," Gaulin was accordingly called in, reprimanded, and promising and swearing to behave better, was let go.

On the 19th November, the honorable John Doucett, the lieutenant governor of the fort of Annapolis, died. He, as well as the lieutenant governor of Placentia, was captain in Philipps' regiment, and they had each a salary for their government. Armstrong, the lieutenant governor of the province, had nothing but his regimental pay. Armstrong writes from Annapolis Royal, 24 November, 1726, to the duke of Newcastle,—also to Temple Stanyan, esq. Reports the death of Mr. Doucett, and urges his own right to pay as lieutenant governor in actual charge of the province. He refers to the Indian treaty, also to the protection required for Canso. He says "No. 3 is the oaths administered with the advice of" "H. M. council to the *river* of Annapolis Royal, who could" "never be prevailed upon to take it before. The next spring" "I shall send to the other settlements in this province the"

“same oaths, and oblige them all to take them, and send”
“them home to your Grace for his majesty’s approbation.”

He recommends yearly presents to be sent out for the Indians, of arms, powder and shot, with some pieces of red and blue cloths, with other necessaries. Thinks it would secure the fur trade to the English.

“No. 4 is the miserable state of the fortifications of Anna-”
“polis Royal, magazines, storehouses, barracks, &c., signed”
“by all the officers.”

“No. 5 is the minutes of council of all transactions since”
“my arrival in this garrison.”

Thomas Missing, esquire, of Portsmouth, was contractor for provisions for Philipps’ regiment ; and Mr. Borland, merchant of Boston, who was to execute this contract, had not done so, which threw great difficulty upon Armstrong. He had bought wheat and flour for the winter’s use, and was obliged to have sixty oxen and cows killed, and to send to New England for one hundred and fifty barrels of pork, which he fears will miscarry, “by reason so severe a Fall was never known in”
“this country in the memory of the oldest man.” He requests his Grace to lay the case before the Treasury, and that Mr. Missing may be obliged to answer the bills he will have to draw.

Governor Dummer, of New England, advised Armstrong at this time, of movements of Indians from Canada towards the New England frontiers. That two women and two children are there missing, and supposed to have been taken off by Indians. To meet a possible attack, by the advice of all his officers, it being impossible to repair the breaches at Annapolis this winter, Armstrong ordered lieutenant Milledge, belonging to the honorable board of Ordnance, “to plant”
“pickets round upon the parapet of the works for our present”
“security.” He complains of bills for subsistence being protested by colonel Gardner, agent of the regiment ; also of Mr. Borland sending back condemned pork. He says the garrison are healthy. [*Letters 24 Dec’r., 1726, to the lords of Trade and secretary of State.*]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLVIII.

(1.)

At a council held at the hon'ble. Lt. Gov'r. John Doucett's house, in his majesty's garrison of Annapolis Royall, on Munday, the 5th of September, 1726. Present : the hon'ble. lieutenant governor, president ; Wm. Skeen, Esq., Will'm. Shirreff.

The honourable presid't. acquainted the said two gentlemen of the Board that Mr. Joseph Bissell having arrived here from Shickanecto, had brought a french gentleman belonging to Quebeck a passenger along with him, who was come for the protection of this his majesty's Government, having had the misfortune to wound one mons'r. Lestage, a gentleman belonging to said place, who, in two days after, died. The hon'ble the presid't. therefore asked what should be done.

Agreed he should be examined upon the cause and provocation given to move him to such an unfortunate act.

Whereupon the said gentleman, whose name is Mangeant, being sent for, was ask'd what proofs and evidences he had to produce that could any ways justify or seam to favor his rash, precipitated action. The said mons'r. Mangeant presented to his Honor three papers, (as per the coppys thereof upon file), which being read and considered—

Agreed, and are of opinion, that, according to the sev'l. certificates, and the account thereof given, That the aforementioned Lestage did most basely and hineously insult, affront and provock the said mons'r Mangeant, and therefore are of oppinion, that such protection as is allowed in such cases by the law of nations be granted to him, the said mons'r. Mangeant, till the contrary proofs be produced of said Mangeant's behaviour and character ; which, being communicated to him, he returned thanks, and said that (having married one of the inhabitant's daughters of Shickanecto), if his Hon'r. would accept of him as an inhabitant and subject of the Crown of Great Britain, he would swear allegiance to his majesty, and prove truely faithfull, and being in expectation of his family from Quebeck, he would, with his Honor's permission, settle with his father-in-law at Shickanecto. As to which, his Honor the President referred him for an answer to the hon'ble. Lieutenant Governor of the Province, whom he daily expected here.

(2.)

On the 22 and 23 Sept'r., at a council held in John Adams' house, in the town of Annapolis, Lt. Gov'r. Armstrong charged his servant, Robert Nicholes, with assaulting him at Canso, in October, 1725. Doucett, Adams, Skene and Shirreff being the councillors attending, a sentence was passed on the prisoner, viz. :
 " Robert Nicholes : You being found guilty by H. M. Council for this province "
 " of the crime wherewith thou art charged, by the Hon. Lawrence Armstrong, "
 " Lieut. Gov'r. and Com'r. in Chief of this H. M. province of Nova Scotia, the "
 " punishment therefore inflicted on thee is to sit upon a gallows three days, half "
 " an hour each day, with a rope about thy neck, and a paper upon your breast, "
 " whereon shall be wrote in capital letters, 'AUDACIOUS VILLAIN ;' and "
 " afterwards thou art to be whipt at a cart's tail from the prison up to the upper- "
 " most house of the cape, and from thence back again to the prison house, "
 " receiving each hundred paces five stripes upon your bare back with a cat of "

"nine tails, and then thou art to be turned over for a soldier." This was read to the prisoner, and a copy sent to Lieut. Gov'r. Armstrong, signed. (It would seem that it was thought by the council to be the climax of degradation and suffering, to be a soldier.)

(3.)

In council, 27 Oct., 1726 :—

Monsieur Charles Latour arrived this day with a vessel from Cape Breton, and brought letters from M. St. Ovide to M.M. Armstrong and Doucett, praying leave that Latour might lay up his vessel here till the spring ; also asking leave to buy eatables and refreshments, which the officers at Louisbourg stood much in need of. Letters were also received from Cape Breton, respecting Mangeant's killing Lestage. It was agreed that Latour might stay here till the Spring, with his vessel. &c.

(4.)

Capt. Gyles' account of ye No. of Indians in each tribe. 1726.

No'ber. 24, 1726. Memorandum of y'e. No. of Indians in each tribe, from 16 years of eage, viz. :

Ersegontegog,	No. 20
Mamercguenet is chief, tho many vicetors from author tribes reside their.	
Womenog,	30
Rewenawondo is chieff, tho several author Indians reside their at present, y't. mov- ed from Narangawook.*	
St. John's river, or theirabouts.	100
Sarne Ent'r.† Madwichig is chieff.	
Pesmaquady Indians,	30
Assoquad is chieff.	
Machies,	10
Takemeg is chieff.	
Penobscot, or theirabouts.	130
Awenemwet Entr.† Wenoggenet is chieff.	
Narangawock,*	40
Toxsos is chieff.	
Amasaguanteg,‡	5
John Hegen is chieff.	
Paquakig,§	24
Edewancho is chieff.	
	389
pr John Gyles, Ent'r.	

[From the 3rd vol. Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Portland,, 1853. p. 355.]

Gyles belonged to Pemaquid. His father was killed by Indians at that place, and John was their captive for eight years.

* Norridgewock. † Interpreter. ‡ Ameriscoggin, or Androscoggin.
§ Pequaket, or Piquachet.

CHAPTER XLIX.

1727. On 28 March, 1727, lieutenant gouvernor Armstrong issued a commission, appointing messrs. John Adams, William Skeen and William Shirreff to be justices of the peace, and to form a civil court, and to report their judgments to the commander-in-chief for confirmation. April 5. Armstrong commissioned Francis Richard, esquire, one of the French inhabitants, to be high constable for the river Annapolis Royal and places adjacent, and made Prudent Robicheau, esquire, justice of the peace, and René Martain, constable.

Beauharnois, the governor at Quebec, having assembled the chiefs of the Indians, refused to give presents to those who had made peace with the English. 30 April. Armstrong, in letters to the lords of Trade and the secretary of State, complains of a Mr. Gamble, formerly a lieutenant in the army, who, he says, united with three or four "Boston anti-monarchical traders," to induce the French inhabitants to sign a complaint against him, and had informed them that Armstrong had no authority to administer the oaths. He says Gamble had accompanied major Cosby to Boston, from England. He had ordered Cosby to go to his post at Canso, but he did not obey, but remained in New England. He attributes the refusal of the people of Beaubassin to take the oaths to the intrigues of Gamble and the Boston traders. The French missionaries had assembled bodies of Indians at Mines and Beaubassin, with a resolution to begin the war against Nova Scotia and New England. He had sent captain Bennett to Mines, and ensign Philipps to Beaubassin, to administer the

oaths to the inhabitants. Their reply, in both cases, was a refusal, they stating that they would take no oaths but to "*notre bon roy de France*" to their good king of France. This he attributes to the intrigues of Gamble and the Boston traders, and thinks Gamble must be encouraged by others. (He seems inclined to accuse major Cosby.) He refers to the bad state of the fort of Annapolis Royal, and thinks it should be repaired ; or if not, demolished, and another erected at Mines or elsewhere, to control the disaffected. At this time St. Ovide's vessel, which had wintered at Annapolis, was taking in the refreshments he required, paying for them in money. Armstrong says the New England merchants even censure him for this indulgence. He sends his despatches by captain Bennett. 19 May. Armstrong complained to the council that captain Gamble, who was here last fall, had procured about 200 people to sign complaints against him. (Sunday, 11 June, 1727, king George the first died, aged 67, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George the second.) On the 17 June, lieutenant governor Armstrong wrote to the chief of the Indians of Pessamaquady, &c. " Being informed by André Simon, an " inhabitant of this place, and the bearer hereof, that there " are twenty-one canoes of Indians at Pessamaquady, who " are afraid to come here on account of a false report which is " current, that the English vessels have fired on some Indians " in the passage of Fronsac," (gut of Canso), " which I find " nevertheless, after having examined into it, to be without " foundation. For this reason I send you this letter in all " friendship for the Indian nations in this government and " elsewhere, to assure them that they have no reason to fear " the least molestation, or violation of the treaty of peace " made with the English," (&c.)

25 July, 1727. In consequence of their refusal to take the oaths of allegiance, it was resolved by the lieutenant governor and council, that no vessel should be permitted to trade with the people of Mines, Chignecto, &c. 28 July. Mr. Shirreff refusing to act longer as secretary, lieutenant Otho Hamilton was appointed secretary ; and Mr. Shirreff demanding his seat at the Board, or leave to withdraw until H. M. pleasure was known, he had

leave to withdraw accordingly. 28 July. Circular letters to the Indians, assuring them of friendship, and inviting them to come to Annapolis in the fall, were resolved on. Dummer went this month to Casco bay, to ratify the treaty with the Indians of St. Francis and others. Mr. Mascarene attended him. In August, a discord arose between the governor and messrs. Winniett, Blinn and Bissell, merchants, connected with the supplies for the garrison. 23 August. Armstrong acquainted the council "of Mr. Blinn's insolent behaviour to" "him on monday last, upon the public parade, before most" "of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, where, after a" "great deal of disrespectful language and unmannerly gestures, he at length told him that *he would not give him two pence for his commission.*" The council resolved "that" "James Blinn, by his disrespectful carriage and behaviour as" "aforesaid, hath shewn the utmost contempt and indignity" "to H. M. authority and royal commission. Ordered the" "aforesaid James Blin to be committed to prison for said" "offence."

The news of the king's death was received on the 7th September, by letter from captain Cavelly, commanding officer at Canso. On the 8th, George the second was proclaimed king; and on the 9th, Saturday, the lieutenant governor, councillors, officers and soldiers, took the oaths. It was afterwards determined to assemble the inhabitants at the Fort, on Saturday, 16th September, to take the oaths. This was met by a written paper, signed by seventy-one inhabitants, refusing to take the oath, unless under certain terms. Three deputies from the Annapolis river people—Abraham Bourg, Charles Landry and Guillaume Bourgeois, as well as one François Richard, who had voluntarily taken the oaths to his late majesty—now refused to take them. Abraham Bourg was let go on account of his age; but Landry, Bourgeois and Richard were committed to prison by the lieutenant governor and council, "for contempt of H. M. government." The other inhabitants were at the same time "debarred from fishing on the British" "coasts until the king's pleasure should be known therein." 13 article of governor Philipps' instructions was referred to.

27 September, captain How's vessel was hired for £100 to visit the settlements, in order to proclaim the new king. Ensign Robert Wroth, adjutant of Philipps' regiment, was appointed by lieutenant governor Armstrong to the service of proclaiming the king. The council resolved "that ensign" "Wroth should have it in charge to tender to the French" "inhabitants the oath of fidelity to his most sacred majesty" "king George the second, and that every thing be done with" "the solemnity and entertainment usual on such occasions," "and that he keep an exact journal of his expense, and all" "his public transactions, to the time of his return."

The Indians of Nova Scotia, this year, murdered several of his majesty's subjects at Liscomb's harbor and Jadore, (Jedore), and the Labrador Indians committed acts of piracy and robbery at *port le Basque*, in Newfoundland. Lieutenant governor Dummer sent a schooner, express with a letter to Armstrong, advising him of these occurrences. Captain Bennett was instructed to expostulate with St. Ovide on the harboring the Indian pirates by the French of Cape Breton. Tuesday, 7th November, 1727. In council. Souilier, an Indian of this river, and Paul Tecoumart, a chief of cape Sables, and his two sons, lately arrived, were examined before the Board, touching the murders and other hostilities committed at Liscomb's harbour and Jedore. They affirmed they were ignorant. Part of the late treaty was read to them, making the tribes responsible. They said four Indians had promised to do their best to discover the offenders, and bring them to justice. It was agreed to make them some presents to encourage them to do this.

In council, monday, 13 Nov'r. Ensign Robert Wroth delivered in the journal of his proceedings up the bay at Mines and Checanectou, &c. It was resolved that the articles and concessions granted by him were unwarrantable, and dishonorable to H. M. government and authority, and consequently null and void. He was called in and asked how he came to grant such articles, and answers, that he had in every respect acted according to the best of his knowledge, and, as he thought, for the good of H. M. service.—An address to the king, on his

accession, was voted, to be taken home by capt. Joseph Bennett, member of the council.

Armstrong wrote on the 17th November, 1727, to the duke of Newcastle, secretary of State. He tells him that in order to have a quorum of seven councillors, he had to appoint military officers. The seniority in council and the difference of military rank caused a difficulty as to precedence. Mr. Shirreff, the commissary of musters, objected to take a seat below his rights as a senior councillor. He was for a while pacified by a promise of £25 sterling, per annum, as acting secretary, but eventually withdrew from both duties. Lieutenant Otho Hamilton was then appointed to act as secretary, 28 July, 1727. He attributes the obstinate refusal to take the oaths at Mines and Chignecto to the "base suggestions of one or two traders, who have left no stone unturned" "to render my actions black and designs abortive." An oath of allegiance was tendered to the inhabitants of the river Annapolis, in the form following: "*Je promets et jure sincèrement que je serai fidèle et obéirai véritablement à sa majesté le roy George le second. Ainsi Dieu me soit en aide.*" ("I sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful to, and will truly obey his majesty king George the second. So help me God.") "The deputies desired me to" "set a day to assemble the inhabitants at the Fort, and to" "give them an order for that purpose." This was done with the approbation of the council. The deputies Bourg, Landry, and Bourgeois, "assembled the people two days successively" "up the river, where, instead of persuading them to their" "duty by solid arguments, of which they were not incapable," "they frightened and terrified them by representing the oath" "so strong and binding, that neither they nor their children" "should ever shake off the yoke." In consequence, the people refused, except on certain conditions, that were esteemed insolent and unreasonable. "It was ordered that Landry" "and Bourgeois should be sent to prison, and laid in irons" "as ringleaders, where they continued some days, but were" "at last admitted to bail, until H. M. pleasure therein should" "be known." In obedience to the order of the privy council

and the lords of Trade, which he had received to proclaim the new king in all parts of the government, he says : “ I have ”
“ chartered a vessel for that voyage for £100 sterling, and ”
“ put on board a commissioned officer with a command of ”
“ soldiers, who, after a long and uncomfortable voyage, is ”
“ now returned. I cannot say but the gentleman has acted ”
“ very well as far as the proclaiming of his majesty, but in ”
“ tendering the oaths he has fallen into very great errors, by ”
“ making some unwarrantable concessions, which I have refused to ratify.” Sends home copies of this proceeding. He has received advice by express from the lieutenant governor of New England of “ some murders and other hostilities ”
“ committed on H. M. subjects by some Indians within 15 ”
“ leagues of Canso ; ” also by letter from M. St. Ovide, of their seizing a sloop and cargo at Port le Basque, in Newfoundland, and sends the letter. “ The places of most of the councillors ”
“ appointed by governor Philipps, according to the 5th article ”
“ of his instructions, are become void, many of the members ”
“ being gone, and settled in other provinces, so that there ”
“ is not above three upon the spot to attend the Board ; and ”
“ as there is not one inhabitant here fit to supply their room, ”
“ I am humbly of opinion that his majesty’s further instructions are absolutely necessary towards forming a council,— ”
“ what I have done being only in the interim, till such directions shall arrive. The military officers, who are the only ”
“ subjects H. M. has here, who are any ways qualified for that ”
“ service, will think it hard to be subjected to others, since ”
“ his majesty has not three faithful subjects in the place ”
“ besides themselves and the troops they command.”

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLIX.

(I.)

At a meeting of the council, at Mr. Adams’ house, on Saturday, 13 May, 1727, present lieut. gov’r. Armstrong, and messieurs John Adams, Wm. Skene and Wm. Shirreff, at Adams’ house, in Annapolis, captains Christopher Aldridge, Joseph

Bennett and John Blower, and major Thomas Cosby, were sworn in as councillors, raising the number to seven in all. Armstrong suggested that, to avoid differences, the new members should sit on one side of the table and the old members on the other. Adams assented; Skene did so conditionally, saving his right till the king's pleasure was known. Shirreff refused concession till his majesty should be determined, and craved leave to withdraw till then.

Monday, 15 May. The lieutenant governor requested Mr. Shirreff to act as secretary, which he accepted, on condition he should not thereby lose his right as councillor when not acting as secretary, &c.

(2.)

Governor Philipps, in a letter, dated 25 May, 1727, to the lords of Trade, being then, I suppose, still in England, says of Nova Scotia: "Every thing there" "wearing the face of ruin and decay, and almost every countenance despair." He says the ramparts of the fort are "lying level with the ground, in breaches" "sufficiently wide for fifty men to enter abreast, which obliges the garrison to" "insupportable duty to guard against their throats being cut by surprise."

(3.)

At a council held at the same place, on fryday, the 19th day of May, 1727:—

Present: the hon'ble. Law'ce. Armstrong, Esq., lieut. gov'r.

John Adams, Esq.

Capt. Chris'r. Aldridge.

Wm. Skene, Esq.

Capt. Jos. Bennett.

Wm. Shirreff, Esq.

Capt. Jno. Blower.

(The merchants endeavoring to lower the value of French coin, "the only" "currency we have amongst us,")

Resolved that all the afores'd. coins be continued at their former value, especially the new crowns stamp'd with four double LL's, at 12s. 6d.; and that all the different species of French coin, both of silver and gold, be paid and received in all payments within this H. M. Prov. of N. S. at the same rates they have been usually paid and received in said province for these 6 months past, and no otherwise, and that a proclamation be issued accordingly.

Germain Savage and Pierre Godet, who had written to notify their return to be written, to wait on the gov'r. and council.

(4.)

In this year, 1727, a M. Dupuy writes to the minister respecting the claims of England and France, under the treaty of Utrecht. He thinks the "ancient" "limits" of Acadie can only be its natural limits as a peninsula. The rest he thinks is Canada, or rather belongs to the Indian tribes, who, not being represented at Utrecht, are not bound by the treaty.

(5.)

June 20. John Duon is appointed clerk to the Justices of the Peace.

In the letters of Mr. A. Popple, 1 June and 5 Oct., 1727, from Whitehall, lieut. gov'r. Armstrong is addressed as colonel Armstrong.

(6.)

Sunday, 17 Sept., in council :—

For having assembled the inhabitants contrary to orders, and framing a "rebellious paper," and for refusing to take the oaths, Charles Landry, Guillaume Bourgeois and Francis Richards, were ordered to be "remanded to " prison, laid in irons, and there remain until H. M. pleasure shall be known " "concerning them." "That Abraham Bourg, in consideration of his great age, " "shall have leave to retire out of H. M. province, according to his desire and " "promise, by the first opportunity, leaving his effects behind him." One Lefondt was pardoned for taking cattle to cape Breton, he taking the oaths.

14 October, 1727. In council :—

Charles Landry's wife applied to the lieutenant governor, in consequence of her husband's being dangerously ill, to grant his liberty, on surety for his return when recovered. The council voted to refuse the request. Francis Richards, alleging drink as an excuse, prayed now to take the oaths, &c. He was remanded for prevarication.

In council, 20 October, 1727 :—

Major Alexander Cosby, and other officers and gentlemen, took the oaths, &c. Major Cosby, now having the king's commission as lieutenant governor of the town and fort of Annapolis Royal, took the oaths of a councillor, and his seat at the Board. Francis Richards again applied for discharge, and having made a deposition of all he knew, was liberated. René Martin also made a similar deposition.

On 29 October, 1727, an earthquake felt in New England and New York, &c. [2 *Hutch., Mass.* 326.]

CHAPTER L.

1728. During the winter of 1727-8, a large body of Indians made their appearance near Canso, but they retired without committing any acts of hostility. [*Lieut. Gov's. letter 9 July, 1728.*] In May, 1728, about twenty-six Indians, under the command of three or four sachems, from the village of Medoctoo, (Medoctec), an Indian settlement fifty odd leagues up the river St. John, came to Annapolis to ratify the peace concluded at Boston in 1725 and 1726, and to make their submission to the government. Armstrong, by the advice of the officers of his garrison, made them presents—entertained them several days, and at last sent them away very well satisfied. [*Ibidem.*] Armstrong states that he had no allowance or salary as governor, and had to bear these and like charges.

28 March, 1728, David Dunbar, esquire, the surveyor general of H. M. woods on the continent of America, was, by order of the king in council and a commission from the lords of the Treasury, dated 'Whitehall, 9 May, 1728,' appointed surveyor general of H. M. lands within the province of Nova Scotia, and to mark out and set apart for masts and timber for the use of the Royal navy, 200,000 acres.—London, 17 March, 1728. Dunbar appoints George Mitchell, gentleman, one of his deputies.

In July, Armstrong says that not above two or three of the French inhabitants had come in to take the oath of allegiance. That they had become very numerous, and the only thing the governor can do on the refusal of the oaths, is, to debar them from fishing during his majesty's pleasure. He thinks that

when the alternative is pressed they will take the oath, rather than quit their plantations, "though they want neither inv-" "tations nor promises from the islands of cape Breton and " "St. John for that purpose." [*Letter July 9, to secretary of State.*] He writes to Mr. Stanion, of the secretary of State's office, July 12: "Several complaints being sent against me " "by two or three malicious traders in this province, although " "not exhibited, but lodged in the hands of governor Philipps, " "who I am sure only wants a proper opportunity of making " "his own use of them to my prejudice," he begs Mr. Stanion's interest to procure for him "the king's leave of absence to " "come home and settle my affairs." It is to be observed that Mr. Armstrong had not been fortunate. He had (at first) no salary or allowances as governor in charge. Philipps drew the pay of £1000 stg. as chief governor, besides his pay and emoluments as colonel of the regiment stationed in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Capt. Doucett had salary as governor of the fort of Annapolis, and so had major Cosby who succeeded him. Armstrong had met with losses so far back as 1711, and had nothing but his military pay, while he was the head of the government. These things appear to have rendered him unhappy, irritable and jealous. He suspected Philipps and Cosby of being his enemies; and as Cosby had married a daughter of Mr. Winniett, and the measures of the Annapolis government about the grain trade annoyed the merchants, among others Winniett, Armstrong attributed to personal enmity any opposition, among the traders or their French customers up the bay, that his administration met with. Mr. Winniett seems to have been married to a French lady, and to have had great personal influence among the French inhabitants; but I believe it never was used for any improper purpose, and that he was upright, loyal, and kindly disposed. On the 11 September, 1728, a new commission issued to Richard Philipps, esquire, as governor of Nova Scotia, &c., corresponding in its terms with his first commission of 1719. (A copy is in one of the record books of the Annapolis government, signed by Erasmus James Philipps, secretary, 10 December, 1730.) (Philipps arrived at Canso, in H. M. S.

Rose, capt. Wellar, and remained there till 17 Oct., 1729, when the fishery for the season terminated.)

1729. Lieutenant governor Armstrong writes to the lords of Trade, &c., date Annapolis Royal, 23 June, 1729. In this letter he complains of a "series of insults committed against" "me, thro' the malice of some people who are abetted and" "encouraged by the favor and countenance of major Cosby," "lieutenant governor of this garrison, who, forgetting his character and dignity, has condescended to become a party in" "the malicious contrivances of my enemies, who, without any" "regard to truth or justice, or his majesty's service, have" "obstructed, vilified and misrepresented all my actions."

"The first person I shall take notice of for his notorious" "insolence, is monsieur Bresley, (Breslay), the Popish priest" "of this river, who having for some time past endeavored to" "withdraw the people from their dependance on H. M. government, by assuming to himself the authority of a judge in" "civil affairs, and employing his spiritual censures to force" "them to a submission. His insolence and tyranny growing" "at last insupportable, I sent the adjutant to him to his" "house, which stands a little way from the Fort, to desire to" "speak with him, but his intelligence proved so good, tho'" "nobody was acquainted therewith but major Cosby, that" "before the adjutant could reach his house he was gone off," "and has ever since absconded somewhere in the woods," "about this river, among the Indians, pursuing his former" "practices of obstructing H. M. service, and exciting the" "savages to mischief. To prevent which, I thought proper," "by an order, published at the Mass house, to command him" "to be gone out of the province in a month's time."

"The sieur Mangeant, a French gentleman, whom I found" "at my arrival here under the protection of the government," "and had taken the oaths to his majesty, I employed for to" "read the same to them in French, in the presence of the" "Fort Major, Mr. Wroth, and some other gentlemen, which" "having done, as they were returning back to make me a" "report, amongst a crowd of people, they happened to meet"

“major Cosby, the lieutenant governor, on the highway, who,”
“without any provocation, insulted and abused the said”
“Mangeant, who had no other way to avoid his fury, which”
“had like to have pushed him to commit the greatest violence,”
“but by retiring from him in haste. Major Cosby sent me”
“immediately a complaint against the said Mangeant, alleg-”
“ing that he had affronted him, by grinning or laughing in”
“his face ; whereupon I assembled the officers, and examined”
“strictly the witnesses that were present when the disorder”
“happened, a full account whereof I have transmitted to your”
“lordship, marked No. 1. I found Mr. Cosby’s allegations”
“against Mangeant to be frivolous and groundless, and the”
“true reason of the affront and insult to proceed from his”
“resenting the service Mr. Mangeant had done his majesty”
“by reading and publishing my orders to the people against”
“their departing the province without leave, and against”
“Mr. Bresley, the Popish priest, whose cause he avowedly”
“espouses, merely in opposition to me, which has carried”
“him to such lengths that it’s impossible H. M. service can”
“be advanced or promoted while he remains in the station”
“he is in, and this province at last must be rent and torn by”
“parties and factions. He has tampered with the officers to”
“join with him, to wrest my authority and command of the”
“troops from me, of which I sent proofs last summer to”
“H. M. secretary at war, and could send now other proofs”
“that he persisted in the same resolution, if the moderation”
“of the officers in refusing to join with him in any mutiny”
“did not discourage his attempts. I beg leave humbly to”
“apply myself to your lordships for justice, since I can’t but”
“resent such proceedings, as well as the violence offered to”
“a man that was immediately employed in the execution of”
“my orders for H. M. service. I hope your lordships will”
“represent to his majesty the inconveniences that must”
“always attend this province by the separating the two com-”
“missions of lieutenant governor of the province and lieuten-”
“ant governor of the fort ; for, if major Cosby’s pretensions”
“are just, and he absolutely commands the garrison, he must”
“likewise command the troops, by which means the lieuten-”

"ant governor of this province, notwithstanding the Broad"
"Seal's commission's devolving upon him, can have only a"
"precarious power, depending upon another, since it is cer-"
"tain that his majesty, besides the troops, has not three"
"Protestant subjects settled in the province, whereas the"
"French papists increase, are very numerous, and are only"
"to be awed and governed by the troops, and are to a man"
"disaffected." He complains of the collector, and says, "on"
"his arrival here with major Cosby, in the fall of the year"
"1727, notwithstanding the trade to Mines at that time was"
"prohibited, by and with the advice of the council, he gave"
"permits to several vessels to load and unload there, in defi-"
"ance of H. M's. authority vested in the governor and coun-"
"cil." He describes several cases in which the collector acted
contrary to his views, and he desires to have an Admiralty
court established, to try seizures, &c.

Governor Philipps arrived at Canso about the latter end of
June. He found 250 vessels and from 1500 to 2000 men
employed in catching and loading fish. He says: "Many"
"families would settle here if they saw the commencement"
"of a fortification for their protection, which, till then, they"
"look upon to be very precarious, in regard of the numbers"
"and strength of the enemy in case of a rupture at any time"
"with France, and the near neighborhood of Cape Breton,"
"where no industry or expense has been wanting to make"
"themselves formidable." The French at Annapolis are ready
to comply with any terms of submission he may propose. He
has sold the vessel which was built for the Government; with
the proceeds, and £250 more, he has bought another vessel,
"of a less burthen and more fit for the service." The other
vessel required twelve men, while six will be sufficient for this
one, and with due care she may serve the Government twenty
years. "There goes home one William Richards, prisoner,"
"on board the *Rose*, man-of-war, who I had hired as a foot-"
"man at my leaving England." Refers to an enclosed affi-
davit as to his case. [*Letter of Philipps to duke of Newcastle,*
Canso, October 2, 1729.]

The fishery breaking up at Canso 17 Oct'r., 1729, governor Philipps, who had quieted their discontents, and had received addresses from the people, promised to revisit them the next season, with a view to encourage a business which, he says, exceeds anything of that kind in America. He also suggested permanent agricultural settlements, as they are dependant on New England for fresh provisions. A grant from governor Philipps to William Moony, of Marblehead, of a fishing room at Canso, dated 29 August, 1729, is the Register, p. 105.

Nov'r. 20. Governor Philipps arrived at Annapolis Royal, where he met with a joyful reception, particularly from the French inhabitants. He had a severe passage from Canso of five weeks. He expected that the French would all take the oath of allegiance, and thinks they should take new grants of their lands from the crown, and contribute towards the expences of government. Mr. Lemer cier, a French minister at Boston, proposed to settle a colony of one hundred or more families of French Protestants in Nova Scotia. Major Cope, who conversed with him, brought the proposal. Philipps recommends a grant of 5000 acres. On his arrival at Annapolis he found the number of councillors diminished to five, either by death or removal of their habitation, and one of these was incapable of attending. He appointed major Cope as one, whom he praises highly, as "a person of great honor," "with a very good understanding and distinguished zeal for" "his majesty's service." Two more remained to be appointed to make up the quorum of seven, directed by 8th article of his instructions. This he proposes to attend to by and by. He had appointed the next week to receive the submission of the French inhabitants of Annapolis river. [*Letter to the lords of Trade, &c., of 25 Nov'r. 1729.*]

Annapolis Royall, Nov'r. 20, 1729. His Excellency being that day arrived in the river from Canso, landed about twelve o'clock, and having ordered the council, garrison and inhabitants to be assembled, his commission was publicly opened and read, and he then took and subscribed the oaths therein mentioned ; after which, seeing the number of councillors who

appeared to be but four, he appointed major Henry Cope to be one of that Board, to make up the quorum of five, and he was sworn in accordingly.

R. PHILIPPS.

E. J. Philipps, sect'y.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER L.

At a council held at his Excellency's house in his majesty's garrison of Annapolis Royal, on fryday, tha 21st of November, 1729—

Present :

His Excellency, Generall Philipps.

Lt. Gov'r. Cosby.

Will'm. Skene, Esqr.

Paul Mascarene, Esq.

Henry Cope, Esq.

The council being summoned to meet at four o'clock in the afternoon, and but four councillors attending, y'e two others being sick, his Excellency appointed Mr. William Winniett, the most considerable merchant, and one of the first British inhabitants in this place, and "represented to me as one eminent in his zeal for H. M. service," to be added to the council, he was sworn in accordingly. (The Gov'r. also appointed eight deputies instead of four, for this river, Annapolis R. He stated an address from the inhabitants to him was in preparation, and that he had sent an express to Minas, to notify all the deputies there of his arrival. when he expected them to attend him.)

CHAPTER LI.

1730. Governor Philipps soon put matters on a better footing than they had been for some time. He induced the body of French settlers on the river Annapolis to take a simple and unconditional oath of allegiance ; and on the 3 Jan'y. 1729-30, he writes to the duke of Newcastle, enclosing him parchments, "the subscribers thereto are the whole settlement this" "river, to a man, from sixteen years of age upwards." He says he had made this progress in less than three weeks. A parchment, containing 227 names of those who took this oath, is now among the archives of the government at Halifax, N. S. It is undated, but from the terms of the oath, &c., must be a duplicate of that sent to the duke in Jan'y., 1730. He proceeds : "Whereto they are pleased to express, that the" "likeing they have of my government in comparison of what" "they experienced afterwards, did not a little contribute." He adds, "I have had no occasion to make use of threats or" "compulsion." He blames ensign Wroth, of his own regiment, for having made improper concessions regarding the oaths. He intends, on the breaking up of the winter, to go in person to the settlements in the bay of Fundy, to administer the oaths solemnly. He says : "I found at my coming a" "general dissatisfaction in all parts, and disagreement between the two lieutenant governors, about the right of" "power and command, which drew the inferior officers into" "parties ; but I assure your grace it is now the reverse. Joy" "and satisfaction appear in every countenance among the"

“people ; and in the garrison, tranquillity, tho’ I cannot”
“answer but that the inward leven may still remain.”

The territory between the Kennebeck and the St. George rivers had been partially occupied by the French at a very early period, and was by them regarded, in the 17th century, as a part of Acadie. But the duke of York included it in his province of Sagadahock, in 1664. Massachusetts assumed a control over part of it as a county of Devonshire, in 1674. In 1686, the duke, then king James the second, sent a commission to his governor, who resumed it. In 1692 it was annexed to Massachusetts by charter. The Canibas and Abenauquis claimed it as their own, and enforced their pretences by war and havock ; but now peace being restored in 1725, the New England people had settled there to the extent of one hundred and fifty families, between Georgetown and Muscongus.

David Dunbar, an Irish gentleman, who had been a colonel in the British army, was appointed his majesty’s surveyor general of woods and forests in America, and of lands in Nova Scotia. His appointment was officially notified to colonel Armstrong by letter from the lords of Trade, dated Whitehall, 28 May, 1729, and the lieutenant governor was directed to give him all the assistance and encouragement he could in the execution of his office in his government. Dunbar was also directed to inspect the new settlers in the district near Pemaquid, and to lay out lands for them, to be afterwards secured to them by patents under the great seal of Nova Scotia. Fort Frederick, at Pemaquid, was his seat of government. Captain Coram, the projector, mentioned in connection with Nova Scotia in 1718, procured an order in 1730 to governor Philipps to take possession of the land between St. Croix and Kennebec, and an officer with thirty men was sent to Fort Frederick. This fort was said to have been built by the Massachusetts, who issued a proclamation claiming it, and got the king in council to revoke Dunbar’s authority over it in 1732, when they took possession in August of that year. Dunbar laid out a city, and granted lots of one hundred acres near the fort to settlers, who were chiefly countrymen of his own, being

Presbyterians from the North of Ireland. Dunbar is said to have been wise and judicious, but he was opposed in his measures by Mr. Samuel Waldo, and others, in New England, who claimed extensive tracts of land in this territory; and he was involved in disputes with lumberers and owners of saw mills, and it seems had no commission as a governor. [*Collections of Maine Historical Society*, v. 6, p. 18. 2 *Belknap's New Hampshire*, 101, &c. 2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 224, 379, 2 *Williamson, Maine*, 167.] Dunbar was appointed lieutenant governor of New Hampshire in 1731, on the recommendation of the lords of Trade. He returned to England in 1737; there he was imprisoned for debt, but liberated by friends, and in 1743 was made governor of St. Helena by the East India company. In governor Philipps' letter of 3 January, 1729-30, he also says: "By a letter from colonel Dunbar, from Boston," "I am acquainted of his arrival there, and from other hands" "of the country called the king's province, or the province of" "Main, bordering on New England, being put under his" "care, which I looked upon to have been a part of this gov-ernment." He proceeds to explain the disadvantage he is under, being all along forbidden to grant lands until the surveyor should lay off the whole province, and select the crown reserves. While Dunbar, acting as governor and surveyor, can settle his people easily, he is also told that Dunbar's settlement is to be for seven years free from custom house.

30 April, 1730. Philipps, by proclamation dated at Mines, proscribed Etienne Rivette, confiscated his estate, and banished him from the province. Rivette had been examined on oath before the council in 1727 respecting the refusal of the people to take the oath of allegiance. On Saturday, 16 May, P. M., on his return from the Bay, Philipps held a council, at which were present lieut. gov'r. Cosby, Mascarene, Skene, Adams, and major Cope, when he informed them of the "submission of the inhabitants of the province, but that" "there were about seventeen of those of Chignictou, who" "persist in their obstinacy in refusing to conform to his" "majesty's orders." His excellency named majors Mascarene and Cope a committee to draw up an order or proclamation

concerning these delinquents. He also informed them that nineteen families at Chickpoudy, who had not taken the oaths, intended to come in a body to Annapolis, to submit themselves.

18 May. Philipps appointed Cosby president of the council. An order was made to appoint four deputies at Chignictou. The lords of Trade were not satisfied with the form of the French oath of allegiance employed by Philipps. They notify him of an intended settlement of Palatines in Nova Scotia, under charge of a Mr. Hintz. They tell him Dunbar is not made governor, (in Sagadahock), as he had imagined, only to inspect settlers and allot lands to them, to be granted afterwards under the great seal of Nova Scotia. They state it to be a favor that the French have not long since been obliged to quit their settlements in Nova Scotia, according to the terms of the treaty of Utrecht. If they take new grants of their lands, they ought to pay quit rents, as others do. [*Letter dated Whitehall, 20 May, 1730.*] Mr. Popple writes to Philipps, (same date.) He says: "You will perceive——that their" "lordships wish the oath which the French inhabitants have" "voluntarily taken, had been in more explicit terms.——" "By the words of that oath, the French do not promise to be" "faithful to his majesty. The oath, indeed, seems intended" "to have been a translation of the English oath of allegiance," "but the different idiom of the two languages has given it" "another turn. 'To, in the English oath, being omitted in" "the French translation, it stands a simple promise of fidelity," "without saying to whom. For, as the word '*fidèle*' can" "only refer to a dative case, and '*obeirai*' governs an accu-" "sative, king George has not a proper security given to him" "by the first part of this oath, and it is to be feared the" "French jesuits may explain this ambiguity so as to convince" "the people upon occasion that they are not under any obli-" "gation to be faithful to his majesty, which might have been" "avoided, if the oath had run in the following terms: *Je*" "*promets et jure sincèrement en foy de Chrétien, que je serois*" "*entièrement fidelle à sa Majesté le Roy George le second, que*" "*je reconnais pour le souverain seigneur de la Nouvelle Ecosse*"

"et de l'Acadie, et que lui obeirais vrayment." "I sincerely" "promise and swear, on the faith of a Christian, that I will" "be wholly faithful to his majesty king George the second," "whom I acknowledge as the sovereign lord of Nova Scotia" "and of Acadie, and that I will truly obey him." The oath taken at Annapolis in 1730, and objected to by the lords of Trade, was : Je promets et jure sincèrement, en foi de Chrétien, que je serai entièrement fidèle, et obeirai vraiment sa majesté le roy George le second, qui je reconnoi pour le souverain seigneur de l'Accadie, ou Nouvelle Ecosse. Ainsi Dieu me soit en aide. I sincerely promise and swear, on the faith of a Christian, that I will be wholly faithful and will truly obey his majesty king George the second, whom I acknowledge as the sovereign lord of Accadie, or Nova Scotia. So help me God. The oath taken in 1727, under lieutenant governor Armstrong's directions, was : Je promets et jure sincèrement que je serai fidèle, et obéirai veritablement à sa majesté le roy George le second. Ainsi Dieu me soit en aide. I sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and will truly obey his majesty king George the second. So help me God.

At this time a new provincial seal was sent out to governor Philipps, with a royal warrant, and directions to affix the seal to all patents, grants and public instruments, passed in the king's name.—It appears that there was a resident priest at Piziquid, (whose name was Alexandre de Noninville), by his certificate to a document dated 27 July, 1730. Governor Philipps writes from Canso, September 2, 1730, to the duke of Newcastle. He calls the French inhabitants "a formidable body, and, like Noah's progeny, spreading themselves" "over the face of the province." He says the parchment already transmitted was "a duplicate of what every man" "from sixteen years of age to 60 have sworn and signed to" (on the Annapolis river.) He has now obtained the submission of all the people of the bay of Fundy, and sends his grace a duplicate of the instrument to which they have sworn and signed. He apprehended obstruction from the Indians, "who had taken the alarm, and were assembled in bodies to" "know what was upon the anvil ; but by good management,"

“plain reasoning and presents, which I had prepared for”
“them, they were brought into so good temper, that instead”
“of giving any disturbance, they made their own submission”
“to the English government in their manner, and with”
“dancing and huzzas, parted in great satisfaction.” He thinks the peace of the country thus settled, as long as England and France are in alliance, but no longer. He considers the province not defensible in case of war with France. “Canso, (which is the envy and rival of Cape Breton in the Fishery), will be sure of being the first attacked, which will take them no more than six or seven hours to march and possess it; but I am only the Watchman, to call and point out the danger: ’tis with your Grace to get it prevented.” He states that it is computed that the returns of the Fish carried to markets from Canso, bring £30, or £40,000 yearly increase to the home duties. “If so, is it not loosing a sheep, according to the proverb, when one-third part of one year’s income only laide out in a fortification will put it out of danger. I am sure it will cost three times that sum to recover it while lost.”——“I have met here with one of colonel Dunbar’s deputy land surveyors, the first I have seen.” Governor Philipps offered to take him to Annapolis, and give him the use of the government vessel he bought, when he has not immediate occasion for her himself. Referring to the French inhabitants, “We are not one jot the nearer to a regular form of government by this acquisition, their religion disqualifying them from making a part of the legislature.” Suggests whether they shall not pay taxes, and take out new tenures of lands. He informs his Grace that “here are three or four insignificant families who pretend to right of seignuries, that extend almost over all the inhabited parts of the country. The late governor Nicholson carried with him from hence the original papers, by which they claim, and all that they produce to me is a foul scrip of paper, which they say is a copy of part of the original grant, and goes herewith enclosed; but I have told them that all pretensions to seigneuries fall to the ground at the conquest of the country; that there is no article at the treaty of Utrecht”

“in behalf of such privileges : or if there was, they have long”
“since forfeited them by refusing to come in and swear allegiance to the crown of Great Britain. The chief of these”
“is a woman, who has been a wife to two subaltern officers”
“of this regiment. She has, by cunning address, got the”
“others to make over their pretensions to her, on promise of”
“some small consideration, and is going over to solicit, in”
“hopes of obtaining something of the Government in lieu”
“thereof. I believe a small addition to her pension as an”
“officer’s widow would content her, and put an end to that”
“affair. Lieutenant colonel Armstrong, who is gone for”
“England, carried with him one Mangeant, a French papist,”
“who fled lately from Canada into this province, for a barbarous murder. The lieutenant governor took him into his”
“protection, and admitted him to take the oath ; after which”
“he rendered himself exceedingly odious to the inhabitants,”
“both English and French, they believing that the lieutenant”
“governor had acted toward them by his council and advice.”
“At my arrival, he finding many complaints were ready to”
“be exhibited against him, petitioned for leave to retire ;”
“which, being granted, with a defence never to return, gave”
“a general satisfaction, and proved a great inducement”
“toward their submission to the crown of Great Britain.”
“The fellow’s character is very bad, but is allowed to have a”
“genius, and would make an excellent minister to an arbitrary prince.” The sickness at Boston, and the failure of some merchants there, had lessened the fishery at Canso this season. (With the duplicate of this letter was one of date 26 November, 1730, in which the governor acknowledges the receipt of the articles of the treaty of the peace between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain.)

Colonel Dunbar wrote from Fort Frederick on the 16 Sept’r. to governor Philipps. Philipps replies from Annapolis Royal, Nov’r. 9. Tells him he had received his letter at his arrival there from Canso, which was near the middle of October. He finds that Dunbar is authorized to lay out lands to such of H.M. subjects as are disposed to settle between the rivers Penobscot and St. Croix, “to be confirmed by grants from the governor”

“of Nova Scotia, under the seal of the province, which is sent ”
“me.” In this he is instructed to aid Dunbar, and promises to do so. He is sorry that the Penobscot Indians are averse to the settlement. They are an important tribe, and direct peace and war. He counsels mildness and presents, and, it Dunbar can procure it, the missionary influence. Other methods would “provoke a war, which will postpone your ”
“surveys and settlements, for how long nobody can tell.”—
“I wish the gentlemen who (you informed me) threatened to ”
“attack you in your fort with an armed force, have not been ”
“underhand practicers with those savages, to disturb your ”
“project of settling Pemaquid, now Frederick’s Fort, to which ”
“they pretend a right. I hope they have not been so very ”
“mad as to make such an attempt. If they have, no doubt ”
“but you thought self-preservation a duty. Could I have ”
“believed any such thing, and have got time enough to your ”
“relief, the captain who commanded that expedition, if I had ”
“found him within my government, should have given a ”
“better reason for his expedition than governor Belcher’s ”
“orders.” Tells Dunbar he had ordered the sloop, captain Bissett, (Bissell ?) to call in at the fort at Pemaquid. Is ready to give all aid that his power and instructions permit. He could not send the province schooner, as she wants new sails. Wishes to meet with him early in the spring at Annapolis, that they may consult to put the surveyors to work. A year has gone by, and not even a beginning made. Thinks they will both be blamed for delay. Dunbar had sent two surveyors to Philipps. They asked for orders, but wanted vessels, and other difficulties arose. He (Philipps) sympathizes with Dunbar for the troubles and persecutions he met with in Boston. 26 November, Governor Philipps writes to the lords of Trade. The Palatines had not come. The grain had failed, and there was a scarcity of provisions. Cattle were killed up the bay to send to Boston, in lieu of the usual return of corn. “I am ”
“informed that the people of Boston make it their business to ”
“discourage the settlement of this province, by speaking ill of ”
“the country, by which means they did, this last summer, ”
“prevail on about fifty families, bound for this province, to

“change their minds, and the wealthiest of them transported themselves to Carolina, and the poor ones are now begging about Boston streets. I have wrote to the governor on this head, and wish these Palatines that are to follow could be advertised to steer their course directly to this place, under direction of a pilot, to avoid touching at Boston, where they will likely be seduced.” The duplicate he sends contains the additional names of the French up the bay, who had not before taken the oath. “So that there remains now not more than five or six scattering families on the Eastern coast, to complete the submission of the whole province, whom I shall call upon in the spring.” In this letter, and in one of the same date to A. Popple, esq., (afterwards governor of Bermuda), he defends the oath he used. He says the oath of allegiance in the print books of the neighbouring provinces, runs thus: “I promise to be true and faithful, and to bear true allegiance to his majesty king George. So help me God,” which, he says, he has truly translated, with the addition of the words “en foi de Chrétien,” to make it stronger; and afterwards to make it more significant to the circumstances of these people, he added, “que je reconnois pour le souverain seigneur de la Nouvelle Ecosse et de l’Acadie.” The conjunction copulative *et* makes both ‘fidèle’ and ‘obeirai’ refer to the person of the king; and both ‘fidèle’ and ‘obeir’ govern the dative case. The oath administered to the people up the Bay is different, and not open to the same objection. He sends Mr. Popple two quintals of salt fish. He thinks the Jesuits will take a different objection to the oath, viz.: that it is made to a heretic.

One chief difficulty as to the oaths of allegiance was this: For 600 years, as we are told by Blackstone, (1 Com., p. 367, &c.) the oath of allegiance or fidelity was taken to the king and *his heirs*; but at the revolution of 1688, a new oath was framed, in which the ‘heirs’ were omitted. This led to the presumed necessity of renewing the oaths on the accession of every monarch, and thus complicated the affair with the Acadian French.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LI.

(1.)

Robert Temple was eldest son of Thomas Temple, who was the eldest son of Sir Purbeck Temple, who was the son of Sir John Temple, of Stanton Bury, who died 1632.

He had been an officer in the English army. In 1717 he came from England to Boston, with his servants and effects ; " he was introduced by letters from his " "uncle, Nathaniel White," a merchant in Plymouth, to some of the leading men in New England, such as Belcher, Hutchinson, Oliver and Pepperell, who might be of service to him in "taking up a tract of land." He says he was "received " "with great friendship by every one of these gentlemen, and was often invited " "to their houses." But he continues : "My eye was always toward a good " "tract of land as well as a convenient place for navigation." He brought out several hundred families of protestants from Ireland to the shores of the Kennebec in 1719 and 1720. The Indian war of 1722 drove many of them away. Temple remained, and aided in the defence of the country.

In 1727, he married Mehitable, daughter of John Nelson, of Gray's Inn London, whose wife was a daughter of John Temple, his great grandfather. By her he had six children : the eldest, Robert, married a daughter of governor Shirley : the second, John, became a baronet, and married a daughter of governor Bowdoin, of Massachusetts : their daughter, Elizabeth, married Thos. L. Winthrop. In 1742, Temple lived on Noddle's island, (now East Boston.) In 1753, he occupied Ten-hill farm, in Charlestown, which had belonged to governor Winthrop. [*See Collections of Maine Historical Society, vol. 6, pp. 14, &c* Portland, 1853.]

(2.)

The parchment with the oath of allegiance, subscribed in 1730, by the inhabitants of the Annapolis river, has 227 signatures of persons who took the oath. There are on it also the signatures of 16 witnesses, viz. : R. C. de Breslay, prêtre missionnaire, curé ; Rich. Watts, cler's. ; Will. Skene, William Winniett, Alex'r. Cosby, lieut. gov'r. ; P. Mascarene, Henry Cope, Otho Hamilton, Thos. Barton, Geo. Baker, Edw'd. Amhurst, John Bradstreet, Eras. Jas. Philipps, Arch'd. Rennie, Rich'd. Bull, Jno. Handfield. Of the persons sworn, the following signed their names : Jean Brou, François Boudrot, Prudent Robichaux, Nicolas Gautier, Joseph Bourgeois, Guillaume Blanchard, Pierre Lanoue, Louis Allen, Charles L'or, Abraham Bourg, R. S. Duon, Pierre Richair, Bernard Godet, Charlle Guillebaud, Louis Fontaine, Deni St. Sceine, Remy Petitot, dit St. Sceine, René de forrest, Jean Doucet, G. Bourgeois, Michel Richard, Jean Botis Porlier, Charle Blanchard, Pierre Bellivau, Charle Boudrot, Joseph Doucet, Jean Pry-jean, Clode Tibeaudau, Michel Tibeaudau, Michel Richard, Joseph Richard, Louis Fontaine, Baptiste Jacau, Antoine Tibido. The rest of the names are signed with a mark or cross to each.

(3.)

Jonathan Belcher, esquire, who had been a member of the council in Massachusetts, was made governor of that province and of New Hampshire in 1730. He was himself a merchant, and the only son of a wealthy merchant of Boston, and he received the best education the colony could furnish. He had travelled for six years in Europe, and was twice at Hanover. He was free and open in his speech and letters, by which he made enemies. He was a native of Boston, and a graduate of Harvard. His mind, manners and person, were all graceful and attractive. He had received from the princess Sophia a gold medal. He was of aspiring disposition, a warm friend, and a vindictive, though not implacable foe; expensive in the style of his living as governor, beyond what the pay of his office warranted. He continued to be governor of both provinces till 1741, when he was removed, and William Shirley was made governor of Massachusetts, and Benning Wentworth governor of New Hampshire. Mr. Belcher was afterwards made governor of New Jersey, and died in Elizabethtown, in that province, in the beginning of September, 1757. His son, Jonathan Belcher, was the first Chief Justice of Nova Scotia; his grandson, Andrew Belcher, was a merchant in Halifax, and member of the council of Nova Scotia; and his great grandson, Sir Edward Belcher, is an admiral in the British navy, distinguished for his services on the coast of Africa and in the Arctic seas, on scientific expeditions. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 370. 2 *Williamson, Maine*, 167. 2 *Belknap, N. H.*, 96. *London Magazine* for 1757, p. 564.]

(4.)

At a council held att his Excellency's house, in his majesty's garrison of Annapolis Royall, on y^e. 7th day of Dec'r., at ten a clock, Saturday, A. M., 1730.

Present :

His Excellency General Richard Philipps.

The hon'ble. lieut. gov'r. Alex'r. Cosby, President.

John Adams,	} Esq'rs.	William Skene,	} Esq'rs.
Will'm. Winniett,		Eras. Jas. Philipps,	

His Excellency being arriv'd at Annapolis from visiting the other parts of the province, assembled the council as above, and acquainted them that he had rece'd. severall Papers and Instructions from home. which he intended now to Lay before y^e. Board, and accordingly ordered y^e. secret'ry to read those that follow, viz. :—

The Treaty of Peace with Spain.

His Majesty's order to y^e Gov'rs. abroad, relating to y^e sd treaty.

The king of Spain's Cedula.

And His Majestie's Orders to his Excell'cy, to be aiding and assisting to the Receiver of y^e. sixpence ster. p'r. month out of seaman's wages towards y^e. support of y^e. Royal Hospitall at Greenwich.

His Excellency likewise acquainted y^e. Board that there not being councillors enough upon y^e spot to make up a Quorum, he thought proper, with their advice, to appoint Mr. Eras Jas. Philipps a member thereof, who was sworn accordingly.

(5.)

10 Dec'r., 1730. Governor Philipps ordered that all the quitt rents, homages, and other services, formerly paid by the inhabitants at Mines, and other places up the bay of Fundy, to their respective seigniors, should then be paid to his sacred Britannick Majesty, as their only lord Paramount and sole and only seignior of the province. Alexandre Bourg de Bellehumeur was appointed and formally commissioned as *Procureur du Roi* at Mines and Piziquid, Cobequit and Chignecto, to receive all dues and quit rents due to his majesty, and all confiscations and *aubaines*. He was to account twice a year, and retain 3s. per pistole as his compensation, (the pistole is 10 francs, about 2 dollars.) This commission is dated 10 Dec'r., 1730. Signed by Rich'd. Philipps, and countersigned by Erasmus James Philipps, secretary.

(6.)

The lords of Trade obtained the opinion of messrs. Yorke and Talbot, who stated that no fine or recovery suffered in England of lands in the plantations, could bar the intail of such lands, unless some act or law of the colony gave that effect to it in express terms. 15 Dec'r., 1730. A copy of this opinion was transmitted to governor Philipps.

(7.)

By a proclamation in French, dated 24 Dec'r., 1730, governor Philipps required the people of the Annapolis river to bring in their deeds, leases and grants, to the secretary's office by the end of February, in order to receive new grants of their lands, under the provincial great seal, which he promised them. He also issued an order that the deputies should be paid by the people of their several districts, for their expenses on two different attendances.

(8.)

Ordre pour rendre le chemin des Mines praticable.

(Loco Sigilli.) Par son Excellence Rich'd. Philipps, Ecuyer, &c.

D'autant que nous avons recommandé qu'il étoit, nécessaire pour le soulagem't. des Ha——de sa Majesté, qu'il y eut un com——Mines en faisant un chemin de charete,——leur consentement quand nous etions à Mines——n'avoir point de retardement, nous ordonnons——sera incontinent commencé, et qu'il soit fait dans une——qu'il étoit dans le tems des François, et que chacun——reponderont le contraire à leur peril. Donné——Royalle, signé de ma main, & scellé de mon Sceau. ce 14——quatrième année du regne de sa Majesté le Roy ——Dom. 1730.

Par ordre de——Philipps.

Eras. Jas.——

(In the register's book, much destroyed by decay of the papers.)

Order for clearing the road to Mines, 1730.

(Loco Sigilli.)

By this _____ pps Esq'r. &c.

Whereas it has bee _____ the ease of the people
of this province & f _____ pen a communication between
this place & Minas _____ nd which was agreed to by y'e.
Inhabitants when _____ to the end that it may be more
effectually done _____ Road be forthwith begun to be
clear'd, & that it may be done _____ as it was in the time of y'e. French
each inhabitant to do his part, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.
Given at Annapolis Royall, under my hand & seal, this 14th May, in the 4th year
of the reign of his Majesty king George the 2nd, Annoq : Dom : 1730.

R. PHILIPPS.

By his Excellency's com'd.

Eras. Jas. Philipps, secret're.

(9.)

65 surnames contained in the 227 signatures to the oath of allegiance of 1730 :

Allen.	Dupuis.	Melanson.
Amirau,	Dupont.	Michel.
Babinot.	Fontaine.	Orillon.
Barnabé.	Forrest.	Pelerin.
Basque.	Garceau.	Petitot.
Bastarache.	Garçon.	Perou.
Bellincaux.	Girouar.	Pignot.
Beliveau.	Guillebaud.	Petre.
Bertran.	Gouzille.	Porlier.
Blanchard.	Guillo.	Quessy.
Bonnevie.	Guillebaud.	Raymond.
Boudrot.	Granger.	Richard.
Bourg.	Hautbois.	Robicheaux.
Bourgeois.	Hebert.	Roy.
Breau.	Landri.	Savoir.
Brun.	Lanoué.	Simon.
Brussar.	Laverne.	St. Sceine.
Commeau.	Levron.	Surett.
Corporon.	Leger.	Tibo.
Doucet.	L'or.	Tibaudeau.
Dugas.	Massier.	Tour.
Duon.	Martin.	

CHAPTER LII.

1731. Governor Philipps, as colonel of his regiment, had an agent, colonel Gardner, who died, leaving the accounts of the officers unsettled, and balances due to them. In consequence of their demands, Mr. Philipps was directed, by a letter from Sir William Strickland, the secretary at war, to hand over the government to lieut. colonel Armstrong on his arrival, and to proceed to Britain, to settle the accounts of his officers of his regiment of foot. There was a royal order, dated 15 March, 1730-1, to Philipps, to return to England, and letters of same date to Armstrong to go out. At this time the people up the bay traded with the French at cape Breton, sending them live cattle, corn and provisions, receiving payment in French silver only, which they hoarded to send to Boston, where it was of more value than here, and they refused to take any other money for their commodities. The garrison could get no other money than Boston paper money, which was refused to be taken in payment. A proclamation was issued by governor Philipps, (11 March), establishing the value of French and other silver money at 8s. an ounce, New England currency,—and declared the province bills of New England to be current, and a lawful tender for the purchase of goods and payment of debts. In the same proclamation, to prevent scarcity from exports, it was forbidden to merchant vessels to take off more than two month's provisions ; and forbids the people of Mines, Chignecto, Piziquid, Cobequid, &c., exporting clandestinely at Chebucto, Tapanagooch, Chignecto, or any other creek or place, as they have used to do, beasts, cattle, or other provi-

sions, except from Annapolis Royal only, under a penalty of fifty pistoles, of New England, to be levied on delinquent's effects, half to go to the accuser. (The resolution of council, 11 Feb., had appointed 12 months imprisonment, confiscation of vessel and cargo, and a fine of £50, N. E. currency.)

March 16. Sir William Strickland wrote to Mr. Shirreff that he was to act as secretary until the arrival of captain Philipps, and receive half the pay, while the latter was absent. One John Tourno deserted from his master at Boston. He was taken and put on board a schooner lying at Mines, but some of the inhabitants incited the Indians to go on board and rescue him; after which, the inhabitants harbored him. The governor, by advice of the council, issued a proclamation, 19 March, summoning Amand Bujeau, Jean Landry, Jean le Blanc, surnamed Jean des Sappins, all of Grand Pré, to appear within eight days; and the inhabitants are threatened, in case they act in this way, that they will be made responsible, &c., and considered as rebels. Peter Allen, of Mines, was charged by John Cate with inveigling Turnoe from his service, and had to give security to send Turnoe back to Boston. 24 June. Mascarene protested against lieutenant governor Cosby (his junior as a counsellor) being made president; but governor Philipps claimed power to appoint him. An objection was then made to Mascarene, as having been absent above two years; but the question being left to the governor, he decided that, as Mr. Mascarene was absent on public duty, he had not forfeited his seat in council. 22 July. Lieutenant governor Armstrong arrived at Annapolis, and delivered to governor Philipps the king's orders for his return to England. Philipps tells the duke of Newcastle, "It imports me much" "to be very careful of delivering up the government to lieut." "governor Armstrong with the greatest exactness, who is" "turning up every stone, and raking into every kennel, to" "find some dirt to bespatter me with, in hopes that some" "may stick;" accuses him for ingratitude. He intends to go to Canso, and thence to England. On the 9 August he enters on the minutes of the council a positive denial of his having received any money from government for barracks or fortifica-

tions at Canso ; and on 22 August a proclamation was agreed to in council, requiring the French inhabitants to bring in their titles on or before the 10 April, 1732.

Governor Philipps left Annapolis 27 August, 1731, on which Armstrong assumed the government ; and on the 11 Sept. he met the council and presented his credentials, informing them that his bad state of health had prevented his calling them together earlier. Cosby, Mascarene, Adams, Skene and Shirreff, (secretary), attended. 20 Sept'r. Etienne Rivett having been heard on his petition, and it appearing that he had been condemned on the evidence of one witness only, and that evidence malicious, and fifty-five inhabitants of Piziquid certifying in his favor, and that he had been active in getting the people to take the oath of allegiance ; the sentence of proscription, banishment and confiscation, passed against him 30 April, 1730, was now revoked. Armstrong, seemingly, did not find his position to be a bed of roses. He first found the difference about precedency between Mascarene, who claimed as senior councillor, and lieutenant governor Cosby, who was appointed president of council by Philipps. This question Armstrong very prudently referred to the lords of Trade to decide. He calls Nova Scotia "this much neglected, (and I may venture" "to say), distracted colony." He says "the people (I mean" "the French) that I have to deal with, are a perfidious, head-" "strong, obstinate, and as conceited a crew, as any in the" "world." He asks the Board of Trade how far the French inhabitants, or their seigneurs, are entitled to lands—waste, uncultivated or abandoned. He has received petitions for grants of land, but finds himself restricted by the recent instructions from making grants 'until colonel Dunbar doth' 'first set apart 300,000 acres for his majesty.' This retards settlement. No inhabitant pays a farthing rent towards charges of government ; while the council, which is the only court of judicature, is daily harassed with the people's affairs. He wishes for a table of fees in court business, and also on grants of land. "Wax, and all other kind of stationary ware here" "is very dear and expensive." He asks an annual supply of these articles to be sent from Britain. He suggests a survey

and measurement of the estates of the French inhabitants ; also the recording of the French grants. He thinks an *assembly* would probably lead to obedience and free contribution to expences of government. He also asks leave to appoint some justices of the peace, and other inferior officers, from among the French.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LII.

(1.)

20 April, 1731. Mr. John Dyson, serjeant and storekeeper to the Board of Ordnance in this garrison, reported "the daily encroachment made by the sea" "on the plott of ground lying between the Fort and town of Annapolis Royall," "whereby the lime kiln that stands thereon for the use and conveniency of the" "fort and garrison, will, in a few years, be quite washed into the river, if not" "prevented." He proposed, if the spot were granted him, to build a dwelling house. He would fence it in with stakes and plank, and so secure it against further damage. A grant of a piece of this land is made to him, measuring 28, 31, 58 and 53 yards, (on diff. sides), on condition of fencing, &c., to be void if wanted for fortifications.

24 June, 1731. In council. An application from some merchants, of Boston, for a grant of a coal mine, (coal clift), near Chignecto, was favorably received.

24 July. Ensign Handfield applied for a plott of ground behind his house, in Annapolis. It was claimed by the heirs of Sir Charles Hobby, by Louis Allain, by one Marquise, and by the Poubomcoup's.

24 August. One acre of land on Canso island was granted to Lt. gov'r. Cosby, quit rent 2s. 6d. per ann. Transferred by Cosby to Edward How, esq., merchant, Canso. in 1732.

(2.)

30 Aug't., 1731. Armstrong requests from Mines a supply for the garrison of Annapolis of 200 quintals of biscuit and 60 hhds. pease. Messrs. Bissell, Donald (Donnell), and Blin, will pay for them. He has ordered Nigan Robicheaux to buy black cattle and sheep at Mines, and bring them to Annapolis.

(3.)

Lt. gov. Armstrong says he has been applied to for house and garden lots near Annapolis, for farm lots at Mines, and for grants at Chippody, where some young people had settled several years previously. Seignourial rents, he says, are remitted into the French dominions. The trade to cape Ereton amounts to 300 or 400 head of cattle annually, besides sheep and other provisions. This could

only be stopped by a sloop cruising on the Eastern coast, and in the Baie Verte. At Canso, this year, there are more fish than vessels to carry it to market. Dunbar's settlement, where there is a detachment of men from this regiment, improves daily.

(4.)

In council. 8 October, 1731. 9 o'clock, A. M. :—

Major Mascarene asked for a grant of 8 acres, 5 perches, on the Cape road, Annapolis,—agreed to. He also asked liberty to go to Boston, New England. Granted. And to have a quorum, lieutenant Otho Hamilton was appointed a member of council, and took his oaths and seat accordingly.

(5.)

10 October, 1731. Extract from the answer made by Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart, governor general and intendant in Canada, to the *memoire* of the king, dated the 8th of May, in the said year :—

"They" (the English) "have continued to build forts in the bay of Fundy, " "from the river St. George as far as about" (*jusqu'à vers*) "Beaubassin, which " "they pretend to belong to Acadie. Nevertheless, Acadie, according to its " "ancient limits, such as it was ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, " "should only be part of the large peninsula comprized and bounded by a " "straight line drawn from cape Canceaux to cape Fourchu, to which the same " "treaty adds the town of Port Royal, a certain proof that this town is not in the " "ceded Acadie, and that his majesty did not intend to cede the other lands and " "possessions beyond these boundaries, and which were inhabited by the French " "as the coasts of Mines, Beaubassin, the river St. John as far as the river " "St. George, where in the year 1700, after the peace of Ryswick, was planted, " "in an island at the mouth of this river, a post (*poteau*), with the arms of England " "on the West side, and those of France on the East side, to serve as bounds to " "the lands of the two crowns, and to distinguish them. It is visible, by the " "manœuvres the English carry on, that they seek all means of extending them- " "selves more and more. If his majesty would please to cause the treaties and " "conventions made with England to be examined, and also to name Commis- " "saries, with the necessary instructions for regulating the boundaries between " "them and us, we doubt not that the English would be shut up within more " "narrow bounds than they now are. If this business is once regulated, we " "would have the right of openly opposing the settlements which they have " "made, and which they design yet to make, upon our lands."

(6.)

In council, 13 Oct'r., 1731 :—

His Honor acquainted the Board that there were four men come from Cobaguit, who had presented him with petitions and other papers, which he judged proper to lay before them for their opinion and advice on the same ; and the four men, viz., Noel Durong, John Bourg, Lewis Bourg and Joseph Robichaux being called in—The petition of John Bourg, on behalf of himself and others, praying that, according to the last will and testament of Mathew Martin, they might suc-

ceed him as his heirs in the seignory of Cobaquit, (called Cocobequey in the grant of 1689), was read, as also the said testament, and the concession of the said seignory made in favor of the said Matthew Martin, deceased ; as was also the petition of the said John Bourg, Joseph Robichaux and Lewis Bourg, against René Martin, of this River. As to their succeeding Matthew Martin, his Honor acquainted them that Mrs. Campbell was gone to Britain to solicit the affairs of the Seignors, and that as soon as he received any directions about them, that then the prayer of their petition should be taken into consideration, of which the Board approved.

(7.)

At a comity of council, held by order of the Hon'ble. Lt. Col. Law. Armstrong, the Lt. Gov'r. of the Province, on Tewsday, the 9th of November, 1731, at Mr. Gibson's Room, in his Majesty's Garrison of Annapolis Royall, at 11 o' the clock, A. M. Present : The Hon'ble. Alex'r. Cosby, President ; William Skene, Esq'r., Otho Hamilton, Esq'r. William Shirreff, Sec'y.

The Sec'y. acquainted the Presid't. there was one James O'Neale, a British subject, from Ireland, come here and gives an acco't. that he had been for some years in france, and from thence went to Canada, and other places in the dominions of france. and that he now intends to settle himself at Shickanektau, provided the Governm't. would grant him a Patent for a Piece of Ground as sett forth in his Petition, and that as he is an Intire Stranger in y'e country, and perhaps Come with other Views, His Hon'r. the lieut. Governor of the Province therefore desired that his Hon'r. the Presid't., with this Comity of the Council, would be pleased to examine him, and make him a Report, in order to be considered and laid before the Council on thursday next.

Mr. O'Neale being called, his Hon'r. the Presid't. put to him the following Questions, viz't : Of what country, and how long he had been from it, & what Induced him to Come to America, and to leave the French plantations, after being so long amongst the French ?

To which Questions Mr. O'Neale made answer that he was of Ireland, and born in the county of Cork : That it was about Eight years since he left that country, and went from thence to ffollow his studies in the colledge of Lombard, in Paris, where he studied Physick and Chirurgery for three years, and from thence went to Canada, in order to find Practice, where, after an abode of about 3 years, not finding the expected encouragement, he departed from thence to Lewisbourg, in Cape Breton, with a designe to go to New Spain, to seek his fortune in these parts. But meeting with one Mons'r. Laffong, of this Province, at Lewisbourg, and he acquainting him that he might meet with encouragement here, advised him to go to Shickanektau, where, having been for about six months, and finding the place agreeable, he intended to marry & to settle himself there, provided that the Gov'mt. would encourage him by giving him a Grant of a Piece of Ground for which he had petitioned the Hon'ble. Lieut. Gov'r. Armstrong. He professed himself a Roman Catholick, but promised to behave himself faithfully in all Respects to his Majesty King George's Government, and being ready, as sett forth in his said Petition, to take the usual oath, that he accordingly would bear true & faithful allegiance to his Britannic Majesty.

The comity are of opinion that the Irish Roman Catholick would more naturally prove better inhabitants than the french, and that if he performed his promise he might be very serviceable in these parts.

L. ARMSTRONG.

(8.)

Lieutenant governor Armstrong writes to the lords of Trade.

"Annapolis Royal, 16 Nov'r., 1731."

"He calls the French inhabitants a litigious sort of people, and so ill-natured " "to one another as daily to encroach upon their neighbours' properties, which " occasions continual complaints.——Yet they all unanimously agree in oppo- " sing any order of Government, tho' never so conducive to their own interest. "

(In Mr. Bergereau's commission as receiver of rents, Chignecto, dated 15 May, 1742, the king is said to have purchased the Seignory in 1731.)

(9.)

"In 1731, Philadelphia is said to have contained 2400 houses and 12,000 souls." [2 *Graham's Col. History U. S.*, p. 106.]

CHAPTER LIII.

1732. Councils were frequently held in the early part of this year, in which the law suits of the French inhabitants respecting their lands, and other subjects of dispute, were tried and decided. This occurred 30 December, 1741, 7 January, 1731-2, 10, 11, 22 January, 5 February, 25 March, 1734. The abbé Raynal, in his romantic description of the Acadians, describes them as living without quarrels or litigation, and gives us to understand that the priest or the notary settled all their quarrels. But the learned abbé appears not to have had access to the records of either the French or English governments in this country. Under the French governors they appear to have been in the habit of appealing to Quebec from Des Goutins, the judge of Port Royal, at an expence of travel, time and money, in some instances ruinous to suitors; and under the English rule, there is an endless series of petty disputes, to settle which the governor and council at Annapolis were incessantly convened. There can be no doubt that if the Acadians had not been constantly stimulated by French agents, clerical and lay, to a disaffected and hostile feeling against the British rule, they might have become the happiest and most prosperous people in the world. Notwithstanding the unfavorable remarks of Costabelle, Philipps and Armstrong, I am inclined to think they were a simple, honest, and well-disposed peasantry, though not quite as perfect and amiable as Raynal imagined. Some bargain appears to have been made about this time between the crown and Mrs. Agatha Campbell, for sale of the seigneuries of Nova Scotia. Lieut.

governor Armstrong wrote 22 Jan'y., 1731-2, to Mr. Alexander Bourg, respecting the quit rents which he collected, (probably the seigneurial rents of Mines.) They appear to have been payable in wheat, or, when that was scarce, in capons, in the discretion of the seigneur. "But as I have no need of capons" "for H. M. service, I must desire you will collect the whole" "in wheat and pease." The lieut. governor wishes a rent roll, shewing each tenant's annual rent, and when last paid; also to know what were the fines on alienation. In March, Armstrong, by advice of the council, wrote to the priest and inhabitants of the river St. John, who had settled there without leave of government, to come to Annapolis, to answer and to swear allegiance.

March 28, 1732. Armstrong gave a written permission to Joseph and Peter Surett, Joseph Cadett, junior, Martin Aucoin, junior, and Joseph Babin, "to go to visit the land"—"on the north shore of the bay of ffundy," called Musquash cove, and to report to him thereon, but they were forbidden to mark or lay out any lands; and at the same time he gave a similar authority to Paul le Blanc, John le Blanc, (alias Sappin), James Tibau, and Benjamin le Blanc, to visit some ground lying at Apple river. At the same date, he writes to M. de la Goudalie, priest of Mines; rebukes him for beginning to build a church at Cobaquid, and sending for priests, without obtaining previous leave from government. Lieutenant governor Armstrong writes 28 March, 1732, to M. Alexander Bourg, Mines, about the quit rents; also about a judgment of the council, between the Dupuis and Claude, to divide the land in dispute equally between them, and declines interfering to alter it. On the same day he writes to the deputies of Mines, insisting on the sentence of the council in the case of René le Blanc being enforced; and calls the letter of A. Bourg and others, heirs of Peter Melanson, "frivolous," "chicaning," and "impertinent."

In April, colonel Dunbar wrote to Armstrong, who, in reply, promised him the men he demanded, with an officer to relieve Mr. Broadstreet; congratulated him on his improvements; regrets that he is impeded by the Massachusetts

people ; asks him to send a deputy surveyor. He is not able, owing to the precarious state of his health, to visit Dunbar, at Frederick's fort, but would be glad to see and make him welcome at Annapolis.

In May, governor Armstrong entertained a design of placing a garrison of soldiers at Mines, and entered into a contract with René la Blanc, of that place, for timber and materials for a building called a granary or magazine, of 26 x 60 feet, which he intended as a barrack for troops.

In June, Armstrong writes to the lords of Trade. He had a difficulty in procuring a quorum of councillors. Mr. Winniett was frequently out of the province, on his private business. Mr. Cosby had withdrawn from sitting (by letter of 7 May) in council. He had therefore only Mascarene, Adams, Skene and Shirreff. He had appointed lieutenant Otho Hamilton as member of council. He charges Cosby, and his father-in-law, Winniett, as obstructing and opposing "every transaction, tho' never so necessary for H. M. service." He again proposes *a house of assembly*, and points out the necessity of local legislation. "For without some statutes, this province" "can never be rightly settled, especially seeing the French" "here, upon any frivolous disputes, plead the laws of Paris."—Complains that a small colony of French have settled on the river St. John, "who despise and condemn all authority here." He says Matthew Martin, the seigneur of Cobequid, had lately died without issue, but had, by will, devised his estate. He had been disrespectful to his majesty. Thinks his will might be set aside. Speaking of the Latour family, he says Charles de la Tour retired into the French dominions, where he died, leaving issue here. A son and daughter of James also retired. Madame Belleisle's son, Alexander, married an Indian, and lived among the tribe, being hostile to the English government. The D'entremonts had been peaceable. He says the seigneurs in their respective districts had power to put to death and to save alive. 17 June. Armstrong wrote to M. St. Ovide to send him two priests, one for Annapolis and the other for Mines. He had ordered Godalie to leave the province. Godalie was accused of having "basely contradicted".

“himself,” — “of presuming to build churches without the”
“privity or authority of H. M. Government,” — “of pervert-”
“ing one of H. M. subjects to the Popish religion, conveying”
“him out of the province contrary to the express orders of”
“the government,” — “and for styling himself the bishop of”
“Quebec’s vicar.” For these offences, the council, consisting
of Armstrong, Mascarene, Adams, Skene, Shirreff, Cope, and
Otho Hamilton, on 19 June, ordered him to depart out of the
province, and directed that the inhabitants should not pay him
any more tythes.

At this time the French claimed the islands of Canso, and
the province of Massachusetts claimed the part of Nova Scotia
from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, which they called Geor-
gia. The British manufactures consumed in the province
were chiefly red and blue strouds, kerseys, stuffs and linens,
of the annual value of about £10,000. There was a small
trade in corn and cattle sent to cape Breton, and paid for in
French silver. There was yearly sent in British and New
England vessels, from Canso, about 50 or 60,000 quintals of
dry codfish, to Spain, Portugal, and the straits of Gibraltar.
The annual exports of the province were valued at 60 or
£70,000 sterling. The inhabitants were mostly French, con-
sisting of about 800 families. There were no negroes, and
very few English, except the garrisons. The French had in-
creased near one-half within ten years. The small English
population had decreased, owing to the want of power in the
governor to grant land. There was no militia force. The
only fortress was that of Annapolis. Troops were posted at
Canso, without any fort, magazine for provisions, or place of
defence against the weather or the enemy. The Indians,
altogether, were estimated to have five hundred fighting men.
Canada, besides its forts and soldiers, had 10,000 militia.
Louisbourg was considered to be almost impregnable, having
a strong citadel, several forts and batteries well mounted with
cannon, 600 regulars, and 1000 militia. Governor Philipps,
who is our authority for these particulars, also stated that the
whole revenue of Nova Scotia is £30 sterling, consisting of a
tribute of one quintal of codfish yearly, paid by each pro-

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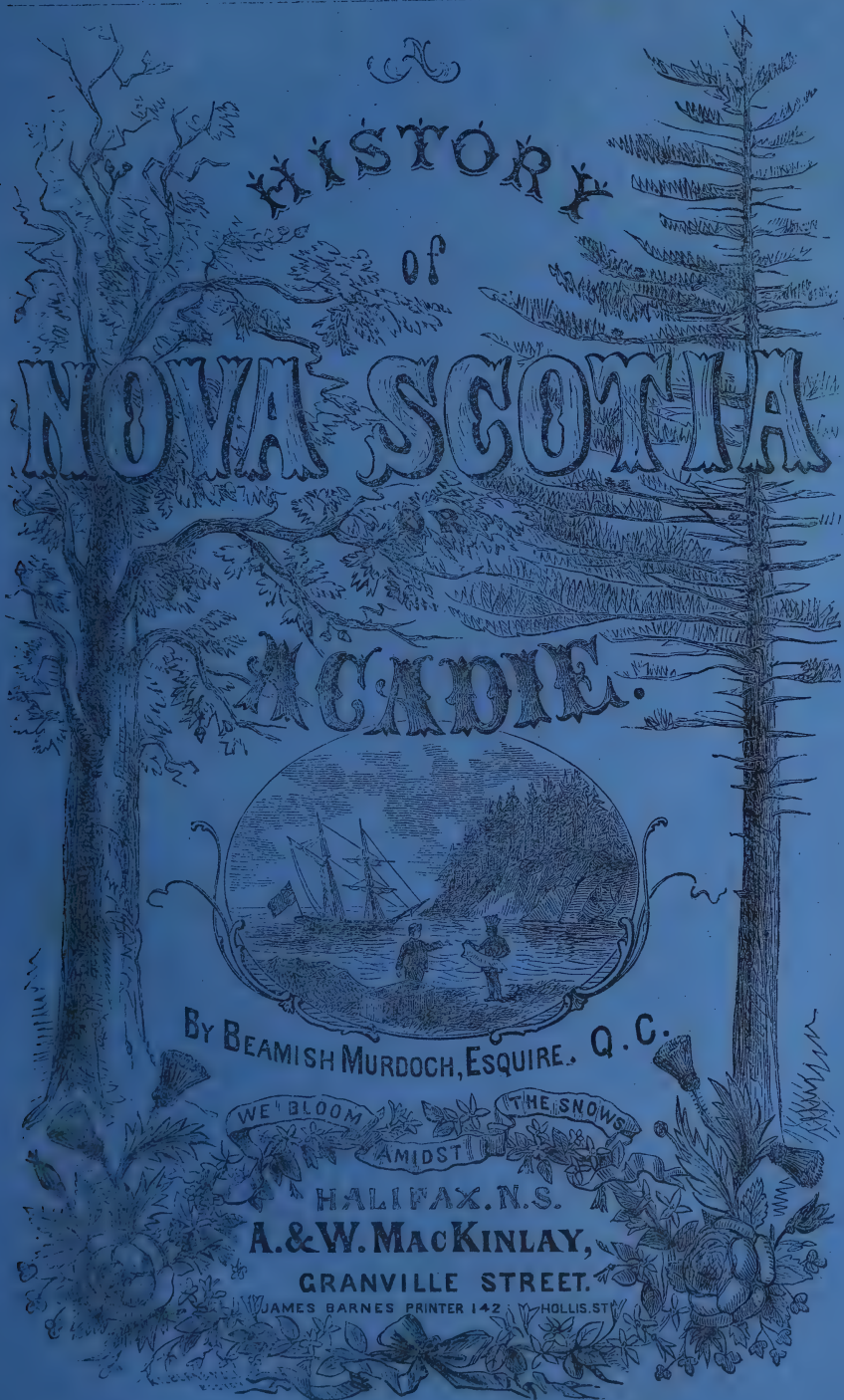
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OF

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“A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA OR ACADIE, BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE, Q. C.

JAS. H. THORNE,

Deputy Secretary.

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OR
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BY
BEAMISH MURDOCH, Esq., Q. C.

VOL. I.

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1865.

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PREFACE.

IN offering to public attention the first volume of this work, I have to crave indulgence for many imperfections that I am sensible cannot fail to occur in such an attempt. The great amount of materials for history which the provincial assembly have collected and preserved by means of the Record Commission, were powerfully tempting to me, and my prepossessions as a Novascotian making strong impressions on my mind of the value of my country and the interest of its early history, I commenced, in 1860, the collection and arrangement of this narrative. In its progress I have received the most friendly aid and encouragement in every direction; and having given my whole heart to the work ever since, I have every confidence that it will prove useful as a record of the varying events that have at length made Nova Scotia a happy, free and intelligent province, progressive and prosperous, which may she ever be.—I am bound to express my thanks for substantial aid to the provincial government and assembly, and individually to those who have furnished information, facilitated my researches, and otherwise assisted my enterprise, among whom I must name Thomas B. Akins, esquire, the Commissioner of Records, The Hon. Joseph Howe, The Hon. Dr. Charles Tupper, The Hon. W. A. Henry, The Hon. J. McCully; Henry C. D. Twining, esquire, clerk of Assembly; Hon. messrs. Ritchie, Shannon and McDonald; Mr. Speaker Wade; Hiram Blanchard, esq.; Rev. Mr. Rand, missionary

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I must apprise the reader that in the spelling of the names of places I have always followed the orthography of the book or document from which I was at the moment preparing my statements. There is, consequently, a frequent variation in spelling the old Indian names of places, which is not to be charged to negligence. The modes of spelling them have varied at different periods. One of the most remarkable instances of this is Canso, which has been spelt Campseau, Canceaux, Canço, Canseau, &c. &c. Mines has been spelt Menis and Minas, and even Manis. Pisiguid, Pigiguit, Piziguid, &c. Chignitou, Chignicto, Shickanectua.—In extracts and quotations, I have generally adopted, as nearly as possible, the language, spelling, &c., of the time, not attempting to correct or alter it, on the contrary desiring to preserve the characteristic phrases and language of each period.

In the review of the people who inhabited Nova Scotia at successive dates, the Micmacs, the French, and the English, I have seen many shining and noble qualities displayed in each successive age, both by leaders and followers. Some faults they had—some crimes were committed ; but we, who

succeed them, may be happy if we can shew the courage, the endurance and generosity that are the attributes of the early adventurers and settlers of Acadie. Some periods of our history afford but little matter for connected narrative. At other times interesting transactions occur which do not form part of the regular sequence of events. In such cases I have preferred to place them in appendices to the chapters, instead of omitting them entirely, as I am anxious to preserve everything of genuine interest that I have found in my enquiries.

The leading idea with me has been to preserve from oblivion the past occurrences in this province. The frequent change of masters—the misfortunes that have often retarded its progress to civilization, and the varying effects that the contests of two great and noble nations have had on its destiny, will hereafter give scope for philosophical minds to review, and for eloquent writers to expatiate on.

The task of collecting and reducing into annals facts of interest, must naturally precede the more ambitious course of history, just as the labor of the pioneers of this continent, in clearing the forest, making roads and bridging streams, is an essential requisite to lead eventually to cities, villas, and high cultivation. If this work prove to be a useful preparation, as a scaffolding for the erection of more diversified and elegant structures, the labor I bestow on it will not have been useless.

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1655. Treaty of Westminster between England and France. Acadie granted by Cromwell, to Latour, Temple and Crowne. 1657. Sir Thomas Temple made governor of Nova Scotia by Oliver Cromwell. Le Borgne commissioned by the French king. 1658. Le Borgne made prisoner at La Hève by the English. 1663. Grant of the islands of Madelaine, &c., to Doublet. Earthquakes over the continent. Sagadahock granted to the duke of York. 1664. Louis XIV established the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*. Appendix—Abstract of patents from Cromwell, &c.

CHAPTER XVII. P. 140—148.

1667. Treaty of Breda. Acadie restored to France. Temple ordered to surrender it. He objects to the boundaries claimed by the French. 1669. Peremptory orders to give it up. 1670. He delivers possession. Appendix—Description of the forts at Pentagoët and Gemisick given up.

CHAPTER XVIII. P. 149—157.

1671. Grand-fontaine governor of Acadie. Proposes to re-establish the old fort at St. John. Census of 1671. Settlement at Miramichi in 1672 or 1673. 1674. Death of Sir Thomas Temple. De Chambly succeeds Grand-fontaine. Pentagoët taken by a pirate vessel. Indian wars in 1676 on borders of New England. 1678. De Marson commands in Acadie, and is succeeded by M. de la Vallière. Appendix—Grants of Nachouac and Gemisick to Marson, and of Chignictou to la Vallière, &c. A concession from Bellisle, as seigneur, on the Annapolis river, to Martin and his son in 1679, given in full.

CHAPTER XIX. P. 158—163.

State of the province in 1680. The English take possession for the fifth time. Grant to Bergier & Co., for shore fishery. 1682. La Vallière still in command. Bergier settles at Chedabouctou. Pirates seize the fishing craft of the people of Port Royal. Misconduct of la Vallière. Appendix—Grants of seigneuries on the St. John river in 1684.

CHAPTER XX. P. 164—172.

1684. Violence and oppression of La Vallière. He is superseded. M. Perrot made governor. He proposes to fortify Lahève. 1686. De Meulles visits the different settlements of Acadie, and prepares a very full census. Treaty of London. Neutrality in America stipulated. Appendix—Extracts from de Meulles' census, &c.

CHAPTER XXI. P. 173—182.

1687. De Menneval appointed governor. Instructions given to him. Garrison increased from 30 to 60 men. Governor to reside at Port Royal. Castin to be checked. 1688. De Goutins appointed judge, &c. His instructions. Marie de Menou gives Port Royal to her half brothers and sisters the Latours. Castin pillaged by governor Andros, of New England. Pirates on the Acadie coast rob a Portuguese vessel. 1689. Capture of English fort at Pemaquid by the Indians. Illicit trade between Port Royal and Boston. French vessels of war seize English vessels for fishing and trading on the coast. 1690. Discords between governor de Menneval and the judge des Goutins. Appendix—Certificate respecting D'aulnay's improvements, buildings, &c., and his death. Grants of Seignories in 1688 and 1699. Notice of de la Mothe Cadillac.

CHAPTER XXII. P. 183—193.

1690. Attack on English colonies from Canada. Phipps invades Acadie with a squadron and 700 men from Boston. Menneval surrenders on terms. Phipps violates the agreement, and, having pillaged Port Royal, abandons it. Neglect of the French government to protect their settlements. Appendix—Notice of Sir Wm. Phipps. Canadian families of Bekancourt and Longueil. Phipps attacks Quebec, and fails.

CHAPTER XXIII. P. 194—207.

1690. Villebon arrives at Port Royal. Decides to occupy Jemsek, on the St. John. Pirates pillage Placentia, Port Royal and Chedabouctou, and burn Port Royal. They also capture the Union, the vessel which brought Villebon from France. Villebon goes to Quebec, and thence to France. 1791. Returns as Governor. Nelson and Tyng made prisoners. Appendix—Acadie granted by William and Mary to Massachusetts, in the charter of 1691. Grants of Seigneuries in Acadie in 1691-2-3. Marie de Menou's will. Notices of John Nelson. His imprisonment in the Bastile, &c. Lahontan's remarks on Acadie. Perrot's proposals.

CHAPTER XXIV. P. 208—214.

1692. Expedition to capture Villebon's fort on the St. John fails to do anything. Erection of English fort at Pemaquid. French vessels go there, but withdraw. 1693. Villebon in command at Nachouac. 1694. Villieu leads 500 Indians against the frontier of New England, where they kill, pillage and burn. Capt. March violates a flag of truce.

CHAPTER XXV. P. 215—225.

1695. Baptiste, in his privateer, makes prizes,—resorting to the St. John river. Villebon entertains Indian chiefs. 1696. Indians who came to Pemaquid to treat of exchange of prisoners, killed by captain Chubb. Pemaquid is besieged by French and Indians under d'Iberville and Bonaventure, assisted by Castin, &c. Chubb surrenders. The fort is demolished. Cruel wars in Newfoundland.

CHAPTER XXVI. P. 226—232.

Church's expedition to Chignecto. He burns, pillages, kills cattle, &c. New England forces besiege Villebon in Nachouac, but, after hard fighting, withdraw.

CHAPTER XXVII. P. 233—238.

1697. Villebon strengthens his fort. Affairs of Indian frontier wars. An English prisoner *burnt alive*, &c. &c. Appendix—Treaty of Ryswick, (1697.) Article of mutual restoration of territories between England and France.

CHAPTER XXVIII. P. 239—245.

1698. Chapel built at Narantsouac, (Norridgewock), on the Kennebec, where the priest Ralle was stationed. Fishermen placed at Chibouctou, (now Halifax harbor), by the company. A pirate appeared off St. John. Famine. 1699. Bassett claimed as a British subject. Is sent to France. His offences are stated. Account of the fishing station at Chibouctou. Appendix—Fort at St. John. Extracts from despatches in 1698 and 1699, from Villebon, Thury, &c. Pirates visit cape Sable and fort Razoir, (now Shelburne.) Homespun made here. Price of provisions, &c.

CHAPTER XXIX. P. 246—254.

1700. Resolution to transfer garrison and government from the river St. John to Port Royal. Villebon's death. Villieu acts as commander. 1701. Brouillan appointed governor. Arrives at Chibouctou, and then goes to Port Royal. He demolishes the fort at St. John. Praises the site of the fort at Port Royal. Wishes to be lieutenant general of Acadie. Proposes many improvements and makes many requests. Appendix—Notices of M. Brouillan from Lahontan, &c.

CHAPTER XXX. P. 255—260.

1702. Death of Wm. 3, and accession of Queen Anne. War declared against France and Spain. Bostonians threaten to hang captain Baptiste, but Brouillan, by threats of reprisal, saves him. Rumors of an attack by the English on Port Royal in the ensuing spring. Brouillan's offer to take Boston. Complaints and quarrels in the garrison at Port Royal. Brouillan's purchase of Hog island. His building there. Accusations of immoral conduct against Brouillan and Bonaventure.

CHAPTER XXXI. P. 261—271.

Royal decree of 20 March, 1703, settling disputes about the principal seigneuries in Acadie, particularly the claims of the Latour family, and the division of their grants; also Pedigree of the Latours of Acadie. Marquis de Vaudreuil made governor at Quebec, and Joseph Dudley in New England. Siege of Casco by Indians under French leaders. Petty wars on frontiers and in Newfoundland between English and French. Brouillan encourages privateers to resort to Port Royal. Different charges against Brouillan. Affair of madame Freneuse and Bonaventure. Appendix—Singular letters of Cyprian Southack.

CHAPTER XXXII. P. 272—277.

1704. Church again attacks Acadie. Destroys the dikes at Mines. His squadron and army go to Port Royal. Skirmishes and retreats. He burns, destroys and pillages Chignecto again. Colonel Hilton destroys chapel and wigwams at Norridgewock. Brouillan goes to France. His defence against charges.

CHAPTER XXXIII. P. 278—282.

1705. Marriage of Duvier. Madame Freneuse. Bonaventure in charge of the government. Brouillan returning from France, dies on board the *Profond*, near Chibouctou. Interment of his heart near Port Royal.

CHAPTER XXXIV. P. 283—298.

1706. Exchange of prisoners between Boston and Port Royal. Penalties on Rowse and others for trading with French enemy, inflicted by Assembly of Massachusetts, annulled by the Queen. Subercase governor of Acadie. Des Goutins and Bonaventure acquitted of charges. 1707. Expedition from Boston to besiege Port Royal. Besiegers, defeated by Subercase, retire.

CHAPTER XXXV. P. 299—308.

Subercase gives unfavorable opinion of the Indians. 1708. His correspondence with Dudley. Affair of madame de Freneuse. Wars in Newfoundland. Subercase employs privateers, who take many prisoners from the English.

CHAPTER XXXVI. P. 309—319.

1710. Francis Nicholson commands land and sea forces that sail from Boston to besiege Port Royal. Summons Subercase. English invest the place. Subercase surrenders. Agents sent to Canada to give notice of the capture. Nicholson leaves a garrison there under colonel Vetch. Appendix—Articles of capitulation, &c.

CHAPTER XXXVII. P. 320—329.

1711. Complaints of inhabitants of Port Royal to the marquis de Vaudreuil. Garrison of Annapolis reduced by sickness, &c. Massacre of English troops by Indians at Bloody creek. The fort invested by French inhabitants and Indians. Gaulin sends to Placentia for aid to subdue the place. Fort reinforced by 200 men of the New York levies. Canadian troops disbanded, and siege abandoned. Expedition against Quebec from England under General Hill and admiral Walker. Meet with shipwreck, and return.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. P. 330—339.

1712. Controversy between Ralle and Boston missionary. Treaty of armistice England and France. 1713. Treaty of Utrecht. Queen Anne's letter in favor of the French inhabitants. Newfoundland given up by the French, and Louisbourg, in cape Breton, founded. Arguments as to the advantage of St. Anne.

CHAPTER XXXIX. P. 340—346.

1714. Costabelle having surrendered Placentia to colonel Moody, becomes governor of Cape Breton. Nicholson offers the Acadians the option to take the oath, and become British subjects. They prove refractory. Death of queen Anne. Appendix—Census of persons who were transferred from Placentia to Louisbourg. Census of Port Royal.

CHAPTER XL. P. 347—356.

1715. Nicholson's letter concerning Nova Scotia. Louis XIV dies. 1716. Capt. Armstrong's report on the fort at Annapolis, &c. Conference at Arowsick. Indian claim to territory asserted by the missionary Ralle. Death of colonel Church. Colonel Richard Philipps appointed Governor of Nova Scotia. 1718. Project of Coram to build a town at Chibouctou, &c.

CHAPTER XLI. P. 357—361.

1719. Commission of colonel Philipps. He goes to Boston, and attempts to get to Nova Scotia in vain. Spends the winter at Boston. Appendix—Notices of governor Philipps.

CHAPTER XLII. P. 362—372.

1720. Governor Philipps arrived at Annapolis. The French unwilling to take the oath of allegiance. Swears in ten councillors, and two subsequently. He issues proclamations to the people, offering them the privileges of British subjects, and directing them to choose deputies or representatives. Six deputies chosen from Annapolis river. With Philipps' consent, the inhabitants send delegates to M. St.Ovide de Brouillan, governor at Louisbourg. Reply of the people of Mines to the governor's proclamation. Philipps' interview with the Indian chief of the river Annapolis. His letters to Vaudreuil and to the Secretary of State, &c.

CHAPTER XLIII. P. 373—385.

Visit of Indian chiefs from St. John at Annapolis. Indians attack and pillage the English at Canso, (August, 1720.) Philipps writes to St. Ovide respecting oath of allegiance. Indians rob Alden, a trader, of his goods at Mines. Troops sent to Canso. Appendix—Grant of the island of St. John. Letter of St. Ovide and Demery to governor Philipps.

CHAPTER XLIV. P. 386—397.

1721. Philipps claims the Kennebec as boundary of Nova Scotia. Number of deputies increased for Cobequid and Mines. General court to sit four times a year established. Lieut. Washington complained of by governor Philipps. Bad state of the Fort. Conference intended at Arowsick island between Indian chiefs and the governor of New England. Indians attended—200 armed; Castin and the Jesuit LaChasse with them. The governor of New England did not appear. They left him a letter, stating outrageous terms. Philipps visits Canso. Appendix—Description of Annapolis, &c., by Mascarene.

CHAPTER XLV. P. 398—406.

1722. Indian war. Mr. Newton, and Mr. Adams, junior, captured, and afterwards ransomed. The Indians capture many English vessels on the coast. Philipps sends out two vessels, who recapture most of the vessels and their crews. Indians kill several persons at Canso. Death of the Regent Duke of Orleans in 1723.

CHAPTER XLVI. P. 407—421.

1724. Indian war continues on borders of New England. A party of Malecite and Micmac Indians attack Annapolis. They kill two of the garrison. An Indian hostage killed in retaliation. Father Charlemagne banished. Indians attack and take a vessel at Mocodome, (Country harbor.) Indians assemble at Mines, designing mischief. Over 200 men, under Harman and other officers, in New England, march on Norridgewock, which they destroy, killing the priest Ralle and many of the Indians. Appendix—Examination of father Charlemagne and others, of father Isidore, &c. &c.

CHAPTER XLVII. P. 422—433.

1725. Cessation of arms agreed on between commissioners of Massachusetts and Eastern Indian chiefs. Armstrong, lieut. governor, arrives at Canso from England. Mascarene appointed Commissioner for Nova Scotia at intended treaty. Newton and Bradstreet sent to Louisbourg to confer with St. Ovide on grievances. Wreck of *le Chameau* near Louisbourg. Armstrong proposes to make Canso the seat of Government. Dummer's treaty concluded with the Indians. Death of Vaudreuil. Beauharnois succeeds him. Appendix—Treaty with the Indians made at Boston 15 Dec'r., 1725. Narrative of three French gentlemen who came by land from Quebec. &c. &c.

CHAPTER XLVIII. P. 434—441.

1726. State of the garrison. Treaty ratified by Indian chiefs at Annapolis. Armstrong yields to the desire of the French inhabitants, who accordingly take a conditional oath of allegiance not to be obliged to bear arms, ever since which they called themselves 'Neutral French.' Gaulin apologizes, and is pardoned. Lieut. governor Doucett dies. Appendix—Mangeant, who fled from Canada, receives protection. Nicholes' sentence. List of Indians from New England to St. John's river, &c.

CHAPTER XLIX. P. 442—449.

1727. Armstrong commissions some French inhabitants as public officers. Complains of Gamble, &c. Trade forbidden with Mines, Chignecto, &c., as the people refused to take the oath of allegiance. Death of George 1st. Indians murder Englishmen at Liscomb's harbor and Jedore. Ensign Wroth blamed for his concessions at Mines and Chignecto, where he had been sent to proclaim Geo. 2, and administer oaths of allegiance. Refusal of the inhabitants of Annapolis river to take the oaths.

CHAPTER L. P. 450—456.

1728. Indians from Medoctec came to Annapolis to ratify Dummer's treaty. David Dunbar made surveyor general of H. M. lands in Nova Scotia. Armstrong's misfortunes and suspicious temper. New commission of governor Philipps. 1729. Armstrong complains of Breslay and Cosby. Philipps arrives at Canso and at Annapolis.

CHAPTER LI. P. 457—469.

1730. Inhabitants of the Annapolis river all take the unconditional oath of allegiance. Dunbar's settlement at fort Frederick at Pemaquid. His subsequent career. Objections made by the lords of Trade to the form of oath of allegiance administered by Philipps. The people of the bay of Fundy also swear allegiance. The seigneurs' claims opposed by Philipps. Dunbar opposed by the Bostonians. Appendix—Notice of Robert Temple, &c. &c.

CHAPTER LII. P. 470—476.

1731. Philipps recalled to settle accounts of his regiment. Armstrong in command as lieut. governor. Question of Cosby being made president of Council. Armstrong suggests a house of Assembly. Appendix—Boundaries of Nova Scotia questioned by the French governor of Canada. Examination of O'Neale, an Irish surgeon, who came hither from Louisbourg, &c.

CHAPTER LIII. P. 477—488.

1732. Litigation among the French inhabitants. Armstrong projects a barrack at Mines, disguising his plan under the pretence of a granary. He again proposes a house of assembly. Godalie ordered to leave the province. Claim of the French to Canso. Revenue of Nova Scotia about £30 sterling.

CHAPTER LIV. P. 489—494.

Quit rents, &c., to be paid to a Receiver. Scale of fees for Secretary established. Goat island granted to Mr. Vane. Inhabitants oppose survey. M. de Belleisle takes the oath of allegiance. (1733.) Whale fishery. Road stopped. Parties punished.

CHAPTER LV. P. 495—504.

1734. Seignorial rents collected for the Crown. Survey on bay of Fundy shores ordered. Bowling Green established. Singular trials and judgments. Watch ordered to fire on those who did not answer them. Mrs. Campbell's bargain with the Crown for the seigneuries.

CHAPTER LVI. P. 505—511.

1636. Inhabitants, to distress garrison, put an exorbitant price on firewood. Prevalence of litigation among the people. Armstrong visits Mines and Piziquid. Is entertained at the latter place by M. Maufils, the curé. Patent for the isle Haute opposed. St. John Indians send delegates to Annapolis. Duvivier's mémoire (of 1735) on the state of Acadie, and the prospect of recovering it for France.

CHAPTER LVII. P. 512—520.

1736. The case of the brigantine Baltimore, derelict at Chebogue, and the story of Mrs. Buckler. Dispute between the government and messrs. St. Poncy and Cheveraux. St. John's Indians hostility. Inhabitants of St. John. Mr. E. Howe made a member of the Council. Evil of the missionaries in Nova Scotia being pensioned by France. Grant of 50,000 acres at Chiconecto, and of 50,000 at Mines. Population of New France in 1736.

CHAPTER LVIII. P. 521—526.

Jones' vessel robbed by Indians in Piziguit river. (1737.) Case of arson at Annapolis Royal. 1738. Four terms settled for trial of causes before Governor and Council. Lemercier's petition for grant of isle of Sable.

CHAPTER LIX. P. 527—532.

O'Neale's complaint. People of Mines refractory. Slater sent there with soldiers. Reprisals ordered by English gov't. against the Spaniards. Grant of a township at Canso to E. How and others. Mr. Shirreff objects that the Council had not approved it. State of the military and fort, &c. 1739. Suicide of lieutenant governor Armstrong. His character. Grants at Annapolis to Mr. Shirreff and Otho Hamilton. Iron vane at Annapolis Royal, 1738. Ruins of old building. Local antiquities.

List of authorities consulted, p. 533.

Micmac names of places, p. 534.

ADDENDA.

Extracts from Denys, p. 535 to 538.

“ “ Diéreville, p. 539 to 542.

“ “ Customs, &c., of Micmakis and Maricheets, p. 542.

Corrections, p. 543.

prietor of a fishing room at Canso. The nine companies of Philipps' regiment he states at 324 men, exclusive of officers, being but 36 men in each company.

In July, difficulties arose at Mines respecting the building that Armstrong intended to erect there as lodgings for troops, but called a granary. The Indians made open demonstrations of opposition to this measure, and we may justly conclude that the French inhabitants of the district were averse to having English soldiers and barracks among them. Armstrong appears to have kept his design from the knowledge of his council, until this disturbance occurred. The affair was examined in a secret sitting of the Board on the 25 July. After this the project seems to have been abandoned, altho' the lieutenant governor wrote a letter on the 1st of August, stating the building was meant for a storehouse and as a lodging on emergency, and forbids any one hindering the work.—Laws, in the form of ordinances, were at this time passed in council, on the subject of highways, and of the French half-bushel measure.—An advertisement, dated 'Annapolis' 'Royall, 26 August, 1732,' and signed by the lieut. governor and secretary, was prepared, and ordered to be published in the New England papers, offering fee simple grants of land in Nova Scotia to Protestant settlers. Major Mascarene (who was going to Boston, both on his private affairs and to treat with governor Belcher about the erection of a truck-house for Indian trade) was referred to for information. Mascarene was instructed to point out St. John river, Musquash cove, and other places in the bay of Fundy, as also on the Eastern coast,—Annapolis basin, St. Mary's bay, or any other places not already granted. Allotments of 40 and 200 acres, in townships, were contemplated. No one person was to have over 1000 acres in any case.—In the beginning of September, some of the inhabitants of St. John river attended the lieut. governor and council, where they took the oaths, and subscribed, and agreed to take out grants. An additional instruction from the crown, dated 10 Dec'r., 1731, was now received, forbidding the laying any duty on negroes or *felons* imported from Great Britain.

In September, the deputies chosen (for Annapolis river ?) Prudent Robichaux, Alexander Hebert, Nicholas Gautier, Peter Lanoue, Joseph Bourgeois, Claud Giroard, William Blanchard, and Prudent Robicheaux, junior, were approved, and the lieut. governor and council appointed the 11 October, annually, for election of deputies, "in commemoration of the" "erection" (reduction ?) "of this place;" if Sunday, on the Monday following.—Mr. Adams being infirm from age, was often unable to attend in council, and Mr. Winniett prevented by sickness, it was proposed to have a new councillor appointed.—Armstrong writes to governor Belcher, 11 September. He alludes to the influence of the French of Cape Breton over the Indians, which he attributes to the English merchants employing them to sell their goods to the latter. He then explains the advantage of having a truck-house on the St. John river, but having no funds to establish it, he suggests that Massachusetts should meet the expense, promising all he could do for its defence and protection. Soon after, a deputy of colonel Dunbar's, as H. M. surveyor general of woods, named George Mitchell, arrived at Annapolis, to execute his duty in Nova Scotia, and he was directed to make a survey of the lands upon the Annapolis river. With regard to the appointment of lieutenant governor Cosby to be president of the council, of which Mascarene and others had complained, the lords of Trade (letter of 2 Nov'r. 1732) decided that "no" "governor has a right to alter the rank of any councillor." That the eldest councillor upon the list is always to act as president of the council, and to take upon himself the government, in the absence of the governor and lieutenant governor of the province; and that whatever rank any person may have out of the council, yet in the council he must submit to the law of seniority, which, in civil government, ought never to be dispensed with, but by his majesty's special order, under his sign manual. They permit grants of land to be made, provided an equal quantity of wood land for the king's service be at the same time laid out. As the usual oaths cannot be taken by the French inhabitants, they are not to be made justices of the peace. They do not think the titles of the *seigneurs des-*

troyed by the treaty of Utrecht. They decline authorizing a table of fees, but suppose grantees will voluntarily pay the officers, if not beyond the practice of other colonies. They request Armstrong "to keep a strict eye upon the French" "missionaries, that they do not increase in number beyond" "what is necessary for the service of the French inhabitants," "and to repeat the orders of the people settled upon the" "river of St. John, to retire out of the province, they being," "as we suppose, no part of the old French inhabitants in" "Nova Scotia, and consequently not entitled to any of the" "benefits of the treaty of Utrecht."

Armstrong writes to the duke of Newcastle, 15 November. "Under the disguise of a magazine, I have ordered a house" "to be built at Menis, where I design to fix a company, for" "the better government of those more remote parts in the" "bay of Fundy, and, as I hope, to perfect it, notwithstanding" "all the opposition I meet with from the rebellious spirits in" "these parts, incited to oppose it by governor St. Ovid, cost" "what it will," &c.—"The Indians are also employed in the" "affair, and use for an argument that, although the English" "conquered Annapolis, they never did Menis, and these" "other parts of the province; and in consequence of such" "arguments instilled into them, they have actually robbed" "the gentlemen of the colliery at Williamstown, by Chicken-" "ectua, destroyed their house and magazine, built there," "through pretence of a premium or rent due to them for the" "land and liberty of digging." This he ascribes to St. Ovide's advice. He says more (French) ships resort to the fishery at cape Gaspé than to Louisbourg; also that the French are also "vigorously carrying on the settlement of the island of" "St. John." Armstrong complains to the lords of Trade of Mr. Winniett, who, being connected by marriage with many of the French, and trading among them as a merchant, and being also father-in-law of Mr. Cosby, appears to have been disliked and suspected by the colonel. Perhaps there was as little foundation for his suspicions of M. St. Ovide. His plan about the barrack, disguised as a granary, was so transparent, that it did not require much to put the Indians and Mines

people on the alert to oppose it ; but Armstrong accuses and suspects every body, in his disappointment. Capt. Aldridge, who commanded the troops at Canso, and being a councillor, presided there at the meetings of the justices of the peace, had assumed arbitrary rule, and, on the complaint of Mr. How, was checked by a letter from Armstrong. Armstrong renewed his proposal about a truck-house to governor Belcher, offering to station soldiers to protect it, and expressing his opinion that the king would pay the cost of building it.

On the 21 Nov'r. Armstrong wrote to the bishop of Quebec. Messrs. Monfils and de St. Poncy had arrived from Louisbourg with the bishop's letter of recommendation. Armstrong directed St. Poncy to act as clergyman to the inhabitants of Annapolis river, and the other at Pissaguit, (now Windsor) ; promises them all respect if they behave peaceably. He refers what the bishop says about executing his office in the province to the court of Great Britain.—In December, the people up the river petitioned to have their church removed to the midst of the settlement, or else that the priest might spend half his time up the river. This was refused, on the ground that the church had been removed to Annapolis on account of "a massacre contrived by" the priests Charlemain and Felix, of Mines, and several of the people, "to be perpetrated by" "the Indians," and they were told by Armstrong, "there" "are none of you but knows how barbarously some of his" "majesty's subjects were murdered and wounded by these" "infatuated, unthinking people." The council were of opinion "that their church should not be removed, but that it should" "remain where it now is, as a lasting monument and memorial of their treacherous villainy to his Britannick Majesty" "and his subjects." This decision was notified to the deputies on 16 Dec'r. ; and on Saturday, 23rd Dec'r., Armstrong stated to the council that the French inhabitants combined to distress the garrison, by raising the price of all eatables, firewood, &c., and otherwise acted contemptuously. A suggestion was made to forbid them to fish or navigate, but its consideration was postponed.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LIII.

(1.)

I hereby order and impower you, René le Blanc, of Menis, to prepare and have in readiness, Timbers fitt for building a Granary or Magazine for his Majesty's service, of 26 foot, french measure, of breadth within, and 60 foot in length, and to have them all in readiness to be erected either upon my arrival at Menis, or otherways, as I shall think proper to direct, and all other necessarys for building the same ; as also a thousand pieces of other timbers, of 14 foot long and about 8 or 9 inches diameter, with a sufficient quantity of binders proper for the same : and in so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Annapolis Royal, this 11th day of May, 1732, in the fifth year of his majesty's reign.

L. ARMSTRONG.

Wm. Shirreff, sec'y.

(2.)

21 June, 1732. A grant made by Lt. Gov'r. Armstrong to major Henry Cope, John Leddel, John Cairns and Alexander Forsyth, of Boston, merchants, in company, of 4000 acres of land, in Williamstown, west side of Chickenecto. One penny sterling per acre quit rent was reserved, and one shilling and six pence per chaldron on the coal. They were to cultivate one-tenth of the lands, and to erect four houses within three years ; reserving coals for the troops, to be dug and exported at H. M. charges ; reserving right to build a fort thereon ; also a reserve of mast timber ; right to all H. M. subjects to fish ; a minister's and a school-master's lot to be set apart ; a way of 300 yards wide to be left open on the banks of all creeks and rivers for all public uses, &c.

3 July. Grant to Samuel Douglass, gunner, of a plott in the lower town of Annapolis Royall, bounded by the street Dauphin, now called St. George's street, fronting the Great river, 120 feet front, between James Horlock's and John Adams, esquire, depth 230 feet to Williams street, contents by estimation 100 perches, Quit rent one penny per annum, and a second penny reserved. Condition, to keep house in repair.

In a similar grant to Horlock, Frederick street, formerly called St. Anthony street, is mentioned. (See it mentioned in gov'r Brouillan's time.) Grants at this time to John Dyson, bombardier and storekeeper to the board of ordnance, 1 acre and upwards in the upper town. To capt. John Jephson, 2 acres, 19 p., near the hospital. To John Hanshole, inhabitant, lower town, and to Francis Weatherby, for quit rents, and condition of building houses in the grants. [*See Register Book.*]

(3.)

At a council, by order of the hon'ble. lieut. governor Armstrong, on tuesday, the 25th of July, 1732, at 11 o'clock, A. M.

Present :

The Hon'ble. the Lieut. Governor of the province.

Major Paul Mascarene.

John Adams, Esq'r.

William Skene, Esq'r.

William Sheriff, Esq'r., secretary.

Major Henry Cope.

William Winniet, Esq'r.

Otho Hamilton, Esq'r.

An oath of secrecy was administered to the members.

"Then his Honor communicated to the Board that he had given orders to one at Menis for building a magazine there, and that he had been informed that that person whom he had thus employed had been insulted and interrupted by the Indians in the execution of that work ; and as major Cope had arrived here from thence, he desired the major to relate to the Board what he there heard and saw, which was as follows, vizt :

"On thursday evening, the 13th instant, there came into René le Blanc's house at Menis, three Indians, vizt : Jacque, son to Winaguadish, nicknamed Jacques, Antoin, his brother, and Andress, their cousin, all living upon Piziquit river, who, in a most villanous manner and approbrious language, insulted the said René le Blanc, and Peter, his brother, saying, that all the le Blancs were dogs and villains, except François ; and that as for René, he had a dagger (putting his hand at the same time under his coat, where 'tis supposed the dagger hung) for him, for that he was going to build a fort for the English, (Mr. Cottnam and myself present), when I assured them there was no such thing or orders at present, but suppose the king of Great Britain thought it convenient to build a fort there, who had anything to say against it." One of them answered, that he would not suffer it, for that he was king of that country—for that king George had conquered Annapolis, but not Menis, and in a most insolent manner ordered Mr. Cottnam and me to be gone, for that we had no business there. I asked them, who said we were going to build a fort ; they said, all the traders, and named Mr. Winniet. They said also, that if we did build a fort, the Indians should go in at one door, and we at another. Upon the whole, I could easily see it was some of the French had put the Indians upon this proceeding, out of prejudice to René le Blanc, who, by the general report of the inhabitants, had often been insulted in the same manner, for no reason that I could discover, but that he was employed and intrusted by the government."

26th July. In council. "The lieutenant governor explained himself as to the use of the intended building at Menis, which was chiefly to lodge some troops there to curb the insolence of these unruly people."

The council, at his request for advice, "agreed that it would be for H. M. service, provided his Honor could effect it in such a manner as not to occasion such a distrust to these people, as to cause greater inconveniences than what we at present labor under through their disobedience."

A proclamation or letter was ordered to be published to the inhabitants and Indians, to shew that no one's rights were infringed by such a building, &c.

"I further more declare that three days after the insult before mentioned, there came to me a body of Indians, about ten or twelve, to excuse and ask pardon for the three Indians who had insulted René le Blanc, and I told them for answer that their crime was too great for me to take upon me to excuse on any other terms than their submitting themselves, and making an open and ingenuous confession who it was that put them upon that insolent behaviour, (for that I was perswaded it was not of themselves), and that thus I engaged to interceed with his Honour the Lieut. Governor of the Province and Commander-in-chief, &c. in their behalf, and to make it a merit in them, and to recommend them as people deserving his favour and the protection of the Government."

HENRY COPE.

26 July, 1732. In council. A standard half-bushel was adopted. The cord of wood fixed at 8 feet long, 4 feet high, and 4 feet over, one half scarp to one half scarp, closely piled. [*Ordinance 7 Aug't. 1732.*] A patent of church land ordered, reserving the block-house, built by public subscription.

(4.)

At a council held at the Honourable Lt. Governor's house, by his own order, on Tuesday, the first day of Aug't., 1732, at 11 o' the clock, A. M.

Present :

The Hon'le. the Lt. Gov'r. of the Province.

Maj'r. Paul Mascarene.

Wm. Shirreff, Esq'r.

John Adams, Esq'r.

Wm. Winniett, Esq'r.

William Skene, Esq'r.

Otho Hamilton, Esq'r.

The council was engaged in a trial for a house and gardens claimed by Joseph Jennings, and held by Mr. W. Winniett, the latter withdrawing from his seat during the inquiry. Among the papers offered in evidence was "A copy of a letter, not attested but said to be, from Gov'r. Vetch to said Mr. Joseph Jennings, dated Boston, the 20th Nov'r., 1711." "A copy of Cahouet's contract from Petitpas, dated 10 Sept'r., 1700." The premises were said to have been bought of Christopher Cahouett by Mr. Joseph Jennings in the year 1711. Also a paragraph of a letter from Mrs. Cahouett to Mr. Winniett, dated Louisbourg, 25 Oct., 1714, and Queen Anne's letter of 23 June, 1713, to General Nicholson. The last the council decided did not extend to French inhabitants who had previously left the province and forfeited their property. After a minute examination of evidence, the Board unanimously decided that the house and gardens belonged to Mr. Jennings, who had bought, paid for, and improved the premises by building a very useful but expensive wharf, and had held ownership 1719 and 1722, and had never been legally ousted.

In council, 5 Aug't., 1732. The parties having been notified to attend to hear the sentence, Mr. Ross, attorney for Jennings, the pl'tff., attended, but Mr. Winniett had sent an excuse, "that he could not attend, because of being employed about ffish." The sentence was read, and Winniett further ordered to pay the constable's and the secy's. fees.

(5.)

23 November, 1732. Armstrong, with advice of the council, grants to Charles Vane, esquire, 4 acres, 3 roods and 17 perches of land near the Fort of Annapolis Royal, "which plott of ground was sold to the said John Adams by Marguerite " "de St. Etienne and Ann LaTour," and sold again by Adams to Vane, "boun- " "ded as follows, vizt: on the N. W. side by the road leading to the Cape, and " "running along by said road from the church yeard to a garden formerly belong- " "ing to m'r. de ffalais, at present in the possession of major Alexander Cosby, " "as lieutenant governor, and along by said garden from the road S. S. W. to " "the swamp or marsh, and from thence or the foot of captain John Jephson's " "garden along the said marsh North West to the glasse. and from thence " "along the S. E. side of the church yeard N. and by E. to the aforesaid road, " "reserving a little house."——To lieutenant John Handfield, one rod and thirty-one perches in Lower Town. Quit rents and conditions of building houses in these grants. A grant was also made in November, 1732, to John Harrison, chaplain. (See 20 July, 1732, application of Rich'd. Watts, chaplain to the garrison.) The grant to Mr. Harrison was of church land in the Lower Town, measuring 660 feet, 407 feet, 605 1-2 feet, and 274 1-2 feet, on its external lines. Its contents are stated as four acres, three roods, and thirty-eight perches. It is granted free of quit rent, as Glebe land for ever, for the chaplain, or, if a parish be established, for the parish minister.

A grant passed also at this time to William Haw, tayleor, of three acres, three roods and ten perches, in the upper town of Annapolis Royal.

CHAPTER LIV.

1733. On the 4 January, 1732-3, lieut. governor Armstrong, by advice of H. M. council, orders all quitt rents, homages and services, and arrears thereof, since 1731, to be paid by the inhabitants of Annapolis river to a receiver, for his majesty's use. In February, a petition from Mary de St. Estienne, widow of Alexandre le Borgne, of Belleisle, and Mary le Borgne, her daughter, respecting a farm and certain seigneurial rents they claimed, was referred by the council to the lords of Trade. The council appointed a scale of fees for the secretary.—In April, a deserter from the party of soldiers at Chignecto was examined on a charge of killing two Indians.—In May, commissions as justices of peace at Canso for Joshua Henshaw, Moses Calley, and Richard Bardin, were issued, in answer to their letter from Boston of 23 March.—In June, governor Philipps, reported to Mr. Popple on a petition of Mrs. Agatha Campbell. He says he had ordered the inhabitants not to pay any more quit or seigneurial rents. Points out mis-statements in the petition. Others of the heirs remained in the country. Mr. Winniett again attends in council in this month. He had declined to attend for some time, alleging that he was busy, &c., to the constable who served the summonses.

Goat island was granted to Charles Vane, esq'r., June, 1733. It is described as 'near to a place commonly called the Scot's ffort.' (*See appendix.*)

6 July. Mr. Winniett gave offence to the council by saying they had done him injustice in the decision between himself and Jennings. On the next day they past a vote

of censure on him for this and his neglect to attend council. 20 July.—Armstrong ordered Mr. Geo. Mitchell to survey the woods and lands lying on both sides of Annapolis river, from ‘the Gutt’ upwards, duly distinguishing the uninhabited lands—the property of individuals,—the cultivated and uncultivated parts. The inhabitants were ordered to plant poles, to shew their bounds to the surveyor. They failed to do this, and an order was made in council, 11 August, to be published at the church door to that effect, and that a deputy and one or two inhabitants of each village should attend the surveyor and shew him the boundaries. The inhabitants below the river to attend him on thursday next.—30 August. Armstrong writes to the priest de la Godalie, who seems to have been restored to favor, respecting the choice of deputies, on 11 Oct’r., old style, He adds, “After the election is over, according to the” “tenor of my order, I expect to see them here, where both” “you and they shall meet with a kind reception.”

In September, Alexandre le Borgne, *sieur de Belleisle*, came before the lieutenant governor and council, and took the oath of allegiance. His petition to be restored to the seignory and rights of his deceased father, was received and considered, and ordered to be transmitted to the lords of Trade and Plantations, with copies of his other papers. As to his demand of land not yet granted at Mines, it was agreed that part at least of such lands might be granted to him. It was also resolved that he should have leave to cut firewood and hay off ungranted lands. Councillors present: Messrs. Mascarene, Adams, Skene, Shirreff, Cope, Eras. Jas. Philipps, Otho Hamilton. 20 Oct’r. The new deputies chosen on the 11th appeared before the council—were approved of and admitted, and the old deputies were dismissed, with thanks.

(From Armstrong’s letter of 29 Oct’r., 1733, to the Board of Trade.) “On the 21st September last there arrived here” “a ship from the Tower, with cannon, carriages, shot, and” “other ordnance stores, with bedding and clothes for the” “poor men.”——“The French are very assiduous in car-” “rying on their fortifications at the island of St. John, in the” “bay of Verte, and at St. Peter’s, about 6 or 7 leagues dis-”

“tant from Canso.”——He urges the fortifying of Canso, and refers to the French fishery at Gaspé.——“The ship” “from the board of Ordnance, which is to carry home all the” “cannon, mortars, &c., hath much revived us, they having” “also sent some artificers, with directions to their store-” “keeper, to put the garrison and the outworks in repair,” “which at present wants it much. We have ever since” “the spring been employed in patching and repairing the” “roofs and the foundation of the houses to prevent their” “falling, and I hope that in a few years the whole garrison” “will be in a tolerable good condition; and I heartily wish” “our storehouses and magazines were likewise ordered to be” “made bomb proof, which would be a great safety to the” “place.”——He describes the *whale fishery* carried on from Canso by a number of sloops in company, fitted out from Connecticut and New England; they make quantities of oil.——About the 20 September, seventy sloops put in at Canso, deeply loaded with fourteen whales, and they were in daily expectation of one hundred sloops more, deeply freighted from the banks, where they report are great whales in abundance. “The annual duties arising from the trade at Canso” “will far exceed the annual expence of the government in” “having it well fortified.”——“Our Indians begin to” “grow uneasy, and it is alleged that it proceeds from having” “never received the presents formerly sent them by his” “late majesty.” The French punctually send them annual presents. He recommends presents to be sent to them of “some red and blue strouds, a few arms, and a small quantity” “powder and shot yearly,” or to adopt the New England plan of truck-houses, especially at river St. John, to prevent their being imposed on by traders. The loss on the traffic would be balanced by securing their friendship, tho’ at best they are ‘perfidious to the English,’ which he attributes to their missionaries. He reports expected movements of the Indians on the borders of New England and at Chignecto, from which he apprehends mischief.—In writing again to the lords of Trade, (10 Nov’r., 1733), referring to the claims made by Alexandre le Borgne, sieur de Belleisle, he says, “This Alexander is”

"the son of Mary, the daughter of seigneur James" (Charles) "Latour, alias St. Estien, by madame D'aunay. She, after" "the reduction of the province, retired to Canada for about" "three years, and then returned." 20 Nov'r. he sends the board of trade "an exact plan" of the river Annapolis, now British river, and requests payment for the deputy surveyor, who has been obliged to hire a boat and four men, besides an interpreter. The French inhabitants obstructed him, but at length allowed him to survey their respective boundaries. 1 December, 1733, the lieutenant governor, with advice of the council, commissions Prudent Robicheau, senior, to collect and receive, for his majesty's use, from all the inhabitants of Annapolis river, 'residing and being' "within the precincts" "and limits of the Banlieu, all quit rents, fines of alienation," "dues and demands, and all arrearages since 1732, inclusive," to deduct three shillings in the pound for his care and trouble.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LIV.

(1.)

In council, 15 January, 1732-3.

Present :

His Honour the Lieut. Gov'r. of the Province.

John Adams, Esq.

Major Henry Cope.

William Skene, Esq.

Otho Hamilton, Esq.

William Shirreff, sec'ry.

His Honour the Lieut. Governor of the Province acquainted the Board that upon an information of Nicholas Gautier, one of the deputies, against Francis Raymond and one Francis Meuse, he had sent the constable on Saturday's night last to apprehend them ; the first being accused of theft, and both of them for felling of trees across the public highway, in order to stop and hinder the passing of any carts or sledges with wood.

Joseph Landry and Michell Doucett being first sworn and examined, they declared that they were both on board of the said Gautier's sloop, in this river, when Francis Raymond broke up the cabin door, and that they saw him do it, and that when the door was so broke open, they, the said Joseph Landry and Michell Doucett, did drink a dram with the said prisoner at the cabin door out of a flagon.

The prisoner, Francis Raymond, confessed the most of Mr. Gautier's information, and that he had taken money out of Mr. Gautier's chest, vizt: at Lewis Bourgh one Pistol, and at the river Canard £5, but that he did not then break any locks; and said that at Annapolis Royall he did draw the steeple of the Padlock to take a Dram, according to the Evidences of the Witnesses, who were so far consenting to it, as the prisoner said, that they said to him that there was no harm in taking a Dram.

Joseph Gautier affirmed before the prisoners that Francis Raymond did strick him twice with a stick, and pursued him part of his way home; and the prisoner, Francis Raymond, being examined thereon. He confessed that he did it, and the other complainants, vizt: James Lavern, Claud Landry, junior, Joseph Landry, Peter Robicheau, and Andrew Simon, jun'r., being sworn and examined, they said that they found the Road so stopt, but that they did not know positively who did it; and being asked if there was much wood thrown down, they said about a cart load; and the prisoners being asked if they had done it, Francis Meuse confessed and said that he did cut about two or three small trees, and that he did also pick up about 7 or 8 other stumps, and throw them amongst them, and that for no other intent than to cause young Robicheau, who was on Horse Back to Go a little about, and Francis Raymond Denying that he Cut any, the said Meuse said that he did not see him cut any. Whereupon his Honour, to find out more of the truth and state of the Road, sent the Corporal Major along with James Lavern to visit the same, and to make a report to him of the truth thereof, and then adjourned till three of the clock, P. M.

The Corporal Major stated "that he there found about 40 or 50 trees laid cross the Road, and some lying by the road side; and Lavern being also examined thereon, being both first sworn, said that there were a great many others lying by the road side that had been removed from off the road since he last saw it."

The Board found that Francis Raymond, by his own confession, was guilty of repeated Thefts; and that the said Francis Meuse was also, by his own confession, guilty of a trespass and contempt. Adjourned.

Friday, 16 January, 1732-3. Agreed that Francis Raymond should be whipt at the cart's tail, viz., at the Block House, at the Fort Gate, at the Cape, and at Mr. Gautier's, and at each of those places to receive five stripes on his bare back with a cat of nine tails; and that Francis Meuse shall receive 40 stripes at the fort gate on his bare back with a cat of nine tails; but submitted the inflicting or remitting the same to his Honour's clemency, and ordered that Francis Raymond remain in Prison after punishment till he pay the Constable a Pistol for his prison fees, and be bound over in a hundred pound, and also to find two good securitys in fifty pounds each for his good behaviour for a year; and that both the said Francis Raymond and Francis Meuse should cause the trees cut down upon the road to be removed from off the same, and brought hither and laid down by the fort, in such a place as shall be appointed, and that they stand committed till their sentence be performed. Landry and Doucett were ordered to be apprehended for contempt in not appearing as directed.

John Duon having pulled down a paper from the Mass house door, and reflected on the Gov'r., &c., was committed—pleaded drink, and confessed drawing up complaints agt. the Lt. Gov'r., signed by inhabitants; implicated Mr. Winniett as promoting it. Duon was forbid to draw papers, &c., and ordered to give security. Mr. Winniett declined attending council again.

(2.)

Read in council, 5 Feb. 1732-3. A report of committee of Privy Council 2 Aug't., 1732, respecting dispute between colonel Dunbar and several people of New England about the colonel's settlement at Pemmequid, and between the rivers Kennebeck and St. Croix, with the king's directions thereon.

(3.)

Grants, 4 June, 1733, to captain Henry Daniell, one acre, one rood, 33 perches, in upper town, Annapolis Royall; to John Dyson, small lot, lower town, on the 1-4d. quit rent. 9 June, to John Adams, esq'r., several lots. In all, seven acres.

9 June, 1733. Armstrong grants to Charles Vane, esquire, his heirs and assigns, for ever, "an island, known by the name of Goat island, now called " "Armstrong's island, scituated in the river of Annapolis Royall, near to a place " "commonly called the Scots ffort, on the N. W. side of the river, and a place " "called ffisher's point, on the S. E. side of the said river, containing in the " "whole thirty acres." Quit rent one penny sterling per acre, payable at Annapolis, and one penny more per acre reserved. Condition, to build and keep in repair a house thereon, and to obey the laws, &c.

(4.)

In council, 24 July, 1733. William Haw, being arrested for selling liquor to artificers without license, and making them drunk, "contemptuously returned " "his patent to the secretary, saying, he would not stay in the country." The council considered his patent forfeited, to the king, and might be re-granted.

CHAPTER LV.

1734. The chief subjects of interest at this time that occupied the attention of the authorities in Nova Scotia, were enforcing the collection of seigneurial rents, and the bargain Mrs. Agatha Campbell was making in London with the crown for the sale of the seignory belonging to the Latour family. The following is from a letter written by the secretary, Mr. Shirreff, to John Duon, dated 'Annapolis Royal, 5 January, 1733-4.' He acknowledges a letter sent by the son of Jean le Prince. ———““It was as easy for them to bring their rents on” “horseback, as it is for them daily to ride hither.” The debts being due to the king, the governor is obliged to enforce them, “and whereas he will not grant any further time for the payment of the aforesaid rents, &c. He therefore orders, that” “for their own sake they will immediately comply, for which” “purpose he intends, on Monday morning next, at ten of the” “clock, to fire three guns, with a whift in the flagg, for a” “signall,” (*pavillon en berne pour signal*), “to speak with” “you and the deputies, at the same hour, on the tuesday following, and expect that the inhabitants will also repair” “here at the same time with their rents.—In regard to the” “difficulties you find about the Turkey in exchange for four” “capons, it is judged an equivalent, because a capon was” “always deemed more valuable than a hen, and you know” “yourself the difference thereof.” (In one of the old French leases, dated about 1691, the rent is reserved to the seigneur in capons and bushels of wheat. It is recorded in the first grant book.)

8 January. Reny Forest, James Giroir and Reny Richards were ordered to pay half the rents of their farm to madame Belleisle, viz't : 6 hhds. 3 bushels wheat, and 13 fowls, yearly ; and on 10 April it was ordered that she should have the whole rent, it being ascertained to be farm rent, and not seigneurial. 9 January, the lieut. governor suspended Mr. Winniett from being a member of council, for refusal to attend, disrespect, and other reasons, which he would lay before his majesty. January 26. Two contracts of lease were affirmed, the rent of one being "one *denier tournois de cens*, 2 bushels wheat and " 2 capons," and the other "one *denier Parisis*, 2 capons and " 4 bushels wheat." At a council held at major Paul Mascarene's house in H. M. garrison of Annapolis Royal, monday, 4 March, 1733-4, at 10 o'clock, A. M., present the lieut. governor, messrs. Mascarene, Adams, Skene, Shirreff, (secretary), Cope and Otho Hamilton. The accounts of Prudent Robichaux and John Duon, who were commissioned by Armstrong to receive the seigneurial rents of Annapolis river, were considered. Robichaux's account amounted to 41 7-8 bushels wheat, 56 fowls, 4 partridges, 5s. 10d. cash on account of rent, and £2 13s. 0d. for fines of alienation.—John Duon's account amounted to 80 1-4 bushels wheat, 79 fowls, 13s. 4d. on account of rent, and £8 7s. 6d. for fines of alienation. It was advised that Armstrong should give the rent gatherers' receipts for the sum and quantity of the several species delivered to him ; that the rents be reduced to money, by reckoning the wheat at 50d., hens at 18d., pullets at 5d., and partridges at 5d., "the present current prices," and not at the prices formerly in the time of the French, "viz't : wheat at 40d. and hens at " 10d., as per report thereof, made by Mr. Duon." The New England currency is the scale referred to ; it must be borne in mind that it was very far below sterling in value. Lieutenant governor Armstrong informs the lords of Trade (letter 10 May, 1734) that the seigneurial rents of the Annapolis river for the years 1732 and 1733 had been paid him for his majesty, "amounting to £40 18s. 2d. 79-80 New England " "money, which, at 260 per cent discount, amounts to £11 " 7s. 3 1-2d. sterling." (Douglas says that the whole seigneu-

ral rents of the province in 1749 did not exceed £17 sterling per annum.)

In March, the lieut. governor commissioned John Hamilton, gentleman, as 'naval officer' for the port of Annapolis. In April, he ordered George Mitchell to proceed to Mines, Pissaquid, Cobaquid, *cap Doré*, Shickanecto and Chippody, and survey each of those places, discriminating uninhabited land, cultivated, uncultivated, enclosed, &c. He was also to survey the uninhabited lands on both sides of Mines basin up to Pissaquid,—the coast and lands at Chignecto,—St. John river, and harbors to Passamaquoddy,—Grand Manan, and back to cape Sable,—islands, creeks, harbors, rivers, depth of water, &c. &c. Whoever drew up this order must have had but little knowledge of the amount of time and labor, that must be expended to carry through all the duties specified. It would be a work of years to make the measurements proposed.

It is refreshing to find that, amidst the cares and vexations that attended a government without citizens or subjects to whom it could look for support,—a fortress whose ramparts and lodgings were tumbling down or washed away by the rains of autumn,—a province without any revenue and but little commerce, and a garrison whose supplies of clothing, pay or provision, were scanty and precarious,—a small military community, perched upon a strip of land, environed by races hostile in many respects, and themselves not too friendly or confiding in each other, there should yet exist a spark of healthy, cheerful feeling, and a love of innocent recreation. The decay of barracks and storehouses, the embezzlement of regimental funds, the wrecked condition of the provincial vessel the William Augustus, the jealousies that kept Armstrong unhappy, and made him angry with Cosby and Winniett, the grievance attending the collecting seigneurial dues, and the ever recurring discord with the missionaries, become tedious to him who investigates the mss. records of those days; and the reader must understand that many things of this kind have been omitted and abridged in our narrative. I am led to make these remarks by an entry of the proceedings in council at Annapolis, of 10 April, 1734, viz't: "The officers of"

“the garrison prayed that that small inclosure adjoining to”
“the Governor’s Garden and the White House field, and”
“lying opposite to the Fort gate, known by the name of the”
“Bowling Green, shall be reserved and set apart for them”
“and their successors, and all other Gentlemen who may”
“please to contribute towards the expense of making the”
“said enclosure a Bowling Green, and repairing and fencing”
“the same from time to time as the same may require, for”
“ever.” It was agreed it should be so. The last expression in the officers’ petition is “for ever.” How short sighted are mortals. The fort which had then subsisted for a century under such varying fortunes, so often besieged, so often changing masters, no longer re-echoes with the signal gun, the sentry’s all’s well, or *qui va là*, or the sounds of his measured tramp. The contrast between the deserted ramparts and glacis where cattle now unmolested graze, and the condition of the fortress under its many changes, but so long the abode of military energy, affords food for the reflections of the philosopher, and the illustrations of the poet and the novelist.

At this period apprehensions were felt in England of a renewal of war with France, and a representation of the state of Nova Scotia, in prospect of such a contingency, was prepared, addressed to the king, and signed by the lieut. governor and council, and officers, both civil and military. Date 13 July, 1734. In this paper they refer to the fortifications of Louisbourg, St. Peter’s, and at the island of St. John,—to the privateers that could be fitted out, and which would stop the supplies and destroy the fishing vessels of the province, and to the influence held by French emissaries over the Acadians.—That the French only esteem the oath of allegiance they have taken, to bind them to become neutral, and they believe it will not even hinder them from joining the enemy, when attempts from Cape Breton and Canada shall be made, in conjunction with the Indians, to conquer the province. There are four companies of colonel Philipps’ regiment at Canso, without barracks or storehouses, except temporary buildings which the fishermen helped to put up. That the French and Indians have altered of late, and become insolent,

having, as they say, assurance of help from France. In case of war, they expect Canso will be besieged by sea and land, and privateers will annoy the British. Several merchants had already retired from Canso, with their effects.

Governor Philipps stated to the lords of Trade, in reply to questions they addressed to him, that "the chief encourage-
"ment wanting toward the well cultivating and improvement
of Nova Scotia, was "the creating two or three forts in pro-
"per places, with an addition of 2 or 300 men to garrison
"such forts. This may invite a new set of people that are
"Protestants to venture their lives and fortunes under that
"government; for as to the present inhabitants, they are
"rather a pest and incumbrance than of advantage to the
"country, being a proud, lazy, obstinate and untractable
"people, unskilful in the methods of agriculture, nor will be
"led into a better way of thinking, and (what is still worse)"
"greatly disaffected to the government. They raise ('tis
"true) both corn and cattle on marsh lands that wants no
"clearing, but have not, in almost a century, cleared the
"quantity of 300 acres of wood land. From their corn and
"cattle they have plenty of dung for manure, which they
"make no use of; but when it increases, so as to become
"troublesome, then, instead of laying it on their lands, they
"get rid of it by removing their barns to another spot." It
does seem rather hard that Philipps, who had been always
received with great respect by the Acadians, and in the brief
periods that he resided at Annapolis exercised more con-
trol over them than any other governor, should now, from
his English domicile, while drawing full pay as governor,
while poor major Armstrong had all the work to do without
compensation: it is hard, I think, that Philipps should give
you this picture of his quondam subjects. I would not dispute
the truth of his statement in a general way, but cannot help
thinking he had colored the faults and mistakes of these poor
people a little too high. Whether to attribute it to his desire
to excuse his absence from his post, or to the tendency of his
mind to take strong and forcible views of every thing, and to
express himself in graphic and expressive language, I do not

know ; but I incline to think, that while he possessed a vigorous mind, and took true and clear impressions of most matters, that some allowance must always be made for the earnest and passionate feelings usually found in men of his character. While making this observation, it is but right to add that he united to a clear intellect a manly and kind disposition, and in the main he has not been surpassed, in the chief qualities of firmness and fairness that dignify a ruler, by any of his successors.

We now encounter some judicial matters that shew us a very different style of punishment for misconduct than is practised at the present day. A council was held 6 August, 1734. o. s. There were present lieutenant governor Armstrong, doctor Skene, secretary Shirreff, major Cope, Erasmus J. Phillips, and Otho Hamilton. The cause of Mary Davis against Jeanne Picot, the wife of Louis Thibault, was tried, for scandal in accusing Mary of the murder of two children. The report was "found a vile, malicious, groundless and scandalous report. Ordered, that Jeanne Picot should be ducked" "on Saturday next, the 10th instant, at high water." She, and Cecil Thompson, her witness, were ordered to be bound over, &c., for spreading false reports. "Mary Davis praying" "that the aforesaid sentence of ducking may be reversed, and" "if she, the said Picot, might only be obliged to ask her pardon, on Sunday, the 11th instant, at the mass house door." She was ordered to do so publicly.—In council, on the 12th August, 1734. Mathew Hurry, convicted of stealing a £5 bill from serjeant James Thompson, was sentenced to fifty lashes, bare back, cat of nine tails, and to return the money.

The lords of Trade wrote from "Whitehall, 11 Sept'r. 1734," to colonel Armstrong. They think the project of truck-houses should be postponed till there are inhabitants enough in the province to compose an assembly and to bear the expense of it. As to the question of the *seigneurs*, such of them as remained in the province "at the treaty of Utrecht have" "thereby a right to keep what they were legally possessed of" "before that time, owning allegiance to the crown of Great" "Britain, and conforming themselves to the government of"

"the province ; but such of them as went to France, leaving "
 "behind them what they enjoyed, and are since returned, can "
 "have no right to any land but what they shall hold from the "
 "king under the annual quit rent, to be paid by H. M. sub- "
 "jects settling in that province." On the suspension of Mr.
 Winniett, they found the account of that transaction not
 explicit enough to enable them to form any judgment upon it.
 After pointing out that a councillor should have full freedom
 of debate and vote, that it would not do to be too nice in the
 infancy of a colony in observing on the conduct of councillors,
 "and where there are so few civil inhabitants, one would not "
 "part too lightly with one of them out of the council."

In Sept'r., 1734, in consequence of the prevalence of thefts
 and robberies, an order of governor and council authorized the
 inhabitants to keep a night watch, to arrest suspicious persons
 at night, and to *fire on those* who refuse to answer after being
 thrice challenged.—M. le Borgne de Belleisle obtained an
 order on parties who had taken from him eight loads of hay,
 cut on ungranted land, to return the same. They appear to
 have claimed under a deed from M. la Tour, apparently one of
 the heirs, who left the province at the conquest in 1710.

30 September. John Hamilton, deputy collector, was ordered
 to go in the sloop Mary, Stride, master, to St. John, to prevent
 illicit trade, and ensign Samuel Cottnam was authorized to
 seize vessels, &c. for the same purpose. A correspondence
 exists of this year between the lords of Trade and lieut. gover-
 nor Armstrong, respecting Mrs. Agatha Campbell's claims to
 the seigneuries of Nova Scotia, in which Armstrong combats
 many of her assertions. The information possessed by gov-
 ernment on the titles to these seigneuries, appears to be very
 far from being complete or accurate at this time. There is a
 report of the lords of Trade to the committee of the privy
 council on her petition, which report is dated Whitehall, 23rd
 October, 1733. Also a letter from lieut. governor Armstrong
 to the lords of Trade, dated 30 Nov'r., 1734, and 14 Jan'y.,
 1734-5. Douglass (Summary, p. 327) says Mrs. Campbell
 had procured procurations and quit claims from her co-heirs,
 and sold the seignory of the province to the crown in 1731 for

2000 guineas. The sale must have been some time later, and her claims at best were but partial in title, and did not embrace the whole province.

In November, 1734, Geo. Mitchell was sent to survey the land from Chevery's creek to the mouth of Pissaguet river, (Avon), and also that at Grand Saut, (Sault), and cape Fandu, (fendu, Cape Split.)

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LV.

(1.)

In council. 10 April, 1734. Mr. John Adams prayed leave of absence for twelve months, to go to Britain, for some relief in consideration of his services, and asked for a certificate of his conduct from the lieut. governor and council. All which was granted.

(2.)

In lieut. gov'r. Armstrong's letter to Board of Trade, Annapolis Royal, 10 May, 1734, he says that the inhabitants are not disposed to take grants, as the quit rents would be heavier, and most of them have a mile of frontage and a league in depth, without any conditions of enclosing or fencing. If the uplands are as barren as they state, one penny sterling per hundred acres is too great a quit rent. Thinks the trade, &c., better than quit rents.

(3.)

13 July, 1734. The lieut. governor, council, officers, civil and military, and the British inhabitants, address the king, congratulating him on the marriage of the Princess Royal with his most serene highness the Prince of Orange. In this they mention "the glorious memory of king William, who, in spite of the enemies to" "both, rescued us from Popery and arbitrary power, and opened a door for" "your majesty's succession to compleat that glorious work, &c."

(4.)

In Council, 16 Sept'r., 1734 :—

Alexander le Borgne, S're. de Belleisle, who had taken the oath of allegiance, and had permission to cut firewood and hay for his own use off the king's land, memorialized the lt. gov'r., complaining of obstruction. "Alex'r. Bellisle, y'e" "son, was called in, and being examined. He laid some other papers vouched" "and attested by some of the deputies and others, as upon file. That one" "Charles Richards, lately come into the province from Cape Breton, and others"

" of his party, had not only opposed him in cutting, but had even insulted him "
 " and taken away the Hay that he had cutt, without shewing y'e least regard to "
 " authority granted to his fater for so doing, and contemptuously refused to "
 " see it or hear it read. Whereupon, being asked off what land he had cutt said "
 " hay, and his answer being from off some land granted by mons'r. La Toure, a "
 " subject of ffrance, since the reduction of the Province to his Britannic Majesty."

In council, 19 Sep'r., 1734 :—

The Lt. Gov'r. informed the Board " that the said Charles Richards was come to answer for himself, and had brought along with him a child, Angelick Dougas, who had presented him with a petition, setting forth that her deceased father, Joseph Dougas, did purchass that land, (which Belleisle hath represented to be the king's land), not only of mons'r. Latour but of the other seigniours, since that time become co-heirs of the seignioralty."

" The petition, with a contract or grant of said land, bearing date the 3d day of March, 1713, said to be granted by the seigniours, attested by Alex'r. Bourg, not'ry.," were read.

" Richards also produced four receipts for rent, said by him to be paid for the " said land to the seigniours." Richards was himself examined.

The Board decided that the grant was " defective " and " fraudulent ;" that " Dougas had no right of inheritance by virtue of said grant, since he had also " abandoned the province, and retired with his family into the dominions of ffrance. " and agreed that it then was in the gift of the king ; that the property thereof " shall remain as it is till his Honour should have an opportunity to go and visit " it at Mines, and that till then, or further orders, Mr. Belleisle may cutt hay as " is already directed ; and then ordered that the said Richards, as he hath, with " the quantity taken from Belleisle, cutt from off said land 16 loads of hay, that " he, the said Charles Richards, or his partners, shall return 8 loads thereof to " the said m'r. Bellisle—find good security that this order shall be punctually " performed and obeyed, and not to depart from hence till a certificate is returned " from Mines that it is duely complied with."

" Ordered that the said Charles Richards should pay the charge of the process. " and that Mr. Secr'y. should keep the aforesaid Grant or Contract upon file, and " give an attested copy thereof to the said Charles Richards."

In council, 27 Sept'r., 1734. Present : Lt. Gov'r. Armstrong, Shirreff, Cope, E. J. Philipps, and Otho Hamilton.

Ensign Samuel Cottnam, at Mines, wrote to the Lt. Gov'r., complaining of clandestine trade. It was resolved to authorize Ensign Cottnam to seize such traders and their vessels, and bring them to Annapolis.

Mr. Peter Bline sent for, stated he knew of such clandestine traders, " and gave an account of one Bently, of Charlestown, in New England—Munier, an half Indian, and Chatteneuf, a Frenchman, son-in-law to St. Castine, of Penobscott, who daily practised that trade ; and that the said Bently, of Charlestown, threatened to meet with him, the said Peter Blin, this fall, at St. John's river, and their to feight him."

An order was adopted to authorize Blin to seize, &c., as Cottnam had been empowered, and for deputy collector and naval officer, Mr. John Hamilton, to go up the Bay with him for that purpose.

(5.)

At a council held by order of the Lieut. Governor Armstrong, Esq'r., the 26th Nov'r., 1734, at major Henry Cope's house, in his maj'ts garrison of Annapolis Royall, at 11 o' the clock, A. M.

Present :

William Skene, Esq'r.

Eras. Jas. Philipps, Esq'r.

Will. Shirreff, Sec'ry.

Otho Hamilton, Esq'r.

Henry Cope, Esq'r.

The secretary acquainted the Board that there was one Joseph Munier, (see Sept. 27, 1734), an half Indian, come to make his submission, and to take the oath of allegiance to his majesty, and therefore to know whither it might not be administred to him, and he admitted the same priviledges as his Majestie's other french subjects.

The Board agreed that, as he was an active man amongst the Indians, and as it might prove to the good of his Majesty's service to admit him, the oath was accordingly ordered to be administred, who, being sent for, he took the same before the Board.

L. ARMSTRONG.

(6.)

(*From Governor Philipps' letter to the Lords of Trade, 30 Nov'r., 1734.*)

—————"At my return to London, out of Essex, where I had been confined lame three months, I found a letter from Mr. Secretary Popple."

In explanation about presents to the Indians fourteen years before, he says :—"Mr. Bamfield, at that time in trust in the Plantation office, got the money and "sent out part of the value only in very inferior articles, the worst that ever "were bought with money," and his death prevented the full detection of the fraud.

Speaking of the Indians, he says : Proud to be called the Allies of France. ——"They are not to be drawn from that party by all the douceurs or pre- "sents the king shall make them."——Cannot advise presents : "they will "take whatever we give them, and cut our throats next day."

He sent the undisposed of presents back to New England, where they were sold for £150, for the use of the Government. Three or four years ago, when he was administering the oath of allegiance to the French, he gave presents, &c., to the Indians, who drank the king's health and danced the Indian dance.

CHAPTER LVI.

1735. In the beginning of this year the prices of firewood which the French inhabitants demanded from the garrison, were considered exorbitant, and intended to distress the British. By order of the lieutenant governor, a committee of the council met at major Cope's house, on tuesday, 7 January, 1734-5. Present: Dr. Skene, secretary Shirreff, major Cope, Erasmus James Philipps and Otho Hamilton, who recommended the lieut. governor to discourse with the deputies. The same committee met at the secretary's office in the garrison, monday, 3 Feb., 1734-5, at 3 P. M. The secretary acquainted the Board that his honour being again informed of the great abuses and exorbitant prices demanded by the French inhabitants for firewood, by which they seemed to have no other views at this time than to distress his majesty's garrison, every officer, and all the English inhabitants in the place, and that his majesty hath an undoubted right to the woods, and they only the herbage and vesturage of the lands, and entitled only to the benefit of such woods as they may have immediate occasion for their own proper use and buildings. He therefore desired that as they, the inhabitants, had obstinately through contempt, refused taking patents for their said lands in his majesty's name, his Honor therefore desired the gentlemen of the Board seriously to consider their insolence and the present circumstances of his majesty's garrison, which could not possibly subsist without wood." The Board considered 6s. 8d. a chord was a reasonable price. Peter Grange and ffrançois Doucett, who had spread a report that major

Cope had offered 5 livres a cord, (in order to advance the price of wood), were fined 5s. each for a false report.—It is to be remarked that what was called New England currency appears to have borne such a proportion to sterling, that £360 N. E. was equivalent to £100 sterling. The 6s. 8d. per cord for wood, mentioned above, would thus be nearly 1s. 10d. sterling, or about 2s. 2 1-2d. Halifax currency, or 44 cents ; while the 5 livres would be equal to 4s. 2d. sterling, or 5s. 2 1-2d. Halifax currency—say \$1.04, being nearly double the price the committee then deemed reasonable. The prices of this kind of fuel have augmented since by six or eight fold.

On the 1 April, the lieutenant governor, being about to go up the bay of Fundy, had a meeting of the council called, where it was agreed to renew the Indian treaty, and to tender the oath to all such inhabitants as had not already taken it, and that the lieut. governor might take books and papers with him to Menis out of the Secretary's office.—The council met frequently during this year, to perform the duties of a court of justice, in trying chiefly civil suits among the French inhabitants, in their disputes about lands and monies. The lieutenant governor, and messrs. Skene, Shirreff and Hamilton, held a committee of council, at Menis, 17 April, 19 April, 24 April, 26 April, 28 April. The four first were chiefly for trial of disputes among the inhabitants. On that of the 28th, the deputies of Mines for last year were reproved for not obeying the lieutenant governor's orders of 2 November, 1734, respecting petit Jacques le Blanc, who had grossly affronted Mr. John Hamilton, deputy collector, in the execution of his duty. April 17, an order was made for repair of the dykes and fences at Mines and Pissaquid ; and about the same time an order to repair the road between Mines and Pissaquid. In May, constables were ordered to aid the deputies at Mines, Pizaquid and Cobequid. An inventory was made of the effects of petit Jacques le Blanc. The committee of council met at Mines also on the 1st and on the 9th May. Armstrong, in this progress, went with his suite to Piziquet, (Windsor), where they were received and entertained by monsieur Maufils, the resident priest. Armstrong addressed a

letter to him, dated 'Menis, the 28 April, 1735, which begins thus: "Reverend sir. I take this opportunity of thanking" "you once more for your civil and generous entertainment" "of myself and gentlemen at Piziquet." He asks after St. Poncy's health, encloses a letter to the deputies, and thinks it reasonable the inhabitants should shew their grants. Those of Mines have already brought in most of their grants; hopes those of Piziquet will do so. (At this time m. de la Goudalie was priest at Grand Pré, Mines.) The letter to the deputies of Piziquet and Cobequid require the bringing in deeds and contracts, on the ground of various disputes about boundaries, seigneurial rents, fines of alienation, &c., that information may be obtained. In July, Mr. A. Popple writes to Armstrong that the Board of Trade has been informed by captain Fytche, of H. M. S. Sheerness, that the French of Cape Breton resort to the Canso islands to fish for several years, this year with thirty boats, and pretend leave from the governor. They enquire if such leave was given, and if so, disapprove of it highly, &c. They wish a culler of fish appointed at Canso, as complaints are made of ill-cured English fish.

In September, the lords of Trade write to Armstrong, requesting a statement of the duties paid at Canso, the number of English inhabitants there and elsewhere in the province. Until there are enough of these to form an assembly, they cannot form a civil government, or expect to people the province. An order had been obtained for a grant of the isle Haute, and of a peninsula lying east of it, by one John Hart, esquire. This was opposed before the lieut. governor and council, by lieut. governor Cosby, and by messrs. Daniel, Blin and Donnell, and the issue of the patent prevented. Armstrong writes to the lords of Trade, "Annapolis Royal," "27 Sept., 1735." Says he has no letter from them this year. He went up the bay of Fundy in April,—found the people very complaisant, and outwardly well affected, but he thinks they are not so in reality.—A block-house and soldiers might curb them. They set the Indians on to mischief. Presents only could buy the attachment of the Indians. After this, he went to Canso, and spent most of the summer there. Every-

body complained of captain Aldridge, so Armstrong removed him from that command, and gave him leave of absence for eight months, and appointed major Mascarene to command at Canso, "who is a worthy honest man, and no doubt will" "please the inhabitants better." He wishes Canso were fortified. The fishery this year has been good. Thirty or forty thousand quintals of fish were cured upon the island. He says "this was chiefly owing to the encouragement that I" "published in the prints in Boston last winter." He intends to revisit Canso next summer. There is good expectation from the whale fishery.

The Indians of the river St. John felt, or affected to feel, apprehensions on account of the proceedings of the government surveyors in that vicinity, and they sent Francis Germain, a chief, and captain Peter Jacque, to Annapolis, with Mr. Robicheaux as their interpreter. For some cause they missed seeing lieut. governor Armstrong, and he wrote them, in consequence, a very conciliating and friendly letter, dated 27 Sept'r., 1735, assuring them of every protection and favor. This letter, in the French copy, is addressed "A messrs." "Sibanoit, Vanbigangoutte et les autres messrs. sauvages de" "la Rivière St. Jean."—In a promotion of officers in December, 1735, governor Philipps was made a brigadier general.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LVI.

(1.)

The following is translated from a copy of a French document, apparently drawn up by mons. Duvivier, in 1735.

1609 to 1735. Memoire upon Acadie.

The discovery of Acadie was made at the beginning of the reign of Louis 13. The sieur de St. Etienne de la Tour, of the province of Champagne, in the hope of finding mines of gold and silver there, as was pretended, formed the project of settling a colony there, and obtained permission to do so from Louis 13, in 1609, who granted him the property of a large part of this colony, with the title of his

Governor and Lieutenant General, to command there as well by sea as by land, and added thereto the power of nominating officers of war and of justice, and the right of bestowing favors and honors on such persons as he might think proper to privilege—to make open war on his neighbors—to contract peace and alliances, and to give an account afterwards to his majesty of all that he should do. He sold considerable property that he had in Champagne, and sent to Acadie a considerable number of inhabitants, suitable for clearing and cultivating the land, and he succeeded in establishing these colonies firmly.

His son inherited his titles and his rights in 1651, and eventually married madame de Menou de Charnisay, by whom he had three daughters, but he was unfortunately drowned before his two boys were of age to fill his place. The widow supported herself for some time, and made afterwards a treaty with M. the duke of Vendome, whereby that prince bound himself to send out to her annually three vessels, on condition that he should have half the rights granted to her family. She died three years afterwards, and her children still young and destitute, in a country distant from the aid necessary for their being suitably brought up, saw themselves unable to support themselves alone. As the country was perfectly established, the king, in 1700, came to a resolution to re-unite it to his domains, and he granted to the five children twenty-three leagues and a half of ground in frontage, and of the same depth, which was divided into four concessions, leaving them the liberty of choosing that which was the best settled. This was confirmed by the "*arrêt du Roy*," 20 March, 1703, with power in free gift of mines, ores, metals and minerals, that might be discovered in the seigneurie of Mines and that of Port Royal, in compensation for the large property the family had expended. M. the duke de Vendome, in virtue of the bargain he had made with the widow la Tour, claimed to have half the grants. As he had not fulfilled any of his engagements, he lost his cause in the Royal Council in 1703.

The English got possession of Acadie in 1710, and the king ceded it to them by the treaty of Utrecht, on condition that they should have there the free exercise of the Catholic and Roman religion. The inhabitants who remained there are now very numerous. They have preserved the hope of returning to their allegiance to the king. We may be assured of the affection of the savages of the country. The missionaries are incessant in keeping them in the disposition they feel for France.

Le sieur du Vivier, capitaine aide major, of the Isle Royale, and great grandson of the Sr. de la Tour, the founder of the colony, has in this country his grandfather and his grandmother, and three of his uncles, and many other of his relations, who were not attached to the service. They have remained in Acadie, and have never been willing to take the oath of allegiance to the king of England, nor to listen to any proposal, whatever advantage may have been offered them, or whatever ill-treatment was used to constrain them to it, even to taking from them the enjoyment of their property. The inhabitants are entirely devoted to them, and also to M. Duvivier, who has always secretly arranged the means of taking this country from the English in the first instant of a rupture; this enterprize would be accomplished, provided advantage was taken of the first moments. One may reckon on the zeal of the inhabitants and of the greater part of the savages. The English have lost few troops there. So that with one hundred men only from the garrison of Louisbourg, and a certain quantity of arms and ammunition to distribute to the inhabitants, the sieur Duvivier would pledge his head

(s'engagerait sur sa tête) to make the conquest of this part of North America, comprising the fort of Campceaux, where the English carry on a very great fishery, to the prejudice of the colony of Isle Royale. One may also be sure that the inhabitants of the colony and the savages of the country will be disposed themselves to drive out the English without any help from France, and without her appearing or having part in it, if they thought they would not be checked or disapproved. They have explained this more than once to the Sr. Duvivier, who has always upheld them in the notion, and led them to hope that this might take place in the course of time, and that he would try to that effect.

The land of Acadie is very good, and produces all that is necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants. There is plenty of wood suitable for ship building, and very fine and good harbors along the Eastern shore, and in a convenient situation for the cod fishery. The inhabitants of Isle Royale trade there, and obtain thence all the cattle necessary for the subsistence of the island, also a part of the other goods which they are deficient in. In the seigneurie of Mines, which is six leagues square, (and belongs to the family, with donations of mines, &c.,) a lead mine, a considerable silver mine, an especial mine of red copper of a color like gold, and one of another metal, the value of which is not known to the Sr. Duvivier or anybody. Its color is ———. It will be easy to ascertain, as he has brought some of it with him, as well as of the red copper and silver, to try them.


The English having obtained likewise the knowledge of a copper mine resembling gold, at a place called Beaubassin, joining to Mines, have sent thirty miners there, with an officer, according to the report of one Fougère, who assured himself of it last autumn, a little while before his departure. They have formed a company for this undertaking, in which the Governor, Lieutenant du Roi and Major (of the English) are secretly interested, to establish there a so-called copper work, (soi disant une cuivrerie.) The Governor wished to induce the inhabitants to build for him on the spot a strong dwelling, which they refused to do, under pretext of being afraid of the savages, who had already gone there to hinder an English trader, who had come there to load two small vessels for the second time, and had forbid the inhabitants to allow it. This had been secretly stirred up by the uncles of the said Sr. Duvivier, to whom he had written for that purpose.

Although there may be no war with the English, this family has a right to hinder them from taking possession of those mines, because the King, in ceding the country, gives only what belongs to him, and not the property of his subjects; and although the family have never been willing to take the oath of allegiance to the king of England, they have not on that account lost the capital of their property.

Meanwhile, a female cousin german, of the mother of M. Duvivier, has sold to the King her rights in the grants of the family for the sum of 2500 guineas, and a pension, but she could not claim as her right but a 35th part. By this it may be seen that the whole is very considerable, the more so as the mines were not at that time discovered.

The sieur Gautier, an inhabitant of Acadie, has come expressly to find the Sr. Duvivier, and to inform him of all this business on the part of his uncles, who would have come themselves if they had not been afraid of being suspected, and wishing to be on the spot to watch over the movements of the English, to disturb

and hinder their works by means of the savages. The sieur Duvivier is also the bearer of a printed copy of the commission of the sieur de la Tour, in which is explained the rights and privileges which were granted to him ; also an 'arrêt du roi,' which confirms all the grants in the country of Acadie, dated 20 March, 1703, which he will send in if necessary.

 M. Duvivier, the author of the foregoing *mémoire*, was son of François du Pont du Vivier, a French officer at Port Royal, who was married there on the 12 Jan'y., 1705, to Marie, the daughter of Jacques Mius, seigneur de Poubomcoup, and Anne St. Estienne de la Tour, his wife, who was daughter of Charles de la Tour. Duvivier, nine years after, in 1744, commanded the party who besieged Annapolis, and was near to succeeding in taking it by his diplomacy.

(2.)

In council, monday, 22 Dec., 1735. Present : Adams, Skene, Shirreff, Philipps, Hamilton.

Peter Guon, a Spaniard, convicted of thefts, sentenced to fifty stripes on his bare back, from the mass house to the cape, and to serve Stephen Jones, whom he had stolen from, for three years in recompense, redeemable for £56 N. E. currency by John Stickney, with whom he had shipped.

Germain Doucett, 25 stripes at cart's tail, &c., and fined four fold value of goods stolen found in his possession.

The boy Peter Pino to pay four fold value of what was found with him, and also to whip the other two.

CHAPTER LVII.

1736. A merchant vessel, which is supposed to have sailed from Dublin 7 Oct'r., 1735, bound to Annapolis, in Maryland, having got out of its course, put into Jebogue harbor in December. One person only, (a woman, who called herself Mrs. Buckler), appears to have been found on board when the vessel was visited by the cape Sable Indians. Eight dead bodies were found on shore, near the Tusketts. Mr. Charles D'Entremont, of Poubomcoup, and Mr. George Mitchell, the deputy surveyor, brought her on to Annapolis on the 9 May, 1736. She called herself the widow of the sole owner of the vessel and cargo, and to have been robbed of great treasure in silver, gold and merchandize, by the Indians, whom she also professed to suspect of murdering two sailors, her maid, and a negro boy. The vessel was in June brought up to Annapolis. The tale of the woman received little confirmation afterwards, but being told with some degree of plausibility, it created much stir in the little quiet government, and Armstrong wrote of it to St. Ovide, at Louisbourg, who proved somewhat sceptical. He also addressed the duke of Newcastle, the lords of Trade, governor Belcher, messrs. D'Entremont, and the chief of the cape Sable Indians. The vessel lay empty and unclaimed, and by-and-bye the impression was strong that it had been employed to bring out convicts transported to the colonies, and that they had escaped from custody, and that the lady might have been one of them. The further details of the affair are not of themselves worth, at this day, much attention; but there was one result of mischief from it in a new quarrel

which it led to between lieut. governor Armstrong and two of the R. Catholic priests, messrs. St. Poncy and Chevereux.—In his letter of 17 May, to St. Ovide, Armstrong says : “To” “which loss of the boat, Mrs. Buckler imputes the death of” “the ship’s company, being thereby cutt off from having any” “means of getting fresh water, for want whereof they perish-” “ed, and not by any other apparent disease or sickness,” “which is indeed surprising in a harbour where, she says,” “they had no scarcity of provisions, nor of any other liquors.” “However, it being certain that such a vessel was, and, I” “believe, still in the aforesaid harbor without hands, and” “that this woman was in the possession of the Indians, I” “have therefore judged proper to give you this account of” “her misfortunes, that in case such goods as are specified in” “her declaration should be found amongst the Indians, or” “offered to be sold, that you may give your necessary direc-” “tions to have them secured for the use of the lawful claim-” “ers, as also the gold and silver, if possible.”

St. Poncy wished to go to France for recovery of his health, but the people of Cobaquit desired to engage him as their priest for twelve months, to which he assented. The council requested him and M. de Cheveraux to attend them, and proposed that one of the two clergymen should first go to Pou-bomcoup, and endeavour to get the Indians to restore the property they were said to have stolen from Mrs. Buckler. They said they would not go, and they would have nothing to do in the affair. De Cheveraux said, “*Que je suis ici de la*” “*part du Roy de France*” De St. Poncy spoke to the same effect. The lieutenant governor talked of sending them to France. They laughed, and said, “with all their hearts,” and left the room, slamming the doors. On tuesday, 18 May, the council resolved that they, the two priests, should be dismissed and retire to the Presbytère, (priests’ house), and there to remain till an opportunity offered to send them out of the province. They were then called in, and the sentence read to them. “They resumed their former insolence—called for” “chairs to sit down, saying they did not appear as criminals,” “and they had no business with things temporal, and further”

“expressed themselves in these words, ‘*Que nous n’avons*” “*point d’ordres à revir (recevoir) ici.*” They were ordered to depart immediately to the Presbytère, and to remain as aforesaid. It was mentioned at this meeting of council that a “mass house” had been rebuilt or repaired up the river, adorned more finely, and used as often for mass as the one at Annapolis, contrary to the orders of the government.—Mrs. Buckler seems to have gone on to Boston, as Armstrong, in his letter to governor Belcher, 19 June, says she will wait on him.

This season the St. John Indians opposed the loading of a vessel sent there for limestone by the storekeeper of the Board of Ordnance, and even robbed the people of the vessel of their clothes and provisions, pretending that the land and quarries belonged to them, and they should be paid for. [*Armstrong to duke of Newcastle and lords of Trade, 19 June, 1736.*] Mr. Shirreff having the king’s leave to go to Britain, Otho Hamilton was appointed to act as secretary during his absence. On the 2 July, (friday), the lieut. governor informed the council that he had confined prisoners to the guard, two of the inhabitants of St. John’s, viz’t: Joseph Bellefontaine and Mich’l. Bergeron, dit D’ambois, for contempt and disrespect in not coming to wait upon him on their arrival here with captain Blin, on Saturday last was Sennight. The prisoners aforesaid being sent for, they humbly ask’d pardon for their fault, and said that it was owing to their ignorance and their opinion of their being of too mean a condition to presume to wait upon his Honour. The governor desired them to give him a list of the french inhabitants settled at St. John’s which, being taken by major Philipps, was as follows, viz’t:—

List of the Inhabitants settled at St. John's.

Married Men and Women.		Boys.	Girls.
Joseph Bellefontaine, and his wife,		3	1
Mich'l. Bergeron, and	do.	3	3
Barth'w. Bergeron, and	do.	5	4
Augustin Bergeron, and	do.	—	2
François Roy, and	do.	5	4
Jean Dugas, and	do.	2	—
Louis Bellefontaine, and	do.	—	1
Jacque Bellefontaine, and	do.	1	—
Réné Bellefontaine, and	do.	1	—
Pierre Bellefontaine, and	do.	2	2
Jean Bellefontaine, and	do.	3	1
Charles Bellefontaine, and	do.	1	—
Jean Pair, and	do.	1	—
Pierre Pair, and	do.		
Pierre Robert, and	do.		

28 19

Totall Men,	15	} In all 77 souls, besides the Missionary Priest, Jean Pierre Danilo.
Women,	15	
Boys,	28	
Girls,	19	

The governor then proposed that they should give security for their good behaviour for the next twelve months, ensuing, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, New England money, for each of them ; and captain Blin offering himself to be bound for them, the same was accepted of. The governor then charged them to acquaint the rest of y'e inhabitants of that place that he expected them here by the first opportunity with their conveniency within one year, to make their submission to the Government ; and that they should not receive any missionary among them untill such time as they shall have the approbation of the Government for y'e exercise of their function. Then it was moved that the governor should write a civil letter, to invite the chiefs of the St. John's Indians

hither ; it being observed that for want of a more familiar correspondence with the English, the said Indians had been prevailed on, by the artifices of the French, to obstruct the trade and commerce of his majesty's subjects. Agreed, that a verbal message should be sent them by the two Frenchmen aforesaid, to invite them hither at their conveniency, and that they should be graciously received. 11 July, 4 men deserted from the garrison, in the lieut. governor's yawl. 17 August, two letters from M. de Cheveraux, praying leave to return, were read in council. 27 August. The council being now reduced to five sitting members, viz., Adams, Skene, Cope, E. J. Philipps and Otho Hamilton, the lieut. governor recommended Edward How, esq., commissary of musters at Canso, who had also been high sheriff, justice of peace and captain of militia. This was unanimously agreed to, and Mr. How was sworn in and took his seat. 28 and 31 August. Two patents, for the granting of 50,000 acres in each, were passed in council.

Lieut. governor Armstrong writes to the lords of Trade, 'Annapolis Royal, Sept. 9, 1736.' "As to the effective men" "belonging to the regiment, here are in this province nine" "companys, and one at Placentia." He had intimated to the people at Boston that he intended to be at Canso himself in the summer then ensuing, in order to settle the rights of traders, and to grant "unappropriated lands to such as were" "disposed to settle there, and to accept of them on the terms" "of H. M. instructions." Otho Hamilton, as secretary, addresses a letter in French to the Indians of St. John river, dated 6 Sept., concerning two deserters who had fallen into their hands. As by the treaty of peace, prisoners are to be delivered up on reasonable ransom, he says the lieutenant governor has directed Mr. Blin or Mr. Donnell to pay them sixty francs, Boston money, for each deserter. 22 November. Otiss Little, esq'r., is commissioned by the lieutenant governor as a justice of the peace for any part or place within the province. (A gentleman of that name was afterwards attorney general at Halifax). The council had imposed a tax or stumpage duty on cord wood cut on ungranted lands. From this the two messrs. Belleisle were exempted.

Armstrong tells the duke of Newcastle that St. Poncy and Cheveraux are supported by governor St. Ovide, of Cape Breton. Cheveraux stopped at cape Sable, but St. Poncy returned to Annapolis, where the government forbade him to officiate, and direct his departure by the first opportunity ; but one hundred and seven of the chief inhabitants petitioned strongly that he might officiate that winter. This request is under consideration. [On 4 Dec'r. the council agreed (4 to 3 on a division) to allow St. Poncy to officiate at Annapolis.] He is assured the French court will make some stir in it. "How to prevent the ill consequences, I know not, without" "we could have missionaries from places independant of that" "crown ; but this will prove a considerable expence, which" "the French king bears at present with alacrity, for very" "political reasons. It is most certain that there is not a" "missionary, neither among the French nor Indians, who" "has not a pension from that crown."

It cannot be too much regretted that this system of the missionaries in Nova Scotia being pensioners of the French king was not prevented in the beginning, when the province was conquered and ceded by the treaty of Utrecht. It was dangerous enough to British influence that the people were of foreign origin, and the priests natives of France ; but to augment and perpetuate the sources of disaffection among the inhabitants and of hostility among the Micmacs, the missionaries received an annual stipend from the French crown, and were appointed and removable by the civil and ecclesiastic powers of Quebec, who had the regulation of their movements and the disposal of the French king's bounty which passed thro' their hands. Had the English government paid them instead, they would have stood in a more independant condition. As it was, they could expect but small incomes from tithes or dues ; and if any of them proved remiss in the special duties enjoined on them by the governor of Quebec,—that is, in fanning the fire of hatred to English rule among the Indians, and promoting attachment to French ascendancy among the peasant inhabitants,—such refractory priest might look for dismissal at the hands of the

Quebec government, however pure his life or diligent his ministry. It is probable that had this root of bitterness, which the English governors plainly saw and pointed out in their dispatches home, been removed in time, the people and the Indians would by degrees have become reconciled to their position as British, and the calamities that ensued twenty years after this have been wholly avoided. The cost of furnishing small stipends to the clergy would have been a small premium for Great Britain to have paid, if she could have ensured obedience, tranquillity and progress in so valuable a colony. It would have grown rich and populous, without any motive or necessity occurring to proscribe, banish or exile a large body of persons, who were possessed of many good qualities, and became victims to the political intrigues of those who professed to be their friends, and the want of foresight in the rulers of the land.

15 December. James O'Neal surgeon, was appointed a notary public, and commissioned as receiver of the king's rents at Chiconecto. M. Mangeant, at Mines, was directed to call M. de Bellehumeur to account for the duties belonging to the king since the departure of governor Philipps.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LVII.

(I.)

———"The brigantine Baltimore, of which I wrote to your Grace before, I " have now brought into this port ; and as to the person who called herself Mrs. " Buckler, I have now sufficient reasons, not only to suspect her relation, but " likewise herself. It is reported that the vessel aforesaid sailed from Dublin " last fall, with about sixty or seventy passengers, most of them convicts, who, " it is supposed, rose upon the owner, Mr. Buckler, the master and company, " and committed a most barbarous massacre, and afterwards, not knowing their " course, or afraid to venture into any place where they might be known, put " into a most unfrequented harbour in this bay, where they all perished, God " knows how, except that miserable woman, who perhaps was too deep involved " in the guilt to discover the true story of their misfortunes." [*Armstrong to the Duke of Newcastle, 23 Nov'r., 1736.*]

At this period the transportation of convicts for felony to the English colonies was a common course. Some were transported for life, but the majority for a term of seven years. 140 were shipped from Newgate, Monday, 26 Jan'y., 1736, and 7 May, above 100 more. [See *London Magazine* for 1736, pages 47, 158, 276, 277. 519.]

(2.)

In the *London Mag.* for 1736, (May), p. 279, among the deaths is "His Excellency William Cosby, Esq., captain general and commander-in-chief of his "majesty's province of New York and East and West New Jersey. His "Excellency's death makes a fourth Government vacant in the colonies." Colonel Gledhill, the lieutenant governor of Placentia, in Newfoundland, died, and major Henry Cope was appointed to succeed him. [See *London Magazine* for 1736, pp. 158, 159, 340, 460, 701.] James Harrison, esq., was made captain in the regiment of Foot commanded by colonel Philipps, in America. [*Ibid*, 159.] Capt. Graham made Fort Major and Storekeeper of Placentia, N. F. [*Ibid*, 460.] Lieut. George Ingram made captain in Col. Philipps' regt. of Foot. [*Ibid*, 461.] John Morris made a captain in Col. Philipps' regt. of the company which Col. Gledhill had commanded. [*Ibid*, 159.]

In this year, 1736, Mr. William Shirreff revived a claim, as agent to the duke of Hamilton and Brandon, by petition to the Assembly of Massachusetts, ("the "General Court,") for 10,000 acres of land, which the Plymouth council had assigned to his ancestor, James, marquis of Hamilton, on the 22d April, 1635, on the Easterly side of Sagadahock, towards the mouth of the Androscoggin, praying that he might have leave to take possession of it. This petition was dismissed, and another of the same purport met the same result. It is said that the claim was prosecuted with no inconsiderable zeal. [2 *Williamson, History of Maine*, 192.]

(3.)

On the 30th August, 1736, lieutenant governor Armstrong signed a grant of 50,000 acres of land at Chiconecto, called Norwich, in the county of Norfolk, in Nova Scotia, to 35 grantees, with all mines, &c. This is entered in the book of registry for deeds and grants, and on the margin is stated to have been escheated 21 April, 1760. It extends twelve miles, and is bounded by the Bason of Chiconecto and the creek Petite Nyagan, &c.

To the first grantee named, viz't, Governor Philipps, 2-36, two thirty-sixth parts are given, and to each other grantee one thirty-sixth.

The grantees are—

Governor Philipps.

Lieut. Gov'r. Lawrence Armstrong.

Members of council—

Cosby, Mascarene, John Adams, Skene, Shirreff, Henry Cope, E. J. Philipps, O. Hamilton, and Edward How, esquires.—King Gould, Allured Popple, Henry Popple. Andrew Robinson, and Henry Daniel, esquires. Messrs. John Handfield, Donald McQueen, Edward Amhurst, Archibald Rennie, Thomas Armstrong, James Gibson, Rowland Philipps, Charles Vane, Samuel Cottnam, John Hamilton, John Slater, John Dyson, George Mitchell, Wm. Winniett, Nathaniel Donnell, Peter Blin, George Craddock, Robert Baden, John Forrest.

The quit rent reserved was one penny sterling per acre, to begin 30 August, 1739, and another penny per acre, if the Crown require it, for provincial expenses. Minister's and schoolmaster's lots to be laid out. A space of one hundred yards wide along the banks of all creeks and rivers to be left open for ways and public uses. Fifty houses to be erected within three years. The grant to be annulled if the conditions are not performed.

(This grant was escheated 21 April, 1760.)

(4.)

On 31 August, 1736, Lt. Governor Armstrong signed a grant of 50,000 acres of land, "on the South side of the Bason of Mines, beginning and stretching from the mouth of Piziquet river along the shore North East to Cape Fendu six miles, and from thence running easterly along the shore thirteen miles, and from this extremity ranging backwards five miles, and from thence by a line running due West to the mouth of Piziquet river sixteen miles, being in the township of Harrington, in the county of Southampton, in the said province of Nova Scotia," with all the mines, &c. Grantees : Governor Philipps, Lieut. Gov'r. Armstrong, Hon. Alex'r. Cosby, Lt. Gov'r. of Garrison of R. A., Paul Mascarene, John Adams, Wm. Skene, Wm. Shirreff, Henry Cope, Erasmus James Philipps, Otho Hamilton, and Edward How, esquires, members of council. King Gould, Allured Popple, Henry Popple, Andrew Robinson, and Henry Daniel, esquires. Messrs. John Handfield, Donald McQueen, Edward Amhurst, Archibald Rennie, Thomas Armstrong, James Gibson, Rowland Philipps, Charles Vane, Samuel Cottnam, John Hamllton, John Slater, John Dyson, George Mitchell, William Winniett, Nathaniel Donnell, Peter Blin, George Craddock, Robert Baden, and Samuel Donnell.

2-36 to Gov'r. Philipps, and 1-36 to each of the other grantees. Same conditions and quit rent as the Norwich grant.

(This was also escheated on the 21 April, 1760, as stated in margin of Record Book.)

(5.)

In 1736, the population of all ew France was estimated by M. Hocquart, the intendant, at 40,000 souls. The Abenakis, &c., 400 men ; Micmacs, 500 men. 28 companies of troops were kept up in Canada. Each company had a captain, a lieutenant, and two ensigns. There were 28 cadets '*à l'equillette*' and 784 men. The outposts required 214 men. So they had little over 509 for the garrisons of the three towns—Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. In good seasons they could export 80,000 *minots* of corn and biscuit. States education at a low ebb. [*See proceedings of "Soc'e. Litteraire & Historique de Quebec,"* 1840, pp. 2, 3.]

(6.)

"In 1736, the custom house books contained entries of 211 vessels arriving " with cargoes at the port of Philadelphia, and of 215 departing with cargoes " from it,—a share of commerce rather smaller than New York possessed in the " same year." [2 *Graham's Col. History of North America*, p. 106.]

CHAPTER LVIII.

1737. On the 1st June, Stephen Jones, an English trader, who was peaceably engaged in his business in Piziguit river, (now the Avon, at Windsor), was surprized and captured in the night while he and his men were asleep—forced by them to sail down the river to cap Fendu, (cape Split), and there plundered of money and goods to the value of £700 or £900, New England currency ; and his account books, which he considered worth £700 more, were taken from him. This robbery was committed by nine or ten Indians. Thomas, the chief, Claude Nicoute and his brother Francis Nicoute, Biscaroon and his son Paul, Barthelemy, the chief's wife's son, Jacques Cashe and his son, were named as being in the party. Lieut. governor Armstrong wrote on the subject to the Indians of St. John river, seeking redress, and referring to the treaty of 1725, ratified by their tribe at Annapolis. He also wrote to Daniloo, the missionary at St. John, and to the deputies at Chignectou, on this subject ; and Mr. O. Hamilton wrote to M. Charles D'Entremont, at Poubomcoup, enclosing him a paper, to be read to the cape Sable Indians, on this affair.

We have seen that the governor and council, under authority of the royal instructions, had for some years acted as a general court of justice, not only in civil but in criminal cases also. As yet, however, no capital felony had been brought under their notice. The only instance of death inflicted by their authority, I believe, was that of the Indian hostage ; but that was a military execution. It now became necessary to enquire into the course to be pursued with criminals whose

lives might be forfeited to the law. On the 19 April, 1737, a boy named Isaac Provender, of the age of ten or eleven years, a bound servant to lieutenant Amhurst, wilfully set fire to his master's house, which, in spite of all endeavors to save it, was burnt to the ground; and the furniture, clothes and provisions it contained, were all consumed. Amhurst was an officer of the regiment in garrison at Annapolis, and a member of the council, Lieut. governor Armstrong, in writing to the duke of Newcastle, (the secretary of State), 8 July, mentions this affair, and adds, "He (Provender) is now a prisoner, and" "as we have no gaol, his imprisonment grows very trouble-" "some to the garrison. I sent to consult a lawyer in New" "England how far we could proceed against him, as he is" "within the years of discretion. His answer is marked" "No. 4, but I am still at a loss what to do with him, since" "the council is not empowered to try for capital crimes, nor" "to inflict condign punishment upon such offenders." He requests advice.—We have not the opinion referred to, but it is most likely that the lawyer explained the old doctrine of English law, that while the general rule excused children under 14 from criminal responsibility, yet that rule had an exception where express and wicked malice could be substantiated, the maxim being *malitia supplet ætatem*, the malice makes up for the deficient years. Armstrong seems to be right in thinking that as the jurisdiction to try for capital offences had not been expressly conferred on the council by the king's instructions, they could not be justified in assuming, however necessary it might be, that such a power should exist in the province. It is remarkable that the English courts of justice, in the case of governor Wall, tried him for murder committed at a British garrison on the coast of Africa, (which could only be defended on the ground that no court to try him existed there), and he was executed at the distance of 29 years from the date of his offence. This seems at variance with the general rule, that criminals must be tried in the place where their offences have been committed, so closely followed by our laws, that criminals are always tried in the same county in which they offended. It is more at variance with a rule, not adopted

in English law, but well known in other codes, by which crimes prescribe, that is, go out of date, like debts, by the lapse of long periods of time, for which rule many reasons are alleged. The possible loss of evidence for defence by death of witnesses, &c., and the probable repentance and amendment of the offender in the interval.

Commissioners were appointed to settle the boundaries between Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire. Armstrong informed the lords of Trade, by his letter of 3 July, 1737, that, pursuant to H. M. intentions, signified in their letter of 18th February, 1736, such of H. M. five eldest councillors as were residing in the province were then embarking to meet the commissioners of the other provinces at Hampton, in order to settle the boundaries between Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire.

28 September, 1737. Alex'r. Bourg, (called Bellehumeur), was discharged from his office of receiver at Mines, for neglect in accounting ; and 28 Dec'r. Francis Mangeant is commissioned in his place.

1738. 13 January, 1737-8, the lieut. governor and council appointed four terms, annually, for the trial of causes, viz't., on the first tuesday of March,—the first tuesday of May,—the last tuesday of July,—and the last tuesday of November.

Mr. Andrew Lemercier, a French protestant minister at Boston, N. E., who calls himself an Englishman by naturalization, wrote to the lieutenant governor, 6 March, 1738, enclosing a petition on behalf of himself and associates, for liberty to settle on the isle of Sable. It appeared by this letter that they were not willing to pay one penny per acre quit rent, as fixed by the royal instructions. The lieutenant governor and council referred the matter to the lords of Trade, to whom the lieut. governor, Armstrong, wrote on the subject 10 April, 1738. He also wrote to Lemercier, who had previously sent a stock of cattle to the island. At the same time he wrote to lieut. governor Cosby, then in command at Canso. Tells him they had a very moderate winter and early spring at Annapolis ; expresses concern that provisions and clothing had not

been forwarded from Canso. He tells Cosby that his family were all well, and that Mr. Winniett had sailed a few days ago for the bay. News of the queen's death had been received by vessels from Boston. Is sorry to hear of a difference between him and the officers under his command ; recommends peace and unity. In May, the lieut. governor and council ordered Mangeant and Alex'r. Bourg to go to Chipoudy, Memramcook and Peticoutiak, to take an account of the inhabitants and their settlements, to examine their pretentions, the quantity of land they had taken possession of, their lines and boundaries, and to cite the possessors and claimants to appear before governor and council on or before 25 July, to make out their claims, that grants may be passed and the king's rents and dues be paid. Armstrong writes to Mangeant, 27 May. He complains of Mangeant's illegible and hurried writings and abbreviations, "as if I were a perfect master of the French" "language, and acquainted with all your abbreviations."—Bellehumeur (Alex'r. Bourg) refused to go to Chippody in Mangeant's vessel, alleging ill health, and said he would prefer going in a canoe, as the vessel was neither proper nor safe to go into these parts where the tide is rapid and strong.

Armstrong says, "As mild methods are most frequently" "crowned with success, I would advise you to guard against" "all violent and disagreeable proceedings, and treat, not only" "him, but all others whom you may have any dealings, with" "decency and mildness."

The members of the council address a letter, dated Annapolis Royal, 10 June, 1738, to General Philipps, the governor. It begins with "May it please your Excellency." They give as reasons why the province has not advanced as yet : 1. The indulgence to the French inhabitants, who, being Roman Catholics, are unqualified to form a house of representatives. Thus the erection of a civil government is hindered. 2. They holding the best of the lands, is a discouragement to British settlers. 3. The tax of one penny per acre, and reserve of one penny more, will and does prevent settlement. Land may be had in the neighboring colonies free of quit rent, and in any quantity required for settling. 4. The military force

should be greater to keep up control over the French, and protect new settlers. They refer to their former representations as to Canso, in 1734.—The council's consisting of officers, unavoidably, for want of other British subjects, "We can" "each of us answer to our consciences, that we have acted" "in our said capacitys with a due regard to the liberty and" "property of the subject, and the peace and well being of" "this H. M. province."——"Never had any advantage or" salary for our acting as members of H. M. council for this" "province." This is signed, L. Armstrong. P. Mascarene, John Adams, William Skene, William Shirreff, Erasmus Jas. Philipps, Otho Hamilton, John Handfield, Edward Amhurst, John Slater. In July, O'Neal was superseded, and Peter Berrigereau appointed notary, and receiver of the king's rents and dues at Chignecto.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LVIII.

(1.)

4 May, 1737. LaVallière's island. 100 acres granted to O'Neal.

(2.)

1 August, 1737. Wm. Skene, E. J. Philipps and Otho Hamilton, of H. M. Council of Nova Scotia. met at Hampton, N. H., with four com'rs. from Rhode Island. [*See particulars in 2 Belknap. N. H., 128 to 171. 2 Williamson, M., 197.*]

(3.)

Indenture made 10 December, 1737:—

Agatha Latore, alias Campbell, now of the city of Kilkenny, in the kingdom of Ireland, widow, sells to King Gould, of the city of London, in the kingdom of Great Britain, esquire, "all my right, title and interest in and to one House and" "Garden, together with all outhouses thereunto belonging," &c., in the town of Annapolis, in the province of Nova Scotia, for the sum of Ten Guineas.

Witnesses, William Wheeler, Simon Bradstreet.

Registered May 24, 1738, by Wm. Shirreff, Secretary.

(4.)

26 Sept'r. 1737. a warrant to arrest Francis Tillar. In this document the name of Joseph Mors is to be found. See the same surname in the earlier part of this history, signed to a capitulation.

(5.)

29 June, 1738. A grant of 2 acres, 2 roods and 26 perches marsh land, towards Allen's river, to Fort Major Erasmus James Philipps. Same date, 1 acre and 13 perches to capt. Patrick Heron, of Philipps' regiment. 9 August, 1738, small grants at Canso to Christopher Aldridge and to Edward Howe and company 10th, Francis Cogswell, esq'r., made a justice of the peace at Canso. 15th Aug't., grant to Otho Hamilton, capt. lieut. in Philipps' regiment, 3 acres, 2 roods and 31 perches marsh land bounding on Allen's river. 10th Nov'r., 1738, grant to capt. Henry Daniell, of Philipps' regiment, of Bear island, in Annapolis basin, containing 25 acres and 1 rood, per Lt. Edward Amhurst's survey.

(6.)

Capt. John Jephson was put in arrest 11 Sept., 1737, by major Cosby, at Canso, and tried by a court martial in 1738. Capt. Patrick Heron was also arrested by major Cosby, at Canso. 3 Dec'r. 1737—tried at Annapolis in Nov'r. 1738, and appears to have been acquitted. In July, 1738, O'Neal came to Annapolis to answer charges for acts of violence, &c., and, on inquiry, came off with slight censure.

CHAPTER LIX.

1739. Lieutenant governor Armstrong, writing to captain James Mitford, commandant at Canso, 13 April, 1739, tells him they had at Annapolis one of the longest winters he ever saw in the country. 20 April, he commissioned Mitford as a justice of the peace at Canso, and William Seward, gentleman, as lieutenant of militia there.—O'Neal, who was receiver and notary at Chignecto, complained, by letter of 4 Nov'r., 1738, that his room was "forced open, his wife being beat, the keys" "of his chest taken from her, and his papers, among which" "were contracts and promissory notes." In May, 1739, Armstrong sent a minute of council on this complaint to the deputies of 'Chiconecto,' directing them to enquire into the truth of the affair, and report thereon. Francis Mangeant, king's receiver at Mines, informed the lieut. governor that several inhabitants of that place had refused to pay their quit rents, and that he could not compel them for want of assistance, and that they have seldom or ever obeyed the orders of the government. Armstrong issued an order to John Slater, an officer of the garrison—"As you are also one of H. M. council, to proceed thither with a serjeant, corporal, and eight" "private men under your command, and there, with the" "secretary of the province, to enquire into the behaviour and" "conduct of these people, and report to the lieut. governor" "for further directions." This order was dated 24 May, and next day he issued an order to Shirreff, to go to Mines—join Slater in the enquiry, and "to persuade the people to behave" "better." The secretary of State, duke of Newcastle, writes,

date 'Whitehall, 15 June, 1739,' to the lieut. governor, and encloses him letters patent from the king, authorizing him to issue letters of marque and reprisal against the Spaniards, who had broken their convention of 14 January last, by not paying £95,000 sterling, reparation to British subjects, by the 25 May, the term agreed on. July 2. Lieut. John Bradstreet is made a justice of the peace at Canso. On the 4 August, Armstrong addressed a letter to Mr. Shirreff, the secretary, stating that Mr. Edward Amhurst, deputy surveyor under colonel Dunbar, had shewn him instructions about granting lands, and another letter to the same, directing him as secretary to make out a patent for a township in the gut of Canso, in favor of Edward How, esquire, and his associates. Mr. Shirreff remonstrated, pointing out that it would be against the king's instructions to do so, as the council had not fully examined and approved of it, and that it was objected to by the officers and others at Canso. 8 August, the lieut. governor replies at considerable length; and on the 9th, Mr. Shirreff writes again, renewing and adding to his objections on several grounds.

At this time there was a regiment of infantry (Philipps') in the province. It consisted of ten companies: Five quartered at Annapolis, four at Canso, and one at Placentia, in Newfoundland. Each company consisted of 41 private men, except the two youngest, which had but 30 in each; the total number of private men being 308. This would make the garrison of Annapolis about 155 men—that of Canso 123, and Placentia 30, not including officers. [*Statement of general Philipps to the duke of Newcastle, 5 Sept., 1739.*] (It is stated in Dec'r. by Mr. Adams, that in case of war, the four companies at Canso must fall a sacrifice to the enemy; and the troops at Annapolis were few in number, and most of them raw and undisciplined. Some of them thought to be Irish papists, and the ramparts tumbling down.) Speaking of the fort at Annapolis, Philipps says: It is "built of earth, with four bastions," "faced with picquets to keep it together, and surrounded" "with a small, shallow, dry ditch, about six feet deep." He calls "the channel of depth sufficient to receive men-of-war" "from 20 to 50 guns, within a cable's length of the fort." The

French garrison at Louisbourg then consisted of six companies of regular troops, of 60 men in each, and a company of Swiss, of 120 men. There was another company at St. Peter's, four leagues from Canso, and another at the island of St. John. Canso was without proper barracks or storehouses, and the communication between it and Annapolis was scarcely once a year, no vessel being allowed for the use of the government.

We have now to notice a painful occurrence: the suicide of lieutenant governor Armstrong. He executed a will, dated 14 November, 1739. It was attested by three witnesses—Archibald Rennie, John Slater, and Walter Ross. He made captain Andrew Robinson, of the foot guards, George Armstrong, of the Ordnance office, Tower, London, and ensign Charles Vane, his equal co-heirs; and lieut. John Handfield and lieut. Edward Amhurst, his executors. This will is registered in the Book of Grants and Deeds. He had been for a long time observed to be frequently afflicted with melancholy fits, but no one suspected the consequences that ensued. On thursday, the 6 December, he was found dead in his bed, with five wounds in his breast, and his sword lying carelessly by him.

Mr. Armstrong was unfortunate in many respects, especially in being placed at the head of a government both as the civil and military ruler, without any emolument or compensation whatever. His health also seems to have been but indifferent. In his well-intended but ill-managed attempt to place a garrison at Mines, he was much misled and disappointed. In the affair of Mrs. Buckler and the Baltimore, he seems to have been imposed on by an artful woman. The business of the quit (or seignorial) rents did not prosper under Mangeant and O'Neal, whom he had appointed; and he had got into a disagreement with Mr. Shirreff, the secretary, about the grant at Canso strait to Mr. How, and others. Whether the worry of these affairs—loss of relatives or family, or possibly pecuniary distress had impaired his mind, we have now no clue to assist us in tracing. The occasion when one of the merchants or traders affronted him so grossly and openly, telling him on the open parade, before his officers and men, that he would

not give 2d. for his commission, may have led to deep suffering in a sensitive man. His, it may be remarked, is the only instance of a suicide of a governor of Nova Scotia. Armstrong appears in the performance of his official duties to have been generally mild, calm and considerate; and there is this to recommend his memory to our respect, that on several occasions he urged on the home government the propriety of establishing a house of representatives for the province, and in 1732 suggested that some of the French inhabitants should be made justices of the peace, and that he frequently recommended mildness and moderation. These proofs of liberality of sentiment deserve commemoration, inasmuch as we shall see, at a later day, every argument used by one of our governors to oppose and delay the erection of representative government in the province. Major Cosby, the lieutenant governor of the garrison, ordered the officers to sit as a jury of inquest, and they brought in a verdict of lunacy. On Friday, the 7th Dec'r., Mr. John Adams, being the senior councillor then within the province, and therefore president, assembled the council at his own house in Annapolis Royal, at 4 P. M., where were present messrs. Adams, Skene, Shirreff, Otho Hamilton, Amhurst and Slater, and assumed the command of the province. Mr. Adams, on the 8 December, wrote an account of this event to the lords of Trade, to governor Philipps, to governor Belcher, of New England, and to King Gould, esq'r., in England, asking his interest with major general Philipps for the allowance to an acting governor.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LIX.

(I.)

In a letter of Lt. governor colonel Armstrong to the Secretary at War, 5 Feb'y., 1738-9, he says that by letter from Mr. Gould, clothing for 26 only is to be issued. I conjecture that this means that King Gould, esq'r., the agent of major gen'l. Philipps, the colonel of the regiment, had restricted the issue of the men's clothing to 26 of each company, the companies having 30 and 31 privates in each.

(2.)

1 May, 1739. A grant to William Shirreff, esquire, commissary of musters and judge advocate in H. M. garrison of Annapolis Royal, 7 acres and 2 perches of land, in the upper town, marsh, &c. July 18, 1739. Grant to Otho Hamilton, of one acre of land, 2 roods, and 21 perches additional. August 1, 1739. Do. do. of 10 acres, 4 roods and 22 1-2 perches, at the French dock.

(3.)

Communicated by Dr. J. Bernard Gilpin. There is a tradition preserved by a Mr. Roach, of Annapolis, aged 86 or 87, respecting the capture of Port Royal, by Nicholson, in 1710. That he passed the fort by night. He also states that the iron vane, with the figures 1738, which has remained in that place till now, was said to have been the work of one who had been engaged in the siege when a boy, on the English side. A deep ditch still remains to the north of the court house, which the old people recollect as crossing the road. This ditch is supposed to have been Nicholson's last parallel. Traditions also exist of a wicked priest, who drank with the officers of the garrison, and alienated the minds of the simple French, telling them that if they took the oath of allegiance, the French and Indians from Canada would attack them. (Query. Was this Gaulin, Charlemagne. St. Poncy or Le Loutre?)

(4.)

While this work has been making progress, many kind and encouraging notices of it have appeared in the periodical press of the Province. Among others, Angus M. Gidney, esq'r., the editor of the Bridgetown *Free Press*, has frequently commended my labors to public attention. I feel justified in quoting from his paper of 13 July, 1865, the following extracts, as they will be of interest to my readers:—

“ANTIQUITIES.

“There are few localities in America, around which the memories of the shadowy past more interestingly cluster than around the ancient town of Annapolis.

“Annapolis is now an ‘old town,’ exhibiting all the characteristics of increasing dilapidation. Many an old roof is verdant with moss, and many a dwelling there has the appearance of having been beaten by the storms of a century. A shadow of antiquity is hanging over the birth place of the hero, who, in the midst of famine, long preserved Kars from the besieging foe. As one passes along its drowsy streets, a sense of the past renders the present footprints of decay a subject of pensive regret. He thinks of it (if he, like ourselves, be a grey-headed old man) as it was in the early part of the present century, when its garrison and fortifications, bristling with cannon, were in excellent repair, and in charge of a regiment of soldiers. Then the sound of martial music, on a calm, summer evening, awakened the echoes along the swift-gliding river, and reverberated through the picturesque vallies and up the towering hills that render the surrounding landscape so beautifully fascinating. Then the streets were promenaded by epauletted young gentlemen and bright-eyed damsels, some of whom

were the great-grandmothers of the present generation. The hospitality of the inhabitants welcomed the trans-Atlantic sons of chivalry to their fire-sides; and long nights of festivity and dancing dissipated the gloom of garrison life, and left the English soldier little to lament because the exigencies of the service or the commander-in-chief had stationed him so far from the land of his birth. The times to which we allude were the palmy days of Annapolis—

‘Bright sunny days, that never will return.’

“In Annapolis there are many *old things* worth seeing. On a staff from the roof of an old blacksmith shop in the lower part of the town, is an iron vane, designed to indicate “how the wind blows,” which bears the date of 1738—*one hundred and twenty-seven years ago*. We have been familiar with this memento of the past for more than half a century. Long has it been the dallying plaything of the breeze; and securely has it remained, despite the fury of many a storm.

“Near the old Government House that was built at Annapolis, more than thirty years ago was a mansion, which we have known many years, and which was a long time rented by gentlemen at various times, who sought a respectable residence. It was a cottage of a single story, with dormer windows. Its rooms were commodious and neat. We had always supposed that it was an ordinary framed house, finished in the usual style; but they are now pulling it down, and when in Annapolis not long since, we saw that it was built of huge squared logs. Posts of corresponding dimensions were grooved six inches in depth, into which the logs found a resting place, while all the interstices were so filled with moss that no air could find its way through the walls of this rudely constructed edifice. All these logs and posts were so trenailed together that the work of demolition was difficult. No doubt this building stood as a rude log structure for many years, without anything to hide its rugged walls.—It is probably two hundred years old, and it is possible that it was built by the earliest French Settlers, and it may have been the residence of the first governor of Annapolis.”

Sept. 10, 1865. I have just received from William R. Ruggles, Esq., of Annapolis Royal, a portion of a piece of timber belonging to a house taken down at Annapolis in July, 1865. The letters and figures cut on it M. C. 1744. The house was called the *Corbet* house, and it would seem to have been built after the siege of 1744. The wood and inscription, carved into it with (probably) a sharp knife, are as fresh as if done within two or three years. The house, I understand, was on the river side of the main street, Dauphin street or George street.—[B. M.]

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MICMAC NAMES OF PLACES, SUPPLIED BY DR. A. GESNER.

Saa gaa bun akady, (place where the Saagaabun or Micmac potatoe grows),
 Shubenacadie.
 Miggumähghee, Micmac land.
 Miggaamäck, Micmac.
 Eppayguit, (anchored on the wave), Prince Edward Island.
 Chebooktook, (chief harbor), Halifax harbor.
 Bahnook, (the first lake in a chain), Ponhook lake.
 Paakwaak, (Stop here, you cannot go farther), Pockwock lake.
 Oonumähghee, Cape Breton island.
 Uptumcook, Newfoundland.
 Bahnoo-opskep, (opening out through rocks), Penobscot.
 Brooksake, Charlottetown harbor, P. E. I.
 Book tou laygun, (fireworks), Toney river.
 Caydy-bunny-gek, (clam diggings), Boot island, Horton.
 Cajj-boo-ginek, (winding thro' the wilderness), River John.
 Cansoke, (facing the frowning cliff), Canso.
 Caskumpec, (flowing thro' sand), Cascumpec, P. E. I.
 Kebbek, (Narrows), Quebec.
 Kenomee, (Sandy point), Economy.
 Keespoogwitk, (Land's end), Yarmouth.
 Kitpoo-aykaddy, (a place of Eagles), near the river Shubenacadie.
 Cwes-o-mally geek, (Hardwood ridge), Cumberland.
 Gul-wah-gah-gek, (the home of the sea cow), Quaco, N. B.
 Menoody, (a bay), Minudie, co. Cumberland.
 Noosabon, (the river), Noosaboos.
 Pessyquid, (flowing square into the sea), Windsor river, now called the Avon,
 co. Hants.
 Maycobegilk, (end of the flowing, meaning the bound of the rushing water, the
 tide or bore). Cobequid, Truro, &c., now called Salmon river.
 Ah-mah-gops-ke-geek, (tumbling over rocks), Tangier river.
 Nictahk, (Forks), Nictau.

ADDENDA.

DESCRIPTION GEOGRAPHIQUE ET HISTORIQUE DES COSTES
DE L'AMERIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE.

As I was unable to find Denys and Diéreville until after the greater part of this volume was already printed, it occurred to me that a few extracts from them would be acceptable.

Extracts from Denys' Book, Paris, 1672.

Vol. 1. p. 20. Thus it is that up to this time I have been unable to do anything in this country, as well on account of the wars raised against me by envy, as by the unfortunate fire, the cause of which I have never been able, as I have already said, to find out, &c.

P. 21. It is then very certain that one may dwell there with as much comfort as in France itself, if the envy of the French against each other did not ruin the designs of the best intentioned persons.

P. 22. The river of Pentagouët is wide enough at its mouth, and extends ten or twelve leagues inland. Vessels of 200 or 300 tons can go up it as far as the French fort, which is on the right hand in going in. The English have settled on the left, and have there many people, with a great extent of cleared land. The country there is very agreeable, and the land good. On both sides of the river the trees are handsome and in abundance, such as oak, birch, beech, ash, maple, and all other kinds that we have in France. There are also many wild pines.

P. 50. The savages of these parts carry their peltry by the river St. John to the English. M. D'aunay traded there in his time to the extent of 3000 moose skins a year, besides beavers and otters. This was the cause of his dispossessing M. de la Tour of it. These bays are called 'mines,' as the stones called 'mines,' anciently used for wheel arquebuses (les arquebuzes à rouët) are found there, and all who have been there say there are also mines of copper in many places.

P. 52. Port Royal is a very fine place, and a very fine basin of more than a league wide and about two in length. At the entrance there is 18 or 20 fathoms of water, and not less than from 4 to 6 fathoms of water between the land and the island called Goat island, which is about the middle of the basin. Large ships can be moored there as safely as if in a box. The bottom is good throughout. In the upper end of the basin there is a kind of point of land where M. D'aunay had placed a handsome and good fort. This point has two rivers, one on the right and the other on the left, which do not go very far inland. One is wide at its entrance, the other not so wide, but it is much deeper, and the tide goes up it

eight or ten leagues. There is a quantity of meadows on both sides, and two islands that have meadows on them, about three or four leagues from the Fort in going up. There is a great extent of meadows which the tide overflowed, and which M. D'aunay caused to be made dry. They produce now good and handsome wheat; and since the English have been masters of the country, the inhabitants who were settled near the fort have mostly abandoned their dwellings and have gone to live up the river, and made clearances above and below this large meadow, (which at present belongs to madame de la Tour), where they have dried (by dyking) other lands, which produce wheat in much greater abundance than those which they cultivated around the Fort, although they were good. All the inhabitants there are those whom M. the *commandeur* Razilly brought from France to la Haive, who, since that time, have multiplied well at Port Royal, where they have a great number of cows and swine. Besides the two rivers I spoke of, there is one very full of fish that runs into the basin, and two besides, where a great quantity of fish is caught, as gasparots, salmon, trout, *esquilles*, and other kinds. At the upper part of these rivers there is a quantity of oaks, and on their banks pines and firs of three kinds, birch, *mignogons*, beech, aspen, maple, ash and oak. The country is not too mountainous. The wild vine and the walnut tree are also there. There is very little snow in this country, and very little winter. Hunting is good all the year round, for the rabbit, partridge, and other forest games. There is a great abundance of water fowl, (*gibier d'eau*.) Summer and winter the country there is very agreeable.

P. 77. "About the year 1635 I passed that way. I called to see the young de la Tour, who received me very well, and permitted me to see his father in his dwelling, of which I have spoken, which I did. He received me well, and obliged me to dine with him and his wife; they had neat furniture, &c." He also mentions a Recollet friar there, who shewed him his garden.

Pp. 86, 87. The shore fishery was attempted by Denys in partnership with Razilly and a Bréton merchant called Dauray. Razilly then dwelt at La Haive. They sent hence a vessel with fish to Bretagne, which sold well. They afterwards sent the Catherine, of 200 tons, commanded by Deny's brother, named de Vitray, with a cargo of codfish to Portugal, but were defrauded of the proceeds by persons there. De Vitray was made a captain in the French navy.

P. 110. Passepec, described, (Prospect.)

P. 137. Anticoungnesche, described, (Antigonishe.)

P. 154. He describes the harbour of Saint Anne, in Cape Breton. He says it "is good and very spacious. The entrance is between two points, and is not a hundred paces wide. Vessels of 300 or 400 tons can go in at all tides. The anchorage is good, and if the cables gave way one would only ground on a muddy bottom. The harbor could hold a thousand vessels. The basin is surrounded by high, rocky mountains. At the extreme end of the harbor there is a mountain of rocks as white as milk, which is also as hard as marble."

P. 176. 'Miramichi, which is the settlement I have in the bay des Chaleurs.' "The captain of Richibouctou, named Denis, is a self-conceited and dangerous savage. All the others of the great bay dread him. He has on the shore of the basin a fort made of stakes, (*pieux*), of some size, with two forms of bastion, in which is his cabin, and the other savages cabin around him. He has had a large piece of straight wood placed at the top of a tree, with large pegs

“across it like a gibbet, which serve as the steps of a ladder to mount up by. From time to time he sends a savage there to look if he can see anything along the shores. If any vessel or canoes are perceived, he gets all his people under arms with their bows and arrows and their guns—puts a sentinel at the approach to demand what people they are, and then, according to his fancy, makes them wait or receives them at once. Before coming in they must fire off their fusils once, and sometimes twice, by way of a salute. Then the chief comes in, and his suite afterwards. He never goes out of his cabin to receive those who come to visit him. He is always there, planted on his seat, like an ape, with a pipe in his mouth if he has tobacco. He never speaks first. He waits till a compliment is paid him, and after some time he answers with magisterial gravity,” &c.

P. 210. “My plantation of Nepiguit is on the shore of this basin. At the distance of one league at the right of the entrance, at low tide, a canoe could not approach it. I had to retire thither after the burning of my fort of St. Pierre, in the island of Cape Breton. My house is flanked by four small bastions, with a pallissade, the pickets of which are 18 feet high, with six pieces of ordnance in battery. The land is not of the best, as there are rocks in some places. I have a large garden,” &c.

P. 231. Mentions the isle *de Bonne aventure*, a league and a half from isle Percé. Perhaps M. Bonaventure took his designation from it.

Vol. 2., p. 8, &c. He attributes the greater cold of this country than its corresponding latitudes in Europe, to the woods, and looks for milder seasons when they are cleared away.

P. 19. First it is certain that the country produces the vine naturally—that it bears a grape that ripens perfectly, the berry as large as the muscat. As to its juice, it is not so agreeable, being wild, and its skin is a little harder, but if it were transplanted and cultivated, as is done in France, I have no doubt the wine would be as good.

P. 405, &c. To make their canoes, they sought for the largest birch trees they could find. They stripped off the bark to the length of a canoe, which was from three to four and a half fathoms, the width being about two feet in the middle, and always diminishing till it came to nothing at each end. The depth was such, that a man being seated, it reached to his arm pits. The fittings inside to strengthen it were of laths of the length of the canoe, four fingers wide and trimmed at the ends, (*en appétissant par les bouts*), so that they may be joined together. The inside of the canoe was thus fitted throughout, and all round from one end to the other. These laths were made of cedar, which is light, and which they split of as great a length as they wished, and as thin as they pleased; they also made semi-circles of the same wood, to serve as ribs, and gave them their shape by means of fire. To sew the canoe, they took the roots of the fir tree, (sapin), of the thickness of a man's little finger, and even less. They were very long. They split these roots, the largest ones, into three or four. It splits easier than the osier used to make baskets. They make bundles of this, which they put into water for fear of its breaking. Besides all this, two sticks were necessary, of the length of the canoe, which were to be round, and of the thickness of a large cane, and four other shorter sticks of beech. All this being ready, they took their barks, bent and trimmed them to the shape of the intended canoe, then put these two large rods all round, sewed on the edge on the inner side with

these roots. To sew it, they pierced the bark with a bodkin of pointed bone, and passed the end of the osier in the hole, drew it through, and bound the stick against the bark as close as possible, always turning the stick and osier so that they touched each other. The sticks being well sewn all round, they put on little cross pieces of beech, one in the middle, the ends of which passed into holes in the rods that formed the edges of the canoe—three others forward, at distances of half a fathom from each other, which diminished (in length) according to the shape of the canoe, and three others behind, placed at similar distances. All these sticks enter also at their ends into holes made to receive them in the long rods sewed on to the edges of the canoe, to which they are so well fastened on both sides that the canoe cannot widen or shrink. Subsequently they put on the large laths with which they fit up the interior from top to bottom, which touch each other; to hold them in their places, they put over them those semi-circles, the ends of which join on each side under the rods that are sewed on above, all round which they made enter there by force, and trimmed all the canoe with them from end to end, making it firm, so as not to bend in any part. There were seams in it, for to shrink it at two ends; they split the bark upwards and downwards, they doubled the two ends one upon the other, which they sewed; but to hinder the seams letting in water, the women and girls chewed the gum of the fir tree daily until it became an unguent, which they applied with fire all along the seams, which stopped them better than tow could do. All this being done, the canoe was finished, which was so light that a single man could carry it on his head. The oars (paddles) were of beech, the blade of the length of an arm, and about half a foot wide, the handle a little longer than the blade,—the whole of one piece. Three, four or five persons, as well men as women, rowed together. It went extremely quick. They also went in it under sail, which formerly was of bark, but most frequently of the skin of a young moose, well dressed. If they had a favorable breeze they went as fast as a stone could be thrown, and a canoe carried as many as eight or ten persons.

P. 411. The labor of the women was to go and seek the beast after it was killed—skin it, and cut it into pieces for cooking. For this purpose they heated stones red hot, which they put in and took out of the kettle, gathered all the moose bones, pounded them with stones upon a larger stone, reduced them into powder, then put them in their kettle, and made them boil well. This produced a fat, which came upon the water, which they gathered with a wooden spoon, and continued the boiling until the bones would give out no more grease, so that from the bones of a moose, independant of the marrow, they obtained five or six pounds of fat, white as snow, and firm as wax. It was of this they made all their provision to live on when out hunting. We call it moose butter, (*beurre d'orignac*;) they call it cacamo. They made their dishes of bark, large and small ones, sewed them with roots of fir, so well, that they retained water. They sometimes garnished them with porcupine's quills, &c.

N. B.—The kettle used to be of wood before the French supplied them with those of metal. After the bodies of their dead had dried by long exposure to the open air, they buried them, and with them gifts of valuable furs, &c. They used sharpened bones for arrow points, for needles, &c. &c.

Denys mentions Niganiche, cap de Nort, Chadye, la rivière de Pictou, Cocagne, which last name he gave the place from its plenty of game and fish. Vol. I—pp. 159, 173.

(From M. Dièreville's book.)

Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France. A Rouen, 1708.

He left Rochelle in the vessel called "La Royale Paix," 30 August, 1699. He was employed to obtain plants for the Royal garden. After a voyage of 54 days outward, they were obliged, being short of provisions, to put into Chibouctou, called the Baye Senne on the chart, where they soon found the help they required.

P. 50. „ Ce Havre est de grande étendue,
 La nature d'elle même y forme un beau Bassin
 Et l'on voit tout au tour le verdoyant Sapin
 Faire un effet agreable à la Vûë.
 Nous vîmes sur ses bords une Habitation
 Pour faire sécher la Moruë
 D'une telle construction
 Qu'elle pourroit bien être à Mansard inconnuë."
 This harbor is of great extent,
 Nature a basin there has lent,
 Around which grow the fir trees green,
 Producing a most pleasing scene.
 Upon its banks a structure odd,
 Erected for the drying cod.

"It was long as half the mall of Paris, and as wide, built on a fine beach along the river, at such a distance that the water can pass under it when the tide is full, and carry off the refuse of the codfish. Imagine you see a bridge of wood built on the land, with large trees stuck in very far on the water side, on their extremities other pieces of wood across well jointed, with similar work not so high on the land side because of the slope, and over all that young fir trees long enough to carry on the two sides, evenly arranged one against the other, and well nailed at both ends to the pieces of wood that support them, and they will know that it is this machine that fishermen call a *dégras*. (The English term it a flake.) They spread the codfish, well opened, upon it during summer, turning it and re-turning it without ceasing, to cause it to dry, and to render it what it ought to be, and as it is seen in a thousand places in the world where it is easily carried. This habitation was without inhabitants. It had been made before the last war by French fishermen, who were settlers there for a company which did not find it profitable."

He found Indians there. Three of the chiefs boarded the ship in a little bark canoe. He found them devout, and they took him to see the grave of the missionary Thury, which they had covered with pebbles, smoothed to a level surface.

Pp. 59 &c. Speaking of Port Royal, he says: "I considered the situation of the place, which appeared to me sufficiently handsome. The ground on which it stands (*terrain*) may be half a league long and almost the same in width. The houses, which are situated above, and far apart from each other, are only hovels, badly built of mud, with clay chimnies." He says the church was more like a barn than a temple of God. The curé, who was also Grand Vicar of the bishop of Quebec, after prayers, shewed him his residence, which was an ill-furnished room at the end of the church. Dièreville hired a house, which had

been used for a church before. It had three rooms below, garrets above, and a cellar built under part of it. He mentions apple trees as planted generally by the settlers. On the smaller river, called then *du Moulin*, (Mill river), which must have been Allen's river, he says there were then three mills, one for corn, and two for planks, (saw mills.) The country is fertile, producing all kinds of vegetables, fruits, and sufficient corn; and they have flesh, fish and fowl, and all sorts of game.

He was about a year in the country, which he left in October, 1700, and reached France in 33 days. At least half his book is in verse. It is full of descriptions of Indian life, &c. Denys and Diéreville have left hardly any trait of the Micmac untouched; and the former gives very full descriptions of the fishery as then carried on, while much natural history is to be found in each.

P. 71. "The folk who live in this retreat,
Where each man works to live,
Have wherewithal to wear and eat
The land does freely give.
Excise and taxes are unknown—
No tribute is required,
Here peace and plenty have their throne,
And nothing is desired.
Beneath his rustic roof at rest
Each man enjoys his fare,
And freely with the passing guest
Can genuine comfort share.
If winter reigns, the wood's his own,
He piles it at his will;
The cheerful blaze around is thrown,
And he is happy still.
Where else can greater joys be found,
All simple though they be;
Though but few luxuries there abound,
They're cheerful, brave and free."

Ibidem.—He describes the manner of making spruce beer.

P. 77. It is not easy to stop the current of the sea, but the Acadians attain this object by powerful dykes, which they call 'aboteaux,' and thus they do it: They plant five or six rows of large trees, all entire, in the places where the sea enters into the marshes; and between each row they lay down other trees lengthwise, a top of each other, and fill up the vacant spaces so well with clay, well trodden down, that the tide cannot pass through it. In the middle of these works they adjust a floodgate, (*un esseau*), in such manner that it allows the water of the marsh to flow out at low tide without permitting the sea water to pass in. A work of this nature, which can be carried on only at certain times when the tides do not rise too high, is very expensive, and demands much labor; but the abundant harvest they obtain after the second year, after the water from heaven has washed these lands, compensates them well for the outlay. As these marshes are owned by many persons, they work at them in concert.

P. 109. Diéreville describes in verse and prose the whole process of making maple sugar, tho' he calls the tree a *sycamore*.

P. 143. At St. John he saw an Indian come to receive the presents. This fort of St. John is built of earth, with four bastions fraised, each having six large guns. Here he met some of the Indians he had seen at Chibouctou. The death of 'monsieur le chevalier Villebon, commandant de l'Acadie,' had occurred the evening of their arrival. He calls Villebon 'grand homme, très bien fait & plein d'esprit,' a great man, well made, and full of intellect.

P. 163. Speaking of the Indians, he says :

When the poor Indian pays the debt
We all to nature owe,
In proof of friendship and regret
Most generous offerings flow.
For in his grave they place a store,
Of things he may have need
In the long journey to that shore
Imagined in their creed.
A living dog, a hatchet, gun,
Corn, pipes, tobacco too,
A kettle, powder, ball, and one
New blanket and canoe.

P. 184. He shews the virtues of fir balsam, and the method for cure of a broken limb effected by the Indians with the aid of fine moss, birch bark, and the balsam.

P. 207. I have now only to say how I got back from New France, and that was very agreeably. By the time that I began to accustom myself to it, and became better acquainted with its advantages and inconveniences, I received orders to quit it and return to France, of which I was very glad. I had to cross the seas with the sailors in a little frigate of Rochefort, freighted by a company that carries on trade in this country, and with which the association, of which I had the management, had disposed of the goods remaining in my charge upon the advice I had given them of the small profits to be made of them. But while I was at work to settle the business I had on hand, in order to be ready to go home, the Avenant, a good king's ship, mounting 44 guns, and which had brought out the ammunition and provisions that Placentia and the Fort on the river St. John receive annually, arrived at Port Royal to take on board there thirty or forty fine masts that the inhabitants furnished for the king, in addition to those that 14 carpenters and mastmakers in his majesty's service had put on board her at the river St. John. M^r. the chevalier de Chavagnac, who was in command of this ship, was good enough to offer me a passage home in her in the most obliging manner, saying that I would be much more comfortable in her than in the vessel I was to sail in. I accepted his proposal with pleasure, and I left to my two clerks the charge of such matters as remained unsettled. We left on the 6 October, and they left three weeks after in the frigate that I intended to go by. They were near being lost the day after they sailed. In this peril they made a vow, which I saw them perform at Rochelle with the whole crew. *Monsieur le Chevalier de Chavagnac* had exempted me from partaking of the fear they suffered of becoming food for fishes, and I was the more obliged to him for the favor he had shewn me.

"A favor shewn has double grace
When kindly 'tis bestowed."

But it is known that civility and politeness, qualities formerly rare among seafaring people, are now united to the most perfect acquaintance with navigation among all our naval officers.

“They brave all perils on the deep,
When glory leads the way,
So should they act for our Great King
Who live beneath his sway.
Proud to be chosen, in his plans
A foremost part to bear.
Thus proved to be of worth possessed,
His service all their care.”

From a small book called ‘An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets, &c.’ London: 1758.

P. 82. (From letter of M. de la Varenne, Louisbourg, 8 May, 1756.) “They are extremely vindictive, of which I shall give you one example: Monsieur D’aunay, a French captain, with a servant, being overset in a canoe, within sight of some savages, they threw themselves into the water to save them, and the servant was actually saved. But the savage who had pitched upon mons. D’aunay, seeing who it was, and remembering some blows with a cane he had a few days before received from him, took care to souse him so often in the water, that he drowned him before he got ashore.”

Ibidem. P. 105. Three families among the Acadian French are named, of a British origin. Roger John Baptist Carty, an Irish Catholic, was the progenitor of the Cartys. Peters, an iron smith from England, and Granger, both married in Acadie, and became naturalized Frenchmen. Granger abjured before M. Petit, secular priest of the seminary of Paris, then missionary at Port Royal. Most of the French Acadians were originally from Rochelle, Xaintonge and Poitou.

Daudin, in 1754, stated that the parish of Annapolis Royal alone contained 300 habitations, or about 2000 communicants.

P. 129. The island of St. John is stated to be visited every seven years by swarms either of *locusts* or of *field mice*, alternately, never together. After they ravage the land, they ‘precipitate themselves into the sea.’

CORRECTIONS.

Page 65. line 33—for 1641 read 1621.

Page 109. 19th line—for 1664 read 1644.

Page 120. In the article No. 3, the 8th and 9th lines have been transposed accidentally.

Page 211. line 27—for Villebon read *Villieu*.

Page 269. Article 1, line 1—for 1705 read 1703.

I am obliged to M. Rameau, of Paris, for pointing out two errors, not of the press, but owing to mistakes in the old mss., viz't :

Page 132. The name Guillaume Troun should be *Trahan*.

Page 151. The name Knessy, in 17th line, should read *Kuessy* or *Quessy*.

I am informed by the Rev. Mr. Ballard, of Brunswick, Maine, that the May-flower (*Epigaea repens*) is to be found more generally in North America than I had been previously led to suppose. The same remarks apply to the *Linnæa* and the *Sarracenia*.

END OF VOLUME I.

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HALIFAX, March, 1865.

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OF
NOVA SCOTIA
OR
ACADIE.

By BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE. Q.C.

WE BLOOM AMIDST THE SNOWS

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JAS. H. THORNE,
Deputy Secretary.

A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA.

VOL. II.

CHAPTER I.

1740. On the 19 January, 1739-40, president Adams issued an order to John Handfield and Edward Amhurst, esquires, the executors of the late lieutenant governor Armstrong, stating that the deceased had for several years received the 'seignioriall rents' and other dues of his majesty,—that he had never rendered any accounts or made remittances to the hon. Horatio Walpole, king's receiver for America, nor communicated the state of the rents to the council or the secretary of the province. The president and council attach the same in the executor's hands, for eighteen months. After funeral charges and quarters are paid off and cleared, they are to retain his estate till the king's pleasure is known. Mr. Adams continued to administer the government as president of the council until March. Major Mascarene, who was senior to Mr. Adams on the list of councillors, had been in New England about five or six months, under a leave of absence granted by lieut. governor Armstrong, to settle some family affairs; and when there he was generally employed in some concerns relating to Nova Scotia. As soon as he heard that Armstrong was dead, he

prepared to return. He arrived at Annapolis on the 20 March. On Saturday, the 22d March, the council summoned by Mascarene as eldest councillor (as he states) met at Adams' house. Besides Mascarene and Adams, who each claimed the presidency and administration of the government, there were present seven other members, viz : William Skene, William Shirreff, Erasmus James Philipps, Otho Hamilton, John Handfield, Edward Amhurst, and John Slater. Mascarene being about to take the chair, as the eldest councillor present, was opposed by Adams, who said that he was president of the council, and that Mascarene must shew by what authority he dispossessed him of it. Several of the councillors endeavored to silence him, but he desired leave to plead for himself, and said that "major Mascarene was not at his duty when the "vacancy happened, but at Boston, in New England, where "his house is, and where his estate is, and where his residence "has been the great part of the time since the council has "been established, and that he had violated the fifth article of "H. M. instructions to the governor, by being absent from the "council and province from the year 1725 to the year 1731, "and was absent from the council from the year 1734 to the "year 1738. Moreover I said that I faithfully served his "majesty to the best of my capacity twenty years for nothing, "and now providence had put into my hands a morsel of bread, "major Mascarene was come in all haste from Boston to take "it from me." Mascarene replied that he did not come for that ; that he was first absent making peace with the Indians by the governor's orders ; and as for the second time, he was not out of the province a twelvemonth. Adams asked the council to consider it, exclusive of Mascarene and himself. The council adjourned to the house of Dr. Skene, taking Mascarene with them, and there swore him in as president, and framed the usual proclamation to be sent over the province, notifying his assuming the government, and directing all civil officers to continue in the discharge of their duties. In the afternoon of the same day, the secretary (Mr. Shirreff) came to Adams' house, and reported to him the judgment of the council in favor of Mascarene. From this judgment he ap-

pealed to his majesty, and said, "If you have done well by" "the house of Jerubable, then rejoice ye in Abimelech, and" "let Abimelech rejoice in you." The vote of the council in favor of Mascarene's claim was unanimous, with the exception of Mr. Adams. After this the latter so far acquiesced that he took his seat below the president. The next time he appeared in council he requested that his "appeal might be recorded" "in the records of the council, and desired the *council's* leave" "to be absent from the council and the province twelve" "months, which" (he says) "the new president was affronted" "at, because I did not ask his leave, but the council allowed" "both my appeal and absence; but one of the members said" "his majesty would not repeal what that board had done;" "another said that I had £150 sterling coming to me for the" "time I had served, and it would cost me a great part of that" "sum to prosecute my appeal. I replied, altho' I had neither" "silver nor gold, I hoped by some means or other to get my" "reasons of appeal laid before his majesty." Adams enclosed his grounds of appeal to the duke of Newcastle in a letter dated March 28, 1740, humbly praying his grace, "in com-" "passion to a poor, helpless, blind man, in the 68th year of" "his age," to lay them before the king, and asks his aid at all events to secure him the allowance due him as president for the time he filled that office.

Mr. St. Poncy applied for a passport, signifying his design of departing out of the province by way of Mines. The council, 23 April, advised to allow him three months to do so. Mascarene sent him the passport, objecting to his protracted stay, and forbidding his exercise of priestly functions. He adds: *Fay receu ce que je crois estre une replique à ce que je vous repondis au sujet de la dispute sur la religion. Je n'ai pas eu le tems de la lire, mais quand je l'aurai fait, je ne manquerai pas d'y faire les remarques que seront necessaires. Je suis avec estime, &c.* "I have received what I suppose to be a reply to" "my answer to you on the subject of the dispute on religion." "I have not had time to read it, but when I shall have done so," "I will not fail to make the remarks on it that are necessary.—" "I am with esteem, &c."

In May, official despatches from England were received, giving notice of the declaration of war against Spain. This war was declared at Annapolis on the 14 May, and ordered to to be also declared at Canso. (It had been declared in England 23 October, 1739.)

On the 27 May, Alexander Bourg is again made notary and receiver of kings' dues at Grand Pré, Mines. At this time Mr. Cosby was made lieutenant colonel of Philipps' regiment in place of Armstrong, deceased, and Mascarene major, in Cosby's place. One Mafils having been excommunicated by Vauxlin, a priest, applied for redress, as he was thereby cut off from all assistance, and even the necessities of life. Vauxlin was sent for by the president and council 1 July, and promised in future not to do so. Mafils had been appointed by lieutenant governor Armstrong as a messenger, under the name of a constable, to assist the deputies and the receiver of the kings' dues. Mafils had left a wife in France, and got married again here by a priest. The bigamy being discovered, the priests in Nova Scotia called on him to separate from the second wife, which he would not do. He was therefore excommunicated by the priest at Mines some years before 1740. But it appears that he came to Annapolis, and there M. Vauxlin, having been informed by letter from M. de la Godalie of this man's lying under the higher excommunication, proclaimed him publicly to his congregation as so excommunicated.

At a council held by order of the honble. Paul Mascarene, president of H. M. council, at the house of William Skene, esq., in the Lower Town of Annapolis Royal, on tuesday, the first of July, 1740, at ten o'clock, A. M.

Present :

His Honor the President.

John Adams, Esq.

William Skene, Esq.

William Shirreff, Esq.

Erasmus James Philipps, Esq.

John Handfield, Esq.

Edward Amhurst, Esq.

His honor the president acquainted the board that the cause of calling them together at this time was his being informed that Mr. Vauxlin, Romish missionary priest, had incroached upon the privilege granted the French inhabitants for the exercise of their religion by the treaty of Utrecht, by presuming to pronounce sentence of excommunication against one Mafils, who had thereupon complained that he was by virtue thereof deprived of all assistance and necessities of life, which being without any legal process, and consequently contrary to the laws of Great Britain, he had therefore drawn up a scrawl proclamation, in order to prevent any such arbitrary proceedings of the Romish priests for the future ; which, being read, it was agreed that the said Mr. Vauxlin should be sent for to appear before the board ; who being come, and interrogated by what authority he had excommunicated the said Mafils as aforesaid, he thereunto replied that it was not he who excommunicated him, but that he had received a letter from Mr. DeGodalie, his superior, at Mines, signifying to him that the said Mafils was excommunicated, and that by virtue of such advice given him, he, in conscience, judged it his duty to acquaint his parishioners thereof, but that for the future he would do no such thing without first acquainting the Government. Then was again read the aforesaid scrawl, and after some amendments it was ordered to be published. Then the Board desired his Honor to write a letter in very strong terms to the deputies of the several districts of this province, when he sent them the said proclamation to be published, enjoining them strictly to observe the same, and also that he should write to Mr. De Godalie, (DeGodaler in ms.,) and other missionaries, on the same subject.

P. MASCARENE.

A proclamation was issued, forbidding sentences of excommunication in future, and sent to all the deputies, with circular letters, to be everywhere published and enforced.

Landry and others, French inhabitants of Annapolis, eight in number, had, without leave, gone to Tibogue, (Chebogue ?) and built houses there. This occupancy was in the winter ; and there being objection made to it, they petitioned for leave

to go again there for the winter, with their families, which, in August, 1740, the council granted, forbidding them, however, to raise dykes or lay claim to the lands. Mr. Lemer cier applied again respecting the grant of the isle of Sable, but as most of it was represented as "a low, boggy and sandy soil," "with large ponds or settlings of water occasioned by the" "overflowing of the tides, he thinks the penny an acre too" "much to pay for what cannot be improved." The advantage to the public, Mascarene says, in writing to the lords of Trade 16 August, 1740, in encouraging its settlement would be relief to those who should have the misfortune to be thrown on that dangerous shoal, and to the proprietors the grazing of cattle, fishing, and killing of seals for their oil and skins. (Lemer cier had been allowed to keep people and cattle there in the time of lieut. governor Armstrong.)

Early in the autumn Mascarene received a letter from St. Poncy, dated from Louisbourg, whither he had retired, by which he understood he was about to come back to Chignecto. St. Poncy having come back, wrote openly from Chignecto, where he now established himself as missionary. Colonel Cosby addressed a letter to the fort major, E. J. Philipps, to be communicated to major Mascarene, "which also relating to St. Poncy's" "return, and some private intelligence he had of said St. Poncy's" "scheme to the prejudice of this Gov't., and purporting that" "the Gov't. of Louisbourg expected a war with the English," "and that St. Poncy having acquainted them how much he" "had gained over the minds of the inhabitants here in preju-" "dice to the English Government, he was therefore dispatched" "back, which he was not to own, but to give such reasons as" "he thinks proper; and that he is to hold correspondence" "with certain inhabitants of this place, and when a stroke is" "to be given, it is to be against the governor and this garri-" "son." At a council held 18 September, the president brought this matter before them. They advised that St. Poncy should be ordered to leave the province, and orders sent to the inhabitants of Chignecto not to permit his officiating there, &c. Mascarene soon after issued the order for his departure, and wrote to M. Bourg and M. Bergereau on the subject.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

(1.)

From the Gentleman's Magazine, Feb'y. 1740. London :—

Three Regiments of Foot, 1000 Men each, are raising with all Speed in our *American Colonies*, and will consist of Natives or those inur'd to the Climate. The Colonels, Lieut. Colonels, Majors and Subalterns are appointed by his Majesty, and their general Rendezvous is to be at *New York*, where the Royal Standard is set up. Their Cloathing is to be made here, which is Camblet Coats, brown Linen Waistcoats, with two Pair of Canvas Trowsers for each Man.

(2.)

Grant to Hibbert Newton, esq., collector of the Customs for the province, of one acre and two perches of land, on Canso hill. Date 17 March, 1740. 1st book of grants and deeds, p. 117.

Grant to Wm. Skene, of a lot given him in the town of Annapolis by governor Philipps' letter in 1722. Dated March, 1740. Both these grants were made by president Adams.

(3.)

From the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1740 :—

Value of Paper Money, or Bills of Credit in the Plantations.

New England	} 525	} for 100 l. Sterl.
Connecticut		
Rhode Island		
New Hampshire		
New York	160	
The Jerseys	160	
Pennsylvania	170	
Maryland	200	
North Carolina	1400	
South Carolina	800	

New York. A Body of 300 *French* and 700 *Indians*, which in *June* last passed by our Frontiers from *Canada*, intending to extirpate a Nation of Southern *Indians*, called *Chicasaus*, (Friends to the *English*), were in a fair pitch'd Battle defeated by them with the Loss of 230 Men kill'd on the Spot, and 'twas presumed that very few of the Survivors would live to go back to *Canada*. The *French* have several times attacked those *Indians*, but without Success.

(4.)

28 March, 1740. Otho Hamilton, now made captain of one of the companies at Canso by the king, and having to go to duty there, was appointed and sworn a justice of the peace throughout the province.

(5.)

24 March, 1739-40. Major Mascarene writes to M. Bergereau at Chignecto, sending him a proclamation to publish, and asking for his accounts. He sends this by Mr. Winniett, and major Mascarene says he has a sincere esteem for that gentleman and his family, and requests M. Bergereau to shew him every attention. He expects two of the deputies will come as soon as possible, to give him a true account of the condition and behaviour of the inhabitants of Chignecto. 25 March, he writes in a similar way to M. Mangeant and to Bellehumeur, (Alexander Bourg.) He also wishes copies of the proclamation sent to Pizaquit and Cobequit. Mascarene's proclamation, stating that the government devolves on him, and notifying that all regulations made for administration of justice, and justices and officers appointed for that end, should continue till further order. &c., issued in English and also in French.

(6.)

From Mascarene's letter to the Board of Trade, 1740.

"There being only two or three English families besides the garrison, prevented the formation of a civil government like that in the other colonies, and the councilors had most to be taken from the military officers of the garrison or regiment. The council meets upon call in a civil or judiciary capacity. What relates to the judicial part is referred to quarterly sessions, appointed three or four years ago, in which all matters of *meum* and *tuum* amongst the French inhabitants, who come from all the settlements of the province, are stated and decided. In other affairs, the council meets when anything of moment requires it, and have a messenger under the name of constable to summon any person required to appear."

He describes the duties of the deputies. The settlements being divided into districts, one deputy is chosen for each; also the receiver and notary, and the messenger called a constable, attached to each. Justices of the peace are appointed at Canso, to settle their differences. The English resort there in the fishing season, but in winter but three or four families of civilians remain there.

(7.)

Mr. John Hamilton was sworn in assistant secretary, 23 April, 1740.

(8.)

Two packets from the Secretary of State's office, received at Annapolis by the government by way of Virginia, cost in postage £11 16s. 3d. New England currency. At 525 to the 100 Sterling, this was about £2 5s. Sterling. There was no fund or allowance for stationary, postages, messengers or expenses, nor any pay to councillors for attendance. The seigneurial rents (Chignecto excepted) are not above £12 or £15 sterling in the whole.

(9.)

A royal commission, dated 4 Sept'r., 1740, (14 Geo. 2) to mark out and settle the boundaries between the province of Massachusetts Bay and the colony of

Rhode Island, was issued, appointing Cadwallader Colden, Abraham Vanhorn, Philip Livingston, Archibald Kennedy, and James De Lancey, esquires, of the province of New York; John Hamilton, John Wells, John Reading, Cornelius Vanhorn, and William Provost, esquires, of the province of New Jersey; and William Skene, William Shirreff, Henry Cope, Erasmus James Philipps, and Otho Hamilton, esquires, of the province of Nova Scotia, (or any five or more of them), commissioners to settle the boundaries. To go to Providence, Rhode island, and meet there first tuesday of April, 1741, with power to adjourn. Each province (contesting) to bear half the expenses. (See the commission and a letter from Whitehall to the commissioners, in 4th vol. Rhode island Colonial Records, pp. 586-590.) This letter is addressed to John Wanton, esq. governor of Rhode island. Dated Aug't. 1, 1740, and signed Monson. M. Bladen,—Croft. Jas. Brudenell.

(10.)

From letter of president Mascarene to the duke of Newcastle, 15th Nov'r., 1740.

" I entered a captain in this place at its surrendering to the English govern- "
" ment, and had the honor to take possession of it in mounting the first guard, "
" and was brevetted major by Mr. Nicholson, the commander-in-chief of that "
" expedition. I was put down the third on the list of Councillors when Gover- "
" nor Philipps called a Council to manage the affairs of this province, and have "
" served in the military, being now Major to Major General Philipps Regt., "
" and in the civil capacity ever since, having been employed in several transac- "
" tions with the neighbouring Governments, especially as a Commissioner in "
" behalf of this Government to settle the peace with the Indians."

" I gave a description of the Province, which was transmitted by Governor "
" Philipps to the Secretary of State and Plantation offices, and by me to the "
" Board of Ordnance, having then the honor to be employed as Engineer by "
" that Board. The mentioning these services is to endeavor to obtain his "
" Majesty's favor and your Grace's recommendation. My long absence from "
" Great Britain, where for these thirty years I have been but the space of six "
" months, and that twenty years ago, having deprived me of any patron."

CHAPTER II.

1741. The first mention I have found, in the public documents of the province, of de Loutre, missionary, who afterwards played a conspicuous part in the political and military affairs of Nova Scotia, is contained in a very courteous letter to him from president Mascarene. This is dated Annapolis Royall, 6 January, 1740-1, signed by Mascarene, and countersigned by Mr. Shirreff. It commences thus: "Monsieur. I begin by" "wishing you a happy new year, which I do very willingly," "having, in the little conversation we had together, conceived" "an esteem for you, and relying on the promise you have" "made me of maintaining the peace and good order in your" "parts, and of keeping the people in that submission they" "owe to the government to which they have sworn allegiance," "and under which they enjoy their possessions and the free" "exercise of their religion." He also tells him to pay over to Bourg the king's dues which remained in his hands at the departure of the sieur Mangeant, the former receiver.—It may be asserted without injustice, that de Loutre proved in the event the most persevering and implacable foe to the English that ever was in this country. Allowing for the extreme courtesy and kindness that distinguished Mr. Mascarene on all occasions, it is yet obvious that de Loutre, whose hostility to British rule was unequalled, must have assumed for the occasion the part of a pacific and humble missionary in his converse with the president, and thus prevented any suspicion attaching to him.—Mascarene wrote 7 Jan'y. to Alex'r. Bourg, (M. Bellehumeur), enclosing him his commission of receiver of

the king's dues and notary for Mines, and to Bergeau, the receiver at 'Chignigto.' Sends the latter a model for keeping his accounts. He also issued a circular to the deputies, persuading them to promote order and peace. He writes at this time to M. des Enclaves, missionary at Mines, and tells him "the block, which has been an occasion of stumbling to some" "of your profession, is the desire of governing the temporall" "by the spirituall." He then explains to him the system of governing by the deputies, and their duties. He then says: "If they cannot write, (which by-the-by shews the ignorance" "in which they have been kept, and is not much to the" "praise of the missionaries who have resided amongst them,)" "they are to make use of the hands of those who know that" "art, but the act must be their own, and carry their signa-" "ture or mark." It seems hardly fair to expect that the missionaries should have executed the office of schoolmasters; but Mascarene, though refined and honorable, sometimes is a little astute and sharp in his reasoning. He also says: "The" "work to the bridge, which has been newly repaired for the" "common good, ought to have been sett on foot by the depu-" "ty's authority, acting under that of this Government. Your" "exhortations may be of use to maintain the people in their" "duty. Your hand may assist them in writing their reports," "but the act must come from them, and carry their mark."

The winter of 1740-1741, was 'very severe' in Nova Scotia. President Mascarene, writing to the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state, on 14 March, 1740-1, tells him: "We have no" "news from Europe later than July last, nor from our neigh-" "boring government of New England since last October, so" "that we are entirely ignorant of any transactions in relation" "to war or peace." The great changes that have occurred since that time will be palpable, when we observe that at Halifax, on 13 March, 1861, we had London papers of 24 February, news of 26th, and Washington news of 7 March. In 1812, on the 18 June, the American Congress declared war against England, and the news did not reach Halifax until the 29 June.

At this time the inhabitants of Chignecto petitioned to

have M. St. Poncy as their priest, there being an old priest called 'Disclash' (or des Classes) there, quite superannuated ; but the council declined to appoint St. Poncy, on account "of his irregular return to that place." In April, 1741, Mascarene requested Bergeau, the receiver of king's dues at Chignecto, to remit what monies he had got in grain and peas, as many families at Annapolis were suffering famine from scarcity of provisions ; and he writes to Bourg, (Bellehumeur), at Mines, to the same effect, and tells him that governor Philipps has acquainted him that he will visit Nova Scotia in the spring.

The Lords of Trade had ordered that five members of the council of Nova should act in the commission appointed to settle the boundaries between Massachusetts and Rhode island. Henry Cope was one named, but was in the expedition to the West Indies, and Otho Hamilton was at Canso. Messrs. Skene, Shirreff, and Erasmus J. Philipps, who made up the five designated, left Annapolis for New England on this mission in April, 1741.

A scarcity of provisions existed in the West Indies at this time, and also in Europe, and generally the export of food to foreign countries was forbidden in the British dominions. Proclamations were issued to enforce this regulation.

Governor Philipps made a statement to the English government as to his position of governor of Nova Scotia.. He was appointed colonel of the 12th regiment of Foot on the 16 March, 1712, and of the 40th regiment 25 August, 1717. (The 40th regiment devolved on Edw'd. Cornwallis, as colonel, 13 March, 1752, and on Peregrine Thomas Hopson 4 March, 1754.) Philipps, in his memorial, says that in 1718 he had one of the oldest regiments in the king's service, which he had bought for 7000 guineas, and that he did, at the request of his late majesty's (George the 1st) ministry, and not from any desire of his own, exchange that regiment for the government of Nova Scotia, to which was annexed a salary of £1000 per annum, and also for a new regiment to be formed out of the several independent companies there, with his majesty's promise, that as the last would be the youngest regiment in the

king's service, he should, in case of a reduction, have the first old regiment that became vacant. He says : " There was no " " intention at that time of appointing a lieutenant governor, " " nor any provision made for such ; but lieutenant colonel " " Armstrong growing uneasy that a captain in the regiment, " " by being lieutenant governor of the garrison of Anna- " " polis Royal, should be entitled to the command of the " " troops, and also of him, the said lieutenant colonel,—applied " " to governor Philipps for his interest to be made lieutenant " " governor of the Province, without expecting or claiming " " any allowance for the same, who accordingly, by letter to " " his grace the duke of Newcastle, recommended Mr. Arm- " " strong as a proper person to be lieutenant governor, and " " he was soon after appointed such, but without any salary " " or allowance whatever."

" The agent of governor Philipps' regiment " (colonel Gardner), " having misapplied the regiment's money, died insol- " " vent, and the governor being thereupon called home by " " his majesty's sign manual, in the year 1731, in order to " " adjust the officers' accounts, his majesty was pleased to " " entrust the command of the province with lieut. colonel " " Armstrong during the governor's absence, and was pleased, " " by warrant, to allow the said lieut. colonel Armstrong half " " the governor's pay for so long as he should continue in that " " command."

" The governor immediately repairing to England upon " " his majesty's command, hath settled the agent's accounts, " " paid the balance out of his own pocket, amounting in the " " whole, with his own loss, to £10,000. Lieutenant colonel " " Armstrong being since dead, it is humbly hoped that, as " " there was no lieutenant governor of the province until " " Mr. Armstrong was appointed such, for the above reasons " " which are now at an end, the lieutenant governor of the " " garrison being also lieutenant colonel of the regiment, there " " will be no lieutenant governor hereafter appointed."

Mascarene, though a protestant himself, son of a Huguenot father, yet preserved his love for the French language, and we find him always disposed to kindly intercourse with the

people of that origin. Two letters of his in French, addressed to mademoiselle Françoise Belleisle, have been preserved, one dated 30 June, 1741, and the other 13 October, 1744. The former is as follows :—

[Translated.]

Mademoiselle. I am very glad that the letter I have received from you gives occasion for an intercourse between us, which ought not to offend your confessor, being only intellectual, and liable to be judged of in council. Four of our councillors have been obliged to go to New England, and the rest are too few in number to decide differences of importance. Your aunt has gone to Louisbourg for the purpose of seeking her proofs. Thus it is your interest to take your precautions. I think you too reasonable to expect any favor from me, in what concerns my conduct as a judge; but in every other thing that is not contrary to my duty, I shall have real pleasure in testifying to you the esteem I have for you. Let me have your news when there is an opportunity, freely and without fear, and be persuaded that I am, mademoiselle,

Your very humble and very obedient servant.

Annapolis Royal, }
30th June, 1741. }

Françoise Belleisle.

At the same date, Mascarene writes to M. de Quesnel, governor of cape Breton, (who died in September, 1744), to Bourville, lieutenant governor, and to M. Bigot, intendant, (afterwards intendant of Canada), in reply to letters apparently of compliment only. He tells Bourg "the council have" "made it a rule to follow the antient laws and customs established with the inhabitants in judging of their suits." He writes to Bergeau. (This name is sometimes spelt Bergereau.) "The inhabitants of Chignecto appear in all" "things of a refractory spirit; their paying the king's dues" "unwillingly and in bad species, doth not show well in their" "favour, and their persisting in their disobedience to the" "orders in regard to Mr. St. Poncy, will draw on them the"

“resentment of this government,” &c. He also complains of their settling on ungranted land, and trading by way of bay Verte, against the proclamation. He says to M. des Enclaves, “My only aim is, in the station I am in, to keep the mission-” “aries who reside in this government within the bounds of” “their duty, and to hinder them from establishing *imperium*” “*in imperio*, which the laws of Great Britain will not suffer.—” “As for religion, I am of that temper as not to wish ill to” “any person whose persuasion differs with mine, provided” “that persuasion is not contrary to the rules of society and” “government.” The councillors who had gone as boundary commissioners to New England, had returned before the 3th October. Mascarene wrote to the lords of Trade 23 November. Rumors of war with France, he says, had often alarmed them this summer, owing to their defenceless condition. Except in sending cattle and provisions to Louisbourg contrary to proclamation, the French Acadians had behaved as well as could be expected, “considering the bigotry to their” “religion, and other circumstances.” They continue to settle on ungranted land. The missionaries still give trouble. They are controlled by their bishop, (of Quebec), who has a vicar general in the province, the latter lately returned from France. Mascarene refers to his thirty years’ service in Nova Scotia, where he has acted as president two years, and received no advantages or perquisites whatever.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

(I.)

18 August, 1741. The will of William Winniett, of Annapolis Royal, merchant, was proved before president Mascarene. Of the subscribing witnesses, Benjamin Nugent was dead; messrs. Skene and Shirreff were at Boston, New England. John Dyson and John Hamilton proved the will to be in Shirreff’s writing, and that the signatures were all genuine. By this will he devised and gave all his estate, real and personal, “to my beloved wife Magdaline Winniett,” “and to my well-beloved children, my lawful heirs upon her body, to be equally”

"divided amongst them," and made his wife sole executrix. It bears date 16 Feb'y., 1726-7.

24 August, 1741. President Mascarene wrote to M. Bourg, at Mines, recommending him to get the debtors of the late Mr. Winniett in his district to pay the widow.

(2.)

4 Nov'r., 1741. Mascarene gives a certificate of good conduct to M. Nicholas Vauquelin, priest and B. D. of the Roman Church, who had officiated for two years at Annapolis river. (He is elsewhere called Vauxlin.)

(3.)

The seigniorial rents and fines of alienation collected between March, 1739-40, and 31 December, 1741, one year and nine months, amounted to 141 livres 19 sous, which reduced to sterling at 450 discount, made £38 15s. 8d. sterling. The price of a bushel of wheat was accounted at 2 1-2 livres, equal then to 16 pence sterling.

CHAPTER III.

1742. The first affair of this year concerning the province was an application of Mr. Adams to the board of trade. His letter is dated 'Boston, New England, March 12, 1741-2.' It states that Mr. Adams was president of the council and province of Nova Scotia from the 6 December, 1739, to the 22 March following. He staid at Annapolis until the latter end of July, 1740, when, with the consent of the council, he retired to Boston. Has been eighteen months in expectation of his majesty's decision. Sends now a petition to the king for relief, as he wants "even the very necessities of life." He says: "I would have returned to Annapolis before now, but" "there was no chaplain in the garrison to administer God's" "word and sacraments to the people; but the officers and" "soldiers in garrison have profaned the holy sacraments of" "baptism and ministerial function, by presuming to baptize" "their own children. Why his majesty's chaplain does not" "come to his duty, I know not, but am persuaded it is a dis-" "service and dishonor to our religion and nation; and, as I" "have heard, some have got their children baptized by the" "Popish priests, for there has been no chaplain here for" "these four years. I was in hopes to have received from his" "Excellency Governor Philipps £144 4s. od. sterling, for the" "time I presided over the council in his absence, for which" "sum I drew a bill of exchange on him in favor of captain" "Nathaniel Donnell, who has supplied me and my family" "with most of the necessities and comforts of life for twelve" "years past, without almost any hopes of ever being paid in"

"this life, yet his Excellency protested this bill, as will be" "seen at large by the enclosed papers, notwithstanding his" "many promises to me when at Annapolis."—He requests "faults or blunders" in his writings to be excused, he "being forced to make use of a youth unexperienced." (This refers to his blindness, mentioned in his former statement.) It is to be feared that Mr. Adams obtained no redress for the grievances of which he complained.

In the spring of this year, one Trefry, the master of a sloop engaged in trading at Grand Pré, Mines, was surprized, robbed and ill-used by a number of Indians. They cut the cables of the sloop. The inhabitants of Mines, and two of the chief captains of the Indians, named Jaques Momquaret and Thomas Wonils, (or Wouits), [*the ms. is obscure*], missing Trefry's sloop, but finding her anchors and cables, were much surprized, and suspecting that he had been taken by some Indians, thereupon agreed to send out some canoes in search of them; but not finding them, Mr. Bourg fitted out a small vessel, and being accompanied by Mr. Mangeant, the two deputies of the Grand Pré, Bujean and Bourg, together with about sixteen more men, had the good fortune to meet with the robbers, and took from them part of Trefry's goods. Bourg and Mangeant, and the two Indian captains, wrote to the President to inform him of what they had done. Trefry arrived at Annapolis, and being destitute of anchors, requested the loan of those that belonged to the brigantine Baltimore, which had been brought from Tibogue to Annapolis, and had lain under the fort since 9 May, 1736, for want of a claimant. The president and council met to consider this business on the 9 April, 1742, at 10 A. M. Messrs. Skene, Shirreff, E. J. Philipps, John Handfield and Edward Amhurst, were present. Trefry was referred, as to anchors, to E. J. Philipps, who held the commission of king's advocate in Court of (Vice) Admiralty. The president was desired to express the satisfaction felt at the good conduct of the inhabitants and the Indian captains. A sworn statement of the robbery and computation of loss, and a list of the articles recovered, were exhibited. Trefry resolved to return to Mines, and it was agreed that the president should write to

the deputies, the Indian missionary, and the two Indian captains, to aid in getting reparation for Trefry, and to send a copy of the articles of treaty with the Indians to Mr. Bourg, to be kept in his office for their instruction. 13 April, Mascarene wrote letters of thanks to Alex. Bourg, to Mangeant, and to the two Indian captains. He also wrote to M. de Loutre, missionary of the savages—tells him of the robbery, and that most of the Indians disown the act; hopes for reparation, and requests his influence to that end, and mentions his having sent copies of the articles of peace to Bellehumeur. By the treaty the tribe was made responsible for any injuries done the English by any of its members.—Shortly after this, a jarring of authority occurred between the president, Mascarene, and lieutenant colonel Cosby, the lieutenant governor of the fort and garrison of Annapolis. John and Joseph Terriot, from Mines, had called to see Mascarene as to some proceedings in the council concerning their civil affairs, about noon. He had no sooner dismissed them, than he observed that the serjeant of the guard took them into custody and carried them to the guard. This transaction he reported to the council 28 April, and on the 29th the two men, having been released from imprisonment, were called in before the council, and being questioned by the president whether they knew the reason why they were confined, John Terriot answered—that being asked why, in coming into the garrison, he went to the president before he had waited upon the lieutenant governor of the fort,—he told the serjeant who asked him the question, that he was informed at Mines that he was to wait upon the president first, and knows no other reason than that for their confinement. The president gave them assurances of protection, and so this matter ended.—Mascarene, in writing soon after to the deputies of Chignecto, reminds them of the treaty of Utrecht and their oaths, and that those born since the conquest are natural subjects of the English crown. He writes 16 June, to M. de la Goudalie, missionary priest at Mines: “I received your letter by grand Pierrot, (big Peter), and am” “glad to hear that you got safe to Mines. Mons'r. des” “Enclaves is also arriv'd here; and when mons'r. Laborett”

"is got to Chiconecto, and mons'r. St. Poncy has quitted the" "province, which I desire may be as soon as possible, the" "missionarys will be settled according to the regulation pas-" "sed in council." He goes on to point out that on a vacancy in a mission taking place, the parishioners must first ask and obtain leave of the government to send for a priest to fill the cure. When the new priest arrives he must repair to Annapolis, and be there approved by the governor and council before he officiates, and that similar leave must be had for the removal of a priest from one parish to another. "I desire" "you will enquire whether the inhabitants of Mines have" "purchased of the Indians any of the goods plunder'd from" "the New Eng^d. vessell belonging to Trefry, and particularly" "of eight or ten fathoms of cable which were cutt off from" "the anchors left ashore when the vessell was carried off," "which cable must certainly have been cutt by some of the" "inhabitants near the place where the anchors were left." He again writes to de Loutre, 21 June, telling him Trefry protested to him "that he had not given one drop of rum to" "any Indian 'till they had violently forc'd it from him, after" "they had taken possession of his vessel. Tis impossible to" "us here to prevent the import^a. of that pernicious liquor," "but I never fail recommending to all the traders not to dis-" "pose of any to the Indians." On the 28 June, he writes to the lords of Trade, and represents the inhabitants to be well-disposed and obedient, notwithstanding many rumors of war with France being on the point of occurring. He shews their intrusion in settling on unappropriated lands to arise from the necessities of an increasing population. "The Romish" "priests, missionaries, are brought to a better behaviour." He has applied to the governor who is in England for allowances as president. 28 September, he tells the lords of Trade that the French inhabitants behave well, except that they still send provisions clandestinely to cape Breton. In October, Mascarene petitioned the king to direct that part of the governor's salary should be assigned him for his administering the government in the absence of Mr. Philipps.

Mr. Cosby, the lieut. colonel of Philipps' regiment, and lieut.

governor of the fort and garrison of Annapolis, died on the 27th December, 1742, on which Mascarene applied through the secretary of State to succeed him in both capacities. Mascarene was a lieutenant in 1708—was a captain under Nicholson in 1710, at the reduction of Port Royal, and then brevetted major—commanded an independant company at Placentia, which was incorporated in Philipps' regiment, and in 1720 was third on the list of the council of Nova Scotia, which province he now commanded as senior counsellor. He urged his familiar knowledge of the French language and of the French Acadians, and his long residence and services in this quarter, he being the only officer remaining here of those who were at the taking of the place. (In 1744 he was appointed lieut. governor of the fort, major general in 1758, and died in 1760.)

In the latter part of this year two priests came into the province from Quebec, messrs. Miniac and Girard. The bishop of Quebec wrote a letter addressed to president Mascarene, in which he mentions that M. de la Goudalie was unable to continue to do the duty of Grand Vicar in Acadie without assistance, and that he had accordingly sent *M. l'abbé* Miniac, a man of birth, capacity and experience, who had long been a Grand Vicar and Archdeacon, and solicited the president's favor for him. This letter bore date 16 Sept'r., 1742. The journey proved tedious and fatiguing. The young priest Girard was obliged to stop in Cobequid with de Loutre, and *abbé* Miniac, at Grand Pré, Mines. From these places they wrote 27 Nov'r. and 2 Dec'r., n. s., to the president. Mascarene sent the bishop a copy of the regulations in force concerning missionaries, and wrote to Miniac, Girard, and de la Goudalie. The council ordered that the two priests coming here contrary to regulations may remain till spring, but are not to exercise any functions. Mascarene also sent copies of the correspondence to the duke of Newcastle, and tells him that "the yielding to that bishop the power of" "throwing his missionaries here at pleasure will be a bar" "ever to bring these French inhabitants to a due obedience"

"to H. M. Government." He also comments on his claim of appointing a Grand Vicar in Acadie as a part of his diocese.

1743. The abbé Miniac at length got to Annapolis, and satisfied the governor and council as to the objects he and Girard had in view in coming to Nova Scotia. It was then resolved that Miniac should remain at *rivière des Canards*, in Mines, and Girard at *Cobequid*; but a request for a second missionary at *Pessaquid* was refused, one being deemed sufficient. — The seigniorial rents in some places at this time were paid in *pease*. — In October there were flying reports of turbulent behaviour of the Indians, and their intention to cause disturbance. To counteract this possible mischief, a proclamation was issued by the president, who seemed to apprehend that the inhabitants were disposed to aid the Indians, and in particular would buy from them any plunder they had taken from the English. In November he wrote to M. de la Goudalie, expressing himself satisfied with all the missionaries except M. Laboret, of whom he entertained a bad opinion. He then adds: "I called the small books you" "sent me '*Mercurys*,' but find they are called '*Historick*" "*Nouvells*,' for the present age, which I would be glad to have," "as I already desired the favour of you. I shall satisfy Mr." "Morell the cost he is at through your hands, or by any" "other means you think proper; and if he will be so good as" "to joyn the *Mercury Gallaunt* to them, I shall be under a" "great obligation to him and you for your goodness in pro-" "curing them. — I send you the list of the prisoners and" "wounded in the last engagement in Germany," (probably the battle of Dettingen, in June, 1743, in which the English defeated the French), "it being some satisfaction to have an" "account of the fate of our friends and relations who suffer" "in action. We have a particular account of this action, but" "as they are all in English they would be of no use to you." "I desire you would make my compliments to M. Miniac," &c. It is proper to observe that many of the letters of Mascarene that we have had access to are to be found only in the register book, (translated or not), as entered by Mr. Shirreff, to whom may be fairly attributed several peculiarities in the spelling of

words, and especially of proper names, both in the recorded public correspondence and in the minutes entered of the proceedings in council during many years. Mr. Shirreff appears to have possessed much ability and industry, and to have been well suited for the place he filled. In some instances where we have the original manuscripts of Mascarene, the accuracy and clearness of the writing and grammatical propriety prove that he was a highly intelligent person, and familiar with both the French and English languages, and in every respect refined and polished. This impression is confirmed, as far as physiognomy can be relied on, by the portrait of this gentleman, which has been preserved in the families of Hutchinson and Snelling, in this province, who were connected with or descended from him.

In the latter part of this year the lords of Trade had written to recommend this and the other British American colonies to be on their guard against any attempt that might ensue from a rupture with France. Mascarene, 1 December, 1743, writes to the duke of Newcastle, that the French (inhabitants) cannot be depended on for assistance in that event. "It is" "as much as we can expect if we can keep them from joining" "with the enemy, or being stirred up by them to rebell." "This province is in a worse condition for defence than the" "other American plantations, who have inhabitants to defend" "them; whilst far from having any dependance on ours, we" "are obliged to guard against them.——Canso, where" "four companies are quartered, is near to cape Breton. It" "has no other defence than a blockhouse, &c., built of timber" "by the contributions of the fishermen who resort there and" "a few inhabitants settled in that place, for the repairs of" "which the officers have often been obliged to contribute as" "well as to those of the huts in which the soldiers are quar-" "tered.—At Annapolis Royal, the fort being built of earth" "of a sandy nature, is apt to tumble down in heavy rains or" "in thaws after frosty weather. To prevent this, a re-est-" "ment of timbers has been made use of, which, soon decay-" "ing, remedies the evil but for a short space of time, so that" "for these many years past there has been only a continual"

“patching. The board of ordnance has sent engineers and”
“artificers, in order to build the Fort with brick and stone,”
“but little could be done for these two summers past than”
“providing part of the materials and making conveniences”
“for landing them, so that when I received the above men-”
“tioned directions there were several breaches, of easy access”
“to an enemy, which I immediately directed to be repaired,”
“in which the season has favored us beyond expectation.—”
“After the taking of the place, it was judged that, consider-”
“ing the nature of the inhabitants about us and the compass”
“of the fort, not less than five hundred men were requisite”
“to defend it, which number was accordingly left in garrison.”
“As the plan agreed to by the board of ordnance for rebuild-”
“ing this Fort is to contain the same space of ground, and”
“as the five companies here consist by establishment of no”
“more than thirty-one private men” (each) “when comple-”
“ted: the number will fall much short of what is necessary”
“for the defence of the works in time of war.—The town,”
“which consists of two streets, the one extending along the”
“river side, and the other along the neck of land, the extrem-”
“ities whereof are at a quarter of a mile distance from the”
“Fort, has no defence against a surprize from the Indians.”
“The materials for the new building and the artificers are”
“lodged there, as well as several families belonging to the”
“garrison, who, for want of conveniency in the Fort, are”
“obliged to quarter there.” He had written two years before
to the governor of Massachusetts for assistance in case of a
rupture with France. He does not rely much on this aid, but
it operates to awe the inhabitants. He wrote, same date, to
the board of trade, whose reply is dated 2 August, 1744, *eight*
months after. In fact in these days the officials in England
seem to have slept over their American interests, and to have
been partially wakened up about once a year to remember the
names of their colonial possessions—to look or rather yawn
over the governor’s despatches, and sketch some answer,
deciding nothing and doing next to nothing.

On the 13 December, Mr. Shirreff, by the president’s order,
wrote to Mr. Bourq respecting the laying out lines between

the Grangers and the Heberts, near the rivers Canards and Habitants. Some niceties of their customs are adverted to. He speaks of "what was customary in case the seigneur" "granted to an inhabitant a piece of meadow and other land," "with a *profondeur*" (depth) "into the woods, if that *profondeur* of a league less or more, with an '*air de vent*' (point "of the compass), agreeable to the scituation of the said "meadow, and the other granted land into the woods, or "other upland, could not be found without encroachments or "injury done to the adjacent neighbours." Shirreff speaks of the *resoul* of the river Canard as a boundary, and he asks Bourg if *resoul* means the neap, spring or middle tides.

1744. A Canadian, named Joseph Vanier, was arrested at Annapolis, and detained, upon complaints against him from Mines. Mascarene wrote to M. Bourg and the Deputies on this affair, 24 March, 1744. He says: "The people from "your place bring us so many affairs to settle, and they are "in such a hurry to get home again, that we have no time to "write suitable answers.—Our laws in dealing with capital "cases require *viva voce* witnesses under oath, whose evidence shall be sufficient for convicting the accused before "sentence can be passed. The English abhor torture, and "it is expressly forbidden by our laws. Thus it is only upon "such legal testimony that judgment can be given. For "this reason the letter and declaration of M. Cheveraux are "not sufficient to convict a criminal guilty of a capital crime." "As regards the money he borrowed, and which he owes, I "think they have not all been disclosed; and there may be "persons who have advanced him sums of money which they "feel ashamed to declare, as they may have done so with "views that would not appear legitimate. It has meanwhile "been resolved on to send the man out of the province, and "for this purpose it is necessary, if no other way can be "found, that you should assist in the execution of it, to rid "us of a person of whom you complain so much." He proceeds to say that they should pay for the subsistence of the prisoner, which only amounts to four francs a week, as there is no fund for the purpose. "Endeavor henceforth not to "

“accuse any person to the government for crimes or malver-”
“sations, without authentic proofs to support the charges,”
“such as may be produced in a regular legal course. The”
“length of the way, and other inconveniences, ought never”
“hinder persons from coming to bear evidence against those”
“who, by their crimes or their disorderly conduct, render”
“themselves obnoxious to the public good ; for by our law, a”
“person accused unjustly and without available evidence,”
“may demand reparation and damages for the injury done”
“to his character.” This letter was written in French. On
17 August, 1744, a notification was published by Mascarene,
respecting Vanier, to the effect that he had been arrested on
complaint of the people of Mines, and was not able to give
security for his good behaviour,—that an order in council had
been made that he should be kept in prison until he could be
sent out of the province, which was to be done within a few
days,—but that Vanier had made his escape from the prison ;
and he orders the deputies and inhabitants to seize and bring
him back, and forbids any one assisting him, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

After a long peace, from the treaty of Utrecht of 1713, a war now sprung up between France and England. The French declared war against England March 15, 1744, n. s., and Great Britain declared war against France March 29, 1744, o. s., being 9 April, n. s. The war was proclaimed at Boston June 2, o. s., but was known two months earlier at Louisbourg; and Duquesnel, who was then governor of cape Breton, resolved to avail himself of this circumstance. Accordingly, on the 13 May, M. du Vivier, with a few armed vessels, and about 900 men, regulars and militia, from Louisbourg, took Canso without any resistance, and carried the nominal four companies stationed there, being in all but about 70 or 80 soldiers, and the few inhabitants, as prisoners to Louisbourg,—granting them conditions that they should remain at the latter place for one year, and then be sent to Boston or to Annapolis. They were eventually sent to Boston. An English man-of-war tender was captured at Canso at the same time, and the place itself burnt.

Clermont, a Frenchman, of Louisbourg, who afterwards joined the Indians besieging Annapolis, informed Mascarene that the Indians on the Eastern coast had taken an English vessel and put the crew to death, with the exception of a young Englishman, whom they kept as a prisoner. The Indians of the river St. John, in consequence of this, sent four of their number to the president to profess their intention of keeping the peace, whatever war might arise. On the 5 May, Mascarene wrote

to M. Bourg and the deputies of Mines, calling on them to aid in punishing the guilty. He also addressed a long letter to Claude Ouachenoite, chief, Etienne Chegouonne, Jacques Nouscottes, Pierre Lagamiginque, and all the other chiefs and savages of the Micmacs. He says he calls them friends, since they disavow the murder of the master and crew of the vessel. He calls their attention to the treaty by which the tribes were bound to make good any mischief done by their members, and to give up offenders to be punished. Mascarene also wrote 5 May to monsieur de Loutre. He tells him he had reiterated his orders by a proclamation, forbidding merchants, inhabitants and others from giving strong liquors to the Indians on any pretext soever. That it appeared by the abominable conduct of some of them in the past winter, that the blame is not always to be thrown on the influence of drink, as it appears that in this instance strong liquor had nothing to do with it, and expresses the hope "that far from opposing any obstacle" "to the course of justice, he will exhort them to fulfil their" "engagements, and will assist the well-disposed Indians and" "the sieur Antoine Gilbert, or Clermont, to seize the guilty" "and to bring them to Annapolis." He says: "The esteem" "I have conceived for you leaves me no room to doubt that" "you will be disposed to help in maintaining peace, law and" "justice, and thereby to prevent the calamities that may otherwise fall upon the inhabitants of this country." He adds that—"there is a young English boy that these bandits did" "not kill, and whom they have with them," and prays him to get this boy from them.

In June, a few small vessels from Louisbourg, commanded by Delabrotz, (afterwards taken by the Massachusetts province snow privateer, capt. Tyng), annoyed St. Peters and some other small harbors of Newfoundland, west of Placentia, and threatened Placentia fort. On the 15 June a proclamation was published in both languages, French and English, stating the declaration of war, and forbidding all intercourse with the enemy. On the 18 June, Mascarene wrote to Bourg and the deputies of Mines. He informs them he had received the declaration of war against France by the

way of New England, and had caused it to be published at Annapolis as the centre of government, with the usual ceremonies. He explains that this does not mean a war against the inhabitants of the province or the Indians, who will behave peaceably. He says that H. E., the governor of New England, has promised to send him such forces as he shall ask for. On the 18 May, a sudden panic seized on the whole lower town of Annapolis, where the families of several officers and soldiers were quartered, everybody removing their goods to the fort. Upon enquiry, Mascarene found that a rumor had spread, that one Morpin, a famous commander of a privateer in the last war, was up the Annapolis river, with five hundred French and Indians. Although this report could not be traced to any author, and its falsehood became evident the next day, yet the effect it produced on most persons minds could not be dispelled. Soon after this the Massachusetts Galley arrived with the chief engineer. Several officers resolved to send their families to New England, and the Galley, on her return, took as many away as she could accommodate,—and a little while after two vessels more were freighted with part of those remaining ; and yet there remained above seventy women and children quartered within the compass of the fort.

The ramparts and parapets were in a ruinous condition. The few materials on hand proper to repair them had been employed in patching the most dangerous places, on the first notice the president received in the circular letter of the lords of the Regency. The orders that had been given to rebuild the fort with masonry caused the old works to be neglected for several years. The chief engineer, therefore, until he could procure proper materials to repair the old work, went on with the project of the new building,—for which stone, bricks and lime had been in part procured ; but the news of the taking of Canso, and the orders for proclaiming war against France, induced the president to urge the engineer to put by the project of rebuilding, and to go in good earnest to the repairs necessary for defence. The French inhabitants shewed themselves ready, not only to get the timber necessary for that kind of work, but to be employed in the repairs, and some

partial progress had been made, when, on the 1st July, the first party of Indians, consisting of about three hundred, came to interrupt the proceedings of the garrison. This force was said to have been led on by M. de Loutre, the missionary to the Indians. They were no sooner known to be at the upper end of the river, than all the French inhabitants left Annapolis and withdrew to their habitations. The Indians were Micmacs and Malecites, united. Mascarene had not then a hundred men of the five companies, officers included, fit for duty. The artificers brought from Old and New England, though most especially the first, proved ready on occasion, and behaved with courage and resolution: yet could not be expected to be under command in the same manner as regular troops—and some of those from New England declaring that they came to work and not to fight, caused a backwardness and dispiritedness amongst their fellows. In the first onset of the Indians, two men of the garrison were killed, who, contrary to Mascarene's orders, had gone out in some of the gardens. Some officers and a number of men, who, with too little precaution, went out early in the morning to pull down a house in the governor's grounds according to the orders he had given the night before, had been nearly cut off. They all got in, however, without hurt.

On the 3d July, Mascarene wrote a letter in French to the besiegers, in the following terms:

Annapolis Royal, 3 July, 1744.

Gentlemen. The first shot you heard fired from the Fort was according to our custom when we think we have enemies. Afterwards your people killed two of our soldiers who were in the gardens without arms. I am resolved to defend this Fort until the last drop of my blood against all the enemies of the king of Great Britain, my master, whereupon you can take your course. So I sign my name

P. MASCARENE.

To the Indians who }
appear at the Cape. }

The enemy, encouraged by success, came under cover of some stables and barns to the foot of the glacis, and kept a

continual fire of small arms, until dislodged by the cannon of the Fort. They then went towards the lower town, the extremity whereof is above a quarter of a mile from the Fort, and set fire to the houses, which soon gained near the Blockhouse situated in the middle of the street, but which, being surrounded with garden fences, was not without danger of having a share in the conflagration. The serjeant, who was with a small guard in that blockhouse, at sight of the fire about him, sent Mascarene word of it, and desired leave to withdraw. As from the Fort the garrison were sensible of his danger, and the governor had no immediate means to relieve him, he replied that he might withdraw ; but upon the proposal of the engineer to place Mr. How on board the Ordnance Tender, with some of the artificers to strengthen that crew, and fall down opposite to the town and scour the street, he detached a party under the command of a captain, who, supported by the cannon of the Tender, and joined by Mr. How and the artificers, replaced the guard in the Blockhouse—put the Indians to flight—pulled up the garden fences, and set fire to some houses still remaining too near the Blockhouse, and thereby affording a cover to the enemy. Mascarene had, the evening before, caused to be pulled down a parcel of hovels, which, by the allowance of former governors, had been built in a hollow of the glacis reaching almost to the parapet of the cover way, a dangerous place, which long before he had wished to have filled up, it being thence the enemy in former time had annoyed the garrison. The officers and volunteers, amongst whom were the Fort Major and Mr. How, returning with the party from the lower town, proposed to governor Mascarene to level the barns and stables within half musket shot from the garrison, from which, in the morning, the enemy had kept up a continual fire, and where it was expected he would come again and find a constant shelter. This party was in high spirits. Mascarene would not baulk them, and there was no time to call the officers together for their opinion and consent. He only desired that they would spare a house captain Daniel had been at considerable expence with, situated beyond musket shot

of the Fort ; but this did not avail much, as the enemy afterwards rifled it, and the cannon of the Fort, used to dislodge them, pierced and shattered it in many places. The besiegers, finding it not easy to approach the Fort, kept about a mile distance, and gave the garrison no great trouble, except in stealing some of their sheep and cattle. The arrival of the Massachusetts galley on the 5 July, with seventy auxiliaries, and a captain and ensign, made this party of Indians to leave Annapolis and go up the river, whence they proceeded to Manis, where they staid waiting for troops from Louisbourg. Upon the arrival of the Province Snow, privateer, in the beginning of July, from Boston, with the first of four companies of militia, raised by the government of Massachusetts bay to reinforce the garrison of Annapolis, they broke up and returned to Minas, and the women and children of Annapolis were removed to Boston for safety. Mascarene says that the same galley, soon after returning, brought him forty more men, with a portion of officers, to form with those come before three companies. These auxiliaries augmented the numbers of the English, but could not be of immediate service, as they came for the most part unprovided with arms. Those of the garrison had, on trial, been found, generally, defective, and were put in the hands of the smith for repair. To supply this want, he ordered out of the ordnance stores all that could be got fit for service. With these, and the arms of the soldiers as they could be repaired, he made a shift to arm his own men and the auxiliaries (militia), which was hardly effected, and they lodged in the Fort, in barracks hastily fitted up, when he was informed that a detachment of officers and men from Louisbourg, with a larger body of Indians than had come before, amounting in all to six or seven hundred men, were up the Annapolis river, within three leagues of the Fort. (Douglass says there were 60 regular troops from Louisbourg, and about 700 militia and Indians. *Summary*, p. 319.) Mascarene made the necessary disposition to receive them.

The French force from Louisbourg had landed at Chignecto, whence they journeyed by land, passing through Mines. Being

much fatigued, they rested two days up the river, after which they marched down and shewed themselves on the brow of the hill, a little more than a mile from the Fort, and then pitched their huts under cover of the eminence. This occurred probably near the end of August, (new style), as we find an order of Duvivier's, their commander, dated from the French camp at Grand Pré, 24 August, 1744. The next morning they marched down towards the Fort, under the cover of some hedges and fences, with colors flying. A shot from a gun, pointed at their colors, is said to have grazed between Duvivier, and a lieutenant, his brother. On this their advance was stopped, and they went back to their camp, beyond the hill. They chose then to make their attacks by night, when they would be less exposed to the English artillery. They accordingly came about the Fort, keeping up a continual fire at the parapet, and approaching under the cover of the hollow already mentioned to the edge of the parapet of the covered way, which was low, and had as yet no pallisades round it. This kind of attack kept the whole garrison in alarm all night. none being able to sleep when there were so many places of their ramparts of easy access ; and as the whole was revested with fir timber, not very hard to be set on fire.

It was after several such attacks that M. Duvivier sent his brother with a flag of truce to deliver to the governor a letter, wherein he intimated that he expected a seventy gun ship, a sixty and a forty, all manned one third above their complement, and a transport to bring two hundred and fifty men more, of regular troops, with cannon, mortars, and other implements of war. That as he knew they (the garrison) could not resist that force, and must then surrender, they could expect no other terms than to be made prisoners of war,—but that out of the esteem and regard he had for them, if Mascarene would enter into articles in which he (Duvivier) offered all that could be desired, he would ensure they should stand ; tho' nothing should be concluded until the fleet was in the basin, and the garrison were sure it was of the strength and provided with everything he mentioned ; and that in the meantime, if English succors arrived, the whole should go for nothing ; adding

that, as things were, he had even a sufficient strength with him to take the fort, having one hundred and fifty ladders ready made, with combustible matters, &c., to force us by assault : concluding with a desire that what should pass between him and governor Mascarene should go no further till concluded at the arrival of the French ships.

After Mascarene had read this letter by himself, he dismissed the officer who brought it, civilly, and told him he would send his answer the next morning before twelve o'clock. Having detained the officers of the garrison whom he had called together at the reception of the flag of truce, he communicated M. Duvivier's letter to them, and the next morning his answer to it, containing (as he says) in substance, that they were not reduced to such streights as to talk of a surrender, and that when the fleet he described should be in their Basin, they should consider what they were to do. The same officer returned to fetch the answer, which Mascarene gave to him in presence of the officers of the garrison, and dismissed him *à la Française*, with his compliments to Duvivier. The answer not suiting the French commander's views, he sent his brother again, desiring to see some officer of his acquaintance, proposing, in the meantime, a truce. The English were favorable to the last offer to give rest to their officers and men, who, for several nights past, had been continually on duty, in which Mascarene had taken his share, walking on the ramparts most part of the night. The officer whom Duvivier requested to see went accordingly to the French camp, and at his return, in presence of all the officers of the garrison, he told that mons. Duvivier appeared in his discourse to have no other design in what he proposed, than what would be allowed to be for the advantage of the garrison,—and that he said as nothing was to be concluded before they were thoroughly sensible of it, they ran no risk in accepting of his proposal,—and that in the meantime no hostilities should be committed on either side. The Governor found all his officers, except three or four, very ready to accept the proposal, the dread of being made prisoners of war having no small influence with most of them. Some things were spoken in regard to the condition of the

Fort—the temper of their men—the little support or even intelligence they had from home, with other similar remarks, which gave Mascarene much uneasiness; and as he saw he could not withstand the torrent without endangering the safety of the place, he gave way to it, reserving to himself not to sign any articles without extremity brought him to it. Three officers were then chosen out of the whole number present, who should hear mons. Duvivier on the purport of his letter, but they were not to mention anything but as preliminaries; and before Mascarene would sanction their going, he desired his officers to sign a representation of the state of the garrison, each giving the part that related to the branch under his charge, which was accordingly prepared, and this document was signed by all the officers of the garrison. The three officers then went to Duvivier, and brought back with them the draught of a capitulation from him. It contained everything the governor and garrison could expect or demand, with the condition that it was not to be made good until the French fleet should arrive, and also that it should become void in case of the previous coming of succors to the garrison. Mascarene was desired and even somewhat pressed to sign it, but he refused, and suggested that the commissioners might sign it, as preliminaries, if they thought proper. This being reported to Duvivier, did not satisfy him, and he told the three commissioners that he had gone further than he ought, and that the capitulation must be signed to him absolutely. That his intention was that the whole transaction should have been carried on between him and governor Mascarene only, and that therefore he would go on no further unless the English would come to his terms. On this he produced another draft of capitulation, which the three officers absolutely refused to take to Mascarene. They then parted, and agreed that the truce should continue no longer than the next day at twelve o'clock, unless Mascarene should send to him. This being reported to the governor, all the officers being present, he shewed them that Duvivier had no other intention than to entrap them by sowing division. The officers now concurred with, and supported the views of Mascarene, and unanimously

resolved that the truce should expire at the appointed time, viz., at noon next day. When this hour arrived, two guns were discharged from the Fort at some of the enemy who were drawing too near the garrison. At this time it was intimated to Mascarene that the men were uneasy, and threatened to seize their officers for parleying too long with the enemy. He was heartily glad to see this spirit revived, which some of his officers had told him was entirely depressed in the men. He immediately sent the Fort Major to acquaint them with what was past, and that all parley being broken off, hostilities were about to re-commence. On this the soldiers gave three cheerful huzzas, to the great satisfaction of the governor.

The French went on with their nightly attacks and daily skirmishes as usual, and became more and more contemptible to the garrison, as they found little more harm accruing to them than the disturbance in the night, which the governor endeavored to make up for by keeping as few men as he could for the day service, though the garrison went on with the works proper for their defence as opportunity offered. The garrison had been above three weeks in this situation when an armed brigantine and a sloop, bringing fifty Indians or rangers of woods, arrived from Boston; but as those auxiliaries who came before they were mostly without arms. Mascarene could not lodge them in the garrison, there being no barracks fitted up. He was obliged to borrow arms for them from amongst his men, there being none in store fit for service, with which he sent them to fetch some firewood which was ready cut in the Basin. (These men are called captain Goreham's Indian Rangers, in the *History of British Empire in America*, p. 184.) In the latter part of September, whilst the Rangers, supported by an armed brigantine which had convoyed the last reinforcement, were on this service, and a good many of the soldiers of the garrison were unarmed on that account, a wild Indian who had come with the Rangers, and who was left behind, straggled out too far, and was seized and carried off by the enemy. Mascarene sent a party out, in hopes to rescue him. This brought on a skirmish, in which the garrison lost one serjeant killed and had a private man

wounded, having reason, however, to believe that they had done some damage to the enemy. This occurred between the 20 and 25 September, o. s. Mascarene re-called the parties he had sent out. The next morning Duvivier decamped in very rainy weather, marching towards Mines. Traditions say that the French and Indians entrenched themselves for six weeks, living on venison, as they brought no supplies with them; that the French flag was shot away, and an Indian, who was making himself very conspicuous on a rock (still remaining), was killed by the fire from the Fort. The garrison was kept constantly on the alert, the women and children sleeping inside the Fort. In this last siege, the garrison lost in killed, a Mr. Allen, and also one serjeant—only. The brigantine returned to Boston, and the chief engineer went in her, his services being called for in New Hampshire.

As soon as the French and Indians had left the Annapolis river, the deputies of the inhabitants came before Mascarene in council, and represented the dread they had been kept under by Duvivier, the French commander, producing his written orders, threatening with death those who disobey. They assured him, however, that notwithstanding entreaties and threats, none of the inhabitants could be persuaded to take up arms and join the enemy. They were dismissed with some checks for their remissness in their past conduct, and exhortations as to the future. A few days after, deputies came from Mines, who testified their having withstood the same entreaties and menaces, and produced the same threatening orders concerning provisions and other assistance required from them, also a representation made by them to mons. Duvivier, on his offering to keep one hundred and fifty men, with officers, at that place, by which they dissuaded him from it, and obliged him to leave them and go to Chignecto. The missionaries also wrote to Mascarene, making their conduct on this occasion appear to have been far better than could have been expected of them. The deputies from Mines were no sooner despatched than Mascarene was acquainted early in the morning by one of the French inhabitants that he had been that night taken out of his bed by a party of French and

carried in the Basin on board a ship, which he supposed to be of forty or fifty guns, having in company a brigantine of about twenty guns, with officers and soldiers, which came in the evening before, and took two vessels laden with stores for the garrison from Boston, which entered the Basin the same tide after them. The governor called the officers together and acquainted them with this information, without telling them the way he had received it, nor of the capture of the English store ships; and he ordered every one to his charge, according to the disposition he had made for defence. The French commander of this armament, finding their land force gone, did not think he was strong enough to attack Annapolis, although a sloop, said to have three mortars, some cannon, and other warlike stores, came in the next day. After staying three days without doing anything else than taking wood and water, they all departed with their two prizes, and once more left the Fort free of enemies. Four days after the French ships left, the Massachusetts galley, brigantine and sloop arrived, convoying a schooner laden with provisions for the garrison. Captain Tyng commanded this force, which was inferior in strength to the French ships that had just left. After this the inhabitants of Chignecto sent their deputies, with excuses and statements, similar to those from Annapolis river and Mines. The French, meantime, had gone back to Louisbourg. Mascarene says: "Thus were the French, with their Clanns" "of Indians, obliged to leave us at last for this year, after" "making three several attempts, in which, tho' their mea-" "sures had been well concerted at first, yet were baffled at" "last; for we have heard since that the men-of-warr men-" "tioned by mons'r. Duvivier had everything ready to come" "to reduce us, butt that on some intelligence of an English" "squadron bound to these Northern parts, they dropped their" "enterprise, and sent the shipping above mentioned." "To" "the breaking the French measures; the timely succours" "received from the Governor of the Massachusetts," (Shirley), "and our French inhabitants refusing to take up arms against" "us, we owe our preservation." He also says: "If the inha-" "bitants had taken up arms, they might have brought three"

“or four thousand men against us.” He says the auxiliaries came victualled only for three months, so that from the first of October “most have had provisions from our stores.” “The” “company of Indians or wood Rangers come last from Bos-” “ton have prov’d of great service to this place. They fell” “soon after their arrival on a family of Indians, kill’d some” “and scattered the rest, and by their excursions they have” “kept off the Indian Ennemy, who in small partys rov’d” “continually about us, which hindered the Inhabitants from” “supplying of us with firewood, materials, and other neces-” “sarys we wanted. As our regular Troops are not us’d to” “that way of annoying the Ennemy, it would be a great” “advantage to this Place if such a company could be estab-” “lished here in time of war.” He says the soldiers are very bare of clothing, “which has obliged me to allow the men, as the” “cold season came on, to wrap themselves up in one of their” “Blanketts as they stand sentry.” Mascarene at this time was appointed lieutenant governor of the garrison, still commanding the province only as the president of H. M. council. (Mascarene states to the lords of Trade that it is necessary “to set Indians against Indians, for tho’ our men outdo them” “in bravery, yet, being unacquainted with their sculking way” “of fighting and scorning to fight under cover, expose them-” “selves too much to the Enemy’s shot.”) During the winter that ensued, the men of the garrison remained without a supply of clothing, although the Massachusetts auxiliaries were provided for. “To make up for that deficiency, the captains” “had agreed to send for Duffills, with which were made” “seven or eight watch coats for each company, to serve the” “men for a covering whilst on duty, a thing absolutely neces-” “sary, considering our winters here and the ragged condition” “of our men.” (Mascarene recommends captain Goreham, “who brought the Indian Rangers to his help from Boston, as well qualified for his post, and says he was an applicant along with Lemer cier for a grant of isle Sable.)

18 Dec’r., 1744. Alexandre Bourq, (called Bellehumeur), notary and receiver for Mines, &c., was suspended for neglect of duty, and René LeBlanc, of Grand Pré, appointed in his

stead.—M. de la Galissonière, was made Governor of Canada in 1744.—The attack upon Annapolis caused the province of Massachusetts to use every exertion for defence. Five hundred men were drafted for the protection of their frontier. Their garrisons in that direction were reinforced: at George's fort, 40 men; Pemaquid, 24 men; Richmond, 25; Brunswick, 12; and Saco, 20 were stationed. 300 men were employed as scouts, 65 of whom were posted in Falmouth, (Maine), and in July, 1744, a conference was held at St. George's fort between a delegation from Boston and the chiefs of the Penobscot tribe of Indians, called the Tarratines, where assurances of peace were exchanged.

On the 20 October, 1744, the governor of Massachusetts, with advice of his council, publicly declared war against the several Indian tribes Eastward of those on the Passamaquoddy. They offered premiums for the scalps of Indians, viz't.: £100 for that of a male Indian of 12 years or upwards; £50 for the scalp of a woman or child; and for a captive, £5 higher than for a scalp. These sums were of what was then termed the New Tenor paper currency, which was of much less value than sterling. Douglass says at one time the pound currency was only 1s. 10d. or 1s. 11d. sterling value. The scale of this new tenor currency was 20s. for three ounces of silver. [2 *Williamson, Maine*, 208, 217, 218.]

Duvivier, who had long anticipated an opportunity for recovering the country for France, was no doubt confident of success, as we may conclude from his memoir on the subject in 1735. He evidently at that time relied on the affection of the French inhabitants for their former sovereign, and it is not unlikely if the war had then taken place, that his views might have been realized. In the lapse of years many things occurred that diminished materially the influence on which he had calculated. Death had removed most of those inhabitants who had been born under French allegiance, as the country had been conquered 34 years. The kindness, moderation and justice habitually exercised by the English government at Annapolis, had made strong impressions on the better feelings of the people. The perfect freedom they enjoyed from tax-

ation or oppression, contrasted, no doubt, with the exactions of the companies who, under the former rule, had monopolized all trade, and kept the laboring population in effective slavery—the enjoyment of their religion, which was in no wise interrupted, except when a missionary made himself obnoxious by too palpable a desire to disturb the public peace—the system of government, by which their own chosen deputies and the notaries managed all their local affairs, had all contributed to reconcile them to the English rule. They could not be blind to the fact, that by the treaty of Utrecht the French crown had wholly abandoned and ceded the territory to England, by which an undisputed title to the country belonged to the English government, and most of them or their parents had taken an unconditional oath of allegiance at the instance of governor Philipps. All these considerations must have had their effect, at the time Duvivier came, to make the thinking part of the people averse to take up arms against the lawful owners of the land, however strong may have been their natural sympathy with France. The extreme courtesy, kindness and humanity of Mascarene—his politeness, especially to all the French inhabitants, and particularly to their missionaries, and the fact of his being himself French, altho' huguenot, must have had great effect in favor of the government in which he presided. We may be assured that the Latour family must have still retained a certain weight and popularity, owing to their long connection with the country, and the eminent position they originally held in it ; and no doubt Duvivier, in 1735, very reasonably reckoned on support arising from his ancestry. In the meantime, however, we may perceive that the perfect unity of that family no longer existed. Litigation had existed between madame Belleisle and her relatives, and, worst of all, Mrs. Campbell, (Agatha de la Tour), had contrived to concentrate in herself the titles of several branches of the family, and to sell the seignories they held to the English crown for some 3000 guineas or thereabouts, and had removed her abode to Kilkenny, in Ireland. When we consider all these matters, we will see more clearly how it was that the little army from Louisbourg, while it was largely reinforced by the Micmac

warriors, who had been always taught to believe that the French king had not ceded their territorial rights, received no effective aid from the French Acadians. Although there were always a portion of the inhabitants of Chignecto positively disaffected to English rule, in the other settlements of Cobequid, Piziquid, Grand Pré, &c., as well as on the Annapolis river, there were very few persons who were even suspected of willingly aiding the invasion; and Duvivier received as little support from the Acadians after he crossed the Avon (Piziquid) river, as prince Charles Stewart did in the next year after crossing the Tweed. Governor Mascarene's letters shew fully, how far either the missionaries or the people were at that time from giving effective assistance to the invading force from Louisbourg. It was, in fact, dependant on Indian auxiliaries, and the naval aid from France, which arrived too late. There is another thing that must have operated very unfavorably on Duvivier's fortunes. Coming with an armed force to Mines and Annapolis river, at both places he issued written orders in the name of the king of France, demanding obedience of the people as French subjects, most of them having been born under English allegiance, and threatening them with being delivered over to the Indians, or at once put to death in case of disobedience. We have remaining as many as twelve orders issued by him from the French camp of this nature, commanding the services of individuals by name—the furnishing horses and men to lead them—the bringing in powder horns—the swearing allegiance by the deputies and elders—furnishing ladders, pickaxes, shovels, cattle, wheat—baking of bread—to forbid buying arms—the supplying of shirts—furnishing canoes, &c. &c. Disobedience to these is usually menaced with death—sometimes with corporal punishment. I cannot help thinking that this harsh mode of obtaining supplies and aid, in which there is nothing to promise or infer any intention to pay for the articles required, could only have injured a military expedition of this nature. However it may have intimidated the people or put down resistance, it could have no tendency to strengthen their attachment—to conciliate opponents, or win friends to his enterprize. While in his

diplomacy with Mascarene and the officers of the garrison he displayed courtesy, tact, and great sagacity, he seems to have lost sight of the efficacy of kindness and moderation in dealing with the poor *habitants* of Mines and Annapolis river. I do not know whether we should attribute this to the pride of noblesse, then so predominant, which led to an undervaluing of the peasantry—to the harshness of military sentiment at that time, or to personal incapacity in DuVivier for the part he had to play; but from whatever cause it may have arisen, I look on it as having been fatal to his cause.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

(1.)

There is a document dated Mines, 10 Oct'r., 1744, addressed to captain de Ganne, signed by ten of the chief inhabitants, stating that the requisitions of grain, made on them by M. DuVivier, could not be obeyed, and that even a partial compliance therewith would involve them all in total ruin. That they are living under a mild and peaceable government, with which they have every reason to be contented, under which they beg to be left, and not be plunged in ruin, and reduced to extreme misery. DeGanne too writes to A. Bourg his consent to their petition, 13 Oct'r., 1744, n. s.

(2.)

12 October, 1744. It was resolved in council to prohibit all kind of clothing peculiar to the Indians, such as blanketings, strouds, &c., being carried up the bay.

(3.)

[Translated.]

Annapolis Royal, 13 October, 1744.

Mademoiselle.

I avow to you that having learned that your father had joined those who came to attack this fort, in hope of recovering his seigneurial rights, I did not doubt that all his family was of the same party; the more so as your brother was with the first party of Indians who were here in the past summer. But I have been agreeably surprised, and very glad to see by your letter, that you did not partake of these sentiments, but were disposed to adhere to the obligations which bind you to the government of the king of Great Britain. I should not wish the

esteem I have conceived for you to be in any manner changed. With respect to the protection you ask of me for your establishment at the river St. John, it is beyond my power to grant it to you. We cannot protect those who trade with our declared enemies, so you must make up your mind to remain on this side while the present troubles continue, and not to carry on commerce during that time with the other side. If you come to see us here, you will find me disposed to give you all the assistance you can reasonably expect from me, and to assure you that I am,

Mademoiselle,

Your friend and servant,

P. MASCARENE.

Mrs. Frances Bellisle Robishau.

[See letter to same lady 30 June, 1741.]

(4.)

In July, 1744, capt. Rouse captured many French fishing vessels in Newfoundland. In October, 1744, captain Spry, in the *Comet*, bomb, on the coast of Newfoundland, captured the *Labrador*, a French privateer, LeGrotz, captain, of 16 guns, 100 men. Some of the privateer's men had been Irish Roman Catholic soldiers of Philipps' regiment, who were captured at Canso.

CHAPTER V.

1745. Louisbourg is situated on the Atlantic or East coast of the island of cape Breton, of which it was the capital under the French government. Latitude of the light house $45^{\circ} 54'$ N., Longitude $59^{\circ} 58'$ W. The town was built towards the South East sea ; the streets regular and broad, with a large parade a small distance from the citadel, the inside of which was a fine square, near 200 feet each way ; the north side of the square was, when the French possessed it, the governor's house and the church ; the other three sides were taken up with barracks, bomb proof, in which place the French put their women and children during the siege. The greatest extent of the town was from the citadel to the stone gate, called the *Duc de Ponthievre*, which was more than half an English mile ; and to walk round all the ramparts, which were mounted with heavy cannon, is about 2 1-4 miles. The whole number of guns mounted on the walls and works round the town was 164, out of which only 8 were of brass, and 4 brass mortars, 3 iron mortars, and about 20 brass cohorns. The road from the town to the country led by the West gate, over a draw bridge ; and there was a circular battery of 16 guns, twenty-four pounders. There were three gates in the North-west of the town, which looked into the harbor, and had bridges run into the water, so that at any time any sort of goods might be landed with great ease. The island battery had 32 guns, all 42-pounders. This battery faced the harbor's mouth, which it commanded entirely, and had a double ditch on the land side to secure it. The entrance of the harbor was

near half a mile wide, and on the right hand side going in there was a light house, which stands on a high, rocky point, and which might be seen on a clear night 5 leagues off at sea. The depth of water at the entrance from 9 to 12 fathoms. The harbor lies open to the South-east, and is in breadth from N. W. to S. E. more than half an English mile in the narrowest place, and in length from N. E. to S. W. near six miles, with from 6 to 8 fathoms water ; good holding ground—the anchorage uniformly safe, and ships may run ashore on a soft, muddy bottom. In the North-east part of the harbour a fine careening wharf existed for men-of-war to heave down, and very safe from all winds. On the opposite side were the fishing stages, and room for 2000 boats to make their fish : in short it was a fine place to make an extensive and advantageous fishery, for you might load your boats twice a day in the harbor's mouth, and within call from the centry boat from the island and light-house battery. There was plenty of wood and sea coal about five leagues to the northward of the harbour. The town was fortified in every accessible part with a rampart of stone from 30 to 36 feet high, and a ditch 80 feet wide. A space of about 200 yards was left without a rampart on the side next to the sea. It was enclosed by a simple dike and line of pickets. The sea was so shallow in this place that it made only a narrow channel inaccessible from its numerous reefs to any shipping whatever, and this part was further protected from attack by the side fire from the bastions. There were six bastions and three batteries, containing embrasures for 148 cannon, of which 65 only were mounted, and 16 mortars. (In July, 1746, the English had 266 mounted cannon in the place.) The works of Louisbourg are said to have cost the French crown thirty millions of livres, and to have been twenty-five years in building ; and the place was so strong as to have been called the Dunkirk of America.

In the autumn of 1744, the bold idea of taking Louisbourg originated in New England. The soldiers and inhabitants who had been made prisoners at Canso by Duvivier, were carried to Louisbourg, and, after some detention there, were sent to Boston, according to the terms of capitulation granted

them. From such observations as they had been enabled to make of the fortifications, they expressed an opinion that the place might be reduced. William Vaughan, of Damariscotta, a son of lieutenant governor Vaughan, of New Hampshire, (born at Portsmouth, N. H., 12 Sept'r., 1703), is said to have been the first person who adopted the project of besieging Louisbourg. He had never been there himself, but from information he had received from fishermen with whom he dealt, he conceived the notion of taking it by surprise in the depth of winter, and supposed that 1500 men could effect it; but Pepperell calls colonel Bradstreet the first projector of the expedition.

William Shirley, an English gentleman, bred to the law, after a few years residence in Massachusetts, was, in 1740, made governor, on Belcher's removal. In the autumn of 1744, Shirley wrote to the British government, representing the danger of a renewed attack on Nova Scotia by the French in the ensuing spring, and praying for some naval force to assist in its defence. These letters he sent by captain Ryal, an officer of the garrison, made prisoner at Canso, who, he said, "from his particular knowledge of Louisbourg, and of the" "great consequence of the acquisition to cape Breton, and" "the preservation of Nova Scotia, he hoped would be of considerable service to the northern colonies, with the lords of" "the admiralty." In consequence of this application, orders were dispatched in January, 1745, to commodore Warren, then in the West Indies, to proceed northward in the spring, with a force sufficient to protect the colonies and distress the enemy, and to consult with governor Shirley, who was ordered to assist Warren's squadron with transports, men and provisions; but the orders directed to Shirley were enclosed to Warren, and were not known in New England until April, 1745.

In the beginning of January, 1745, governor Shirley sent a message to both houses of the assembly of Massachusetts, then in session, informing them that he had an important business to communicate, which required secrecy, and requested that they should take oaths of secrecy for a limited time. This

they did, and he then laid before them the plan of his enterprise for taking Louisbourg. After much investigation, they resolved against it; but subsequently a petition from merchants of Boston, Salem and Marblehead, induced them to reconsider the subject, and the project was finally adopted on the 26 January by a majority of only one vote. The land forces to be raised were estimated at 4000. Though carried with such difficulty, as soon as the decision was arrived at, the whole province appeared to be unanimous and zealous in the execution. Messengers were sent to the other colonies as far as Pennsylvania, to request their aid, but the New England provinces only took a part. Connecticut agreed to raise 500 men; New Hampshire, 300; and Rhode Island, 300.

William Pepperell, of Kittery, a merchant and a colonel of militia, of upright character, and popular and engaging manners, was born 27 June, 1696, in New England. His father was an Englishman from Devonshire. He was therefore in his 49th year, and was appointed commander-in-chief of the New England land forces on this expedition, with the rank of lieutenant general. The next officer in rank was Mr. Wolcott, of Connecticut, then sixty-six years old, who had marched with Nicholson in 1711 in the projected invasion of Canada. He headed the Connecticut contingent, with the rank of major general. Samuel Waldo, a native of Boston, and a colonel of militia and member of assembly, was named third in command, with rank of a brigadier general. Captain Edward Tyng, son of the Mr. Tyng who was named as governor of Nova Scotia in 1691, was made commodore of the New England naval force. Among the other officers of distinction were colonel John Bradstreet, afterwards a major general; colonel Jeremiah Moulton, who commanded at Norridgewock in 1724, and was born in 1688; lieutenant colonel Messervé, who died at the second siege of Louisbourg in 1758; colonel Gorham; lieutenant colonel Richard Gridley, an artillery officer, who fought on the American side at Bunker Hill in 1775; Mr. Vaughan, who originated the expedition, and now went with it as a colonel unattached; and captain Rouse, in command of the Shirley

galley, one of the Massachusetts war vessels. The land forces were from

Massachusetts, (exclusive of officers),	3250
New Hampshire, (inclusive of officers),	304
Connecticut, do. do.	516
	<hr/>
In all,	4070
	<hr/>

The Rhode island contingent did not arrive until it was too late to assist in the siege. The sea forces of Massachusetts employed were three vessels of 20 guns each, two of 16 guns, one of 12 guns, and two of 8 guns, making eight armed vessels. One armed ship, hired from Rhode island, of 20 guns ; two armed vessels, of Connecticut, of 16 guns each, and two vessels of New Hampshire, each having 14 guns, made the colonial sea force amount to thirteen armed vessels in all, carrying a total of 200 cannon. Ten cannon, 18-pounders, were obtained for the army upon loan from New York. [2 *Hutch., Mass.*, 418.]

On the 23d March, an express boat, which had been sent to commodore Warren, arrived at Boston with excuses from him for not joining. This governor Shirley made known to generals Pepperell and Waldo, but to no other person. By this time the armament was ready, and the general, Pepperell, having embarked in the Shirley galley, captain John Rouse, with the transports in her convoy, they set sail from Nantasket on 24 March, and arrived at Canso, the place of rendezvous appointed, on the 4 April. The New England land and sea forces were detained for three weeks at Canso, in consequence of the winter's ice still adhering to the Eastern shores of cape Breton,—Gabus (or *Chapeau rouge*) bay, the place designed for landing the troops, being filled with ice, and all landing there being impracticable. While there they built a block-house, and put eight cannon into it, (nine-pounders), and stationed a garrison there of two companies, of 40 men each, being 80 men, exclusive of their officers. On the 16 April, one of their ships, the *Cæsar*, captain Snelling, captured a French brigantine from Martinique, with a large West Indian

cargo ; and on the 18th April the French ship *Renommée*, of 30 guns, fell in with the Massachusetts vessels, and, after a fight, escaped by outsailing them. After Mr. Warren's refusal, he received by the sloop *Hind* an order from England to repair to Boston with his squadron, and while on his way thither, on the 12 April, he learned that the fleet had sailed for Canso. On the 22 and 23 April, (o. s.,) Warren reached Canso with his squadron of four men-of-war, and after conferring, by letter, with general Pepperell, left almost immediately and proceeded to cruise off Louisbourg, being joined from time to time by six other ships of the navy, three of them coming from England and three from their station at Newfoundland. He thus had four 60-gun ships, five of 40 guns, and one of 50. Before leaving Canso, Pepperell drew up and reviewed his forces on Canso hill, and formed the detachments he meant to employ. Two armed sloops were sent thence to Bay Verte, to take or destroy vessels understood to be bringing provisions from that place to Louisbourg, and at the same time a party of 270 men, under command of colonel Moulton, and convoyed by an armed sloop from New Hampshire, was sent to St. Peter's, a small French settlement in cape Breton, with orders to take possession of it—burn the houses, and demolish the Fort, which they effected. One object of this capture was to prevent information of the movements of the English forces being carried to Louisbourg, as it was Shirley's idea as well as Vaughan's to take the place by surprise.

On sunday, 29 April, (o. s.,) the expedition sailed from Canso (having re-embarked), in four divisions of transports, and having for convoy one armed snow, and two armed sloops of the New England vessels of war, and expected to reach, the same day, *Chapeau rouge*, (or *Gabarus*), a bay next to Louisbourg harbor, on the South, both ports being on the Eastern or Atlantic shore of cape Breton ; but the wind failing them, they were obliged to lay aside the thoughts of surprising the enemy, nor did they reach *Gabarus* until monday, 30 April, when about 8 o'clock, A. M., they were off the mouth of the bay. They were observed by the enemy, who gave an alarm by firing a number of cannon. About 9 or 10 o'clock, A. M., the fleet

having the main body of the troops on board, came to anchor in Gabarus bay, at about two miles distance from Flat point cove. The French continued to fire cannon, and rang the bells in the town, to call in their people from the suburbs and outskirts, and sent out of the town a detachment of about 150 men, said to have been chiefly regulars, under the command of Morpin, the well known privateer captain, and M. Boularderie, lately an officer of the army in France, in order to oppose the landing of the English. Pepperell made a feint of landing a party of his men to the right of the French party at Flat point cove, in order to draw them thither, which had its effect. On a signal from the vessels, the boats returned and joined another party of boats under the stern of one of the English ships, and then, under protection of the fire of the ships' cannon, about one hundred of the English were landed higher up the bay, before the enemy could get up with them. No sooner had they landed than they briskly attacked the French party, who had the advantage of the wood as a cover; and after exchanging some shot, the English killed six of their opponents upon the spot—took as many prisoners, among whom was M. Boularderie—wounded several more, and forced the remainder to make a precipitate flight towards the town, who lost further on their retreat. The English loss is stated on this occasion to have been only two men slightly wounded. The English landed about 2000 men on the same day, 30th April, without further opposition. During this time the French burnt a number of houses between the town and the grand battery, and sunk some vessels in the harbor. On the 1 May, the remainder of the troops were landed, and lieut. colonel Vaughan conducted 400 men through the woods within sight of the city, and saluted it with three cheers. His detachment consisted chiefly of New Hampshire troops, and they marched in the night to the N. E. part of the harbor, where they burnt the warehouses containing pitch, tar, &c., and staved a large quantity of wine and brandy. The smoke of this fire being driven by the wind into the grand battery, so terrified the French that they abandoned it and retired to the city, after having thrown their powder into a well, spiked the

guns, and cut the halliards of the flag staff. The next morning, 2 May, as Vaughan was returning with 13 men only, he crept up the hill which overlooked the battery, and observed that the chimnies of the barracks were without smoke, and the staff without a flag. With a bottle of brandy which he had in his pocket, (though he never drank spirituous liquors), he hired one of his party, a Cape Cod Indian, to crawl in at an embrasure, and open the gate. He then wrote to general Pepperell : " May it please your honor to be informed that by the grace " " of God, and the courage of thirteen men, I entered the " " Royal battery about 9 o'clock, and am waiting for a rein- " " forcement and a flag." Before either could arrive, one of the men climbed up the staff, with a red coat in his teeth, which he fastened by nail to the top. This piece of triumphant vanity alarmed the city, and immediately 100 men were despatched in boats to retake the battery ; but Vaughan, with his small party on the naked beach, and in face of a smart fire from the city and the boats, kept them from landing until his reinforcements arrived. This account of taking the Grand battery is given by Belknap, v. 2, p. 211, 217. In the official journal of the siege it is thus mentioned : On May 2nd, a detachment of 400 men was sent round behind the hills to the N. E. harbour, where they got about midnight, and burnt the enemy's houses and stores, about a mile distant from the Grand battery ; and on the 3 May we took possession of the Grand battery, which the enemy had deserted, owing, as it is supposed, to the surprize they were in from the firing the houses in the neighborhood. They had abandoned this battery in so much hurry and confusion, that they had only spiked up their guns without breaking off any of the trunnions, or much damaging their carriages.

There were 28 cannon (42-pounders), and two (18-pounders), 350 shells of 13 inches, 30 shells of 10 inches, and a quantity of shot, abandoned in the Grand battery. English workmen were set to drill the cannon, who soon got several of them cleared, and they were turned on the town with effect, every shot lodging within the town, while many fell into the roof of the citadel. Pepperell says he cannot conceive of any reasons

why the enemy should desert so fine a fortification, but extreme want of men. The distance from the Grand battery to the Island battery is 4800 feet, and to the town 5913 feet. Within a week about 20 of the guns had been got ready for service, four of which bore on the town, most of the others commanding the mouth of the harbor. The landing of the artillery, stores and provisions, proved difficult and fatiguing, there being no harbor there, in Gabarus, and the surf running very high, so that for days together nothing could be got on shore ; and when anything subject to damage from being wet was to be landed, the men had to wade high into the water to save it. They had no clothes to shift themselves, but poor defence against the weather. The nights were very cold, and, in general, attended with thick, heavy fogs. Thus it took near a fortnight before all the stores were got on shore, and many boats and some stores were lost in spite of all care taken. The English got their small mortars and cohorns to a hill about 400 yards distant from the town, and the large one to a hill near that, from which they threw some shot into the town ; but the bed of the large one, on which their chief dependance lay, gave way twice, and put them to difficulty. The French twice sallied out against the battery, but were repulsed. Their fire from the town killed one man and wounded two or three. The English threw up a fascine battery on the West of the town.

On 7 May, by advice of a council of war, at which Warren attended, Pepperell sent in a summons to M. Duchambon, proposing terms of surrender. He replied that his answer to it must be at the cannon's mouth. On the 8 May, the English established a battery of seven guns at the foot of Green hill, behind a little pond, and fronting the king's bastion. This battery never ceased firing during the siege, and proved very effective. The besieged made a sally this day, but were soon repulsed. On the 13th, a snow from Bourdeaux got in, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English men-of-war and colony cruisers. An ineffectual attempt was made from the Grand battery to destroy her by means of a fire ship. Colonel Moulton rejoined the besiegers, with the detachment that he

had led to St. Peters ; having destroyed that settlement and taken some plunder and prisoners there, burnt four schooners and brought one off. The greatest part of the inhabitants made their escape. Captain Jacques was killed, and captain Stanford wounded, in a conflict with Indians at *baie Verte*. Meanwhile, Warren sent some of the cruisers to St. Anne's and Niganiche, who burned about forty houses and as many small vessels. Sickness prevailed at this time among the besiegers so greatly, being a diarrhœa occasioned by encamping on damp ground, that they had not more than 2100 effective men, of whom 600 had gone in quest of parties of French and Indians. On the 16 May, the cohorns and 9 and 11 inch mortars were removed to a hill within 1320 feet of the West gate, whence they annoyed the garrison. A party of one hundred men left the town during the night, and landed near Light-house point, and next day attempted to surprise the English who were posted at the light-house. Forty of the latter advanced on them, and a conflict took place in a wood, where the French were defeated, losing five killed, and a lieutenant wounded and made prisoner. The rest escaping, united with some other French and eighty Indians about Miré, and were soon after again attacked and defeated by the English on scouting parties. The English scouts and cruisers at different times burnt most of the smaller French settlements, and made about 300 prisoners.

On the 17 May, the *advanced* battery was raised, bearing W. by N., 1-2 N., 750 feet distant from the West gate, and one 18-pounder mounted ; and on the 18th, a second 18-pounder, and two 42-pounders, were mounted there. These guns were brought there from the Grand battery, upwards of two miles by the road, over a very rough, rocky, hilly way. From this battery the West gate was beaten down, and a breach made in the wall adjoining, and the North East battery damaged, and rendered in a great measure useless. Besides the cannonading, the fire of musketry on both sides was much employed for hours daily. On the 20th May, three additional guns were mounted at the advance battery. In the meantime the French erected two cavaliers, of two guns each, upon the

rampart of one of the faces of the king's bastion,—planted a great number of swivel guns upon the wall facing the harbor ; and to secure the low wall at the South-east part of the town, added to the top of it a plank work, picketted so as to raise it to the same height with the rest of the wall, and a range of palissadoes, at a little distance within the walls, and raised a little battery of three small guns upon the parapet of the lower South bastion fronting *cap Noir*, a small hill which very much commands the town.

On the 18 May, the *Vigilant*, a French ship of war of 64 guns and 560 men, commanded by the marquis *de la Maison-forte*, laden with military stores for the relief of the garrison, was met by the *Mermaid*, 40 guns, captain Douglass, who suffered her to chase him until he drew her within command of commodore Tyng, and the other vessels cruising with him, when the *Vigilant* struck. This took place off the harbor, in sight of the camp.—The besiegers erected five fascine batteries, the last called Tidcomb's, on 20 May, afterwards mounted with five 42-pounders, bearing N. W. by W., about 2400 feet distant from the West gate.

As might be expected from militia, a want of order and discipline was very apparent in the New England troops. They presented a formidable front to the enemy, but the rear was a scene of confusion and frolic. While some were on duty at the trenches, others were racing, wrestling, pitching quoits, firing at marks or at birds, or running after shot from the enemy's guns, for which they received a bounty, and the shot were sent back to the city. They knew nothing of regular approaches, but took advantage of the night ; and when they heard Mr. Bastide's proposals for zigzags and epaulements, they made merry with these terms of art, and went on in their inartificial mode.

On the 25 May, the 13-inch mortar burst, owing to a flaw in the shell, which broke in the mortar, and wounded a bombardier. On the eighth day after, one received from Boston was at work in its place. The transportation of the cannon was carried on with almost incredible labor and fatigue, for the ground over which they had to be drawn consisted chiefly of

a deep morass, varied here and there with small patches of rocky and hilly land. While wheels were used, the cannon several times sunk entirely under the surface. Cattle could not be employed in this service, but the whole was to be done by men, who were themselves often up to their knees in mud. The work had to be done by night, and the nights were cold, and mostly foggy. The tents of the men were also bad, as no proper materials for them were then to be had in New England. The men, however, were not discouraged, nor did they murmur at their tasks, which were, after some time, lightened by the adoption of sledges of about 16 feet long, five feet wide and one foot in thickness, on which the cannon could be better removed. These were constructed by lieut. colonel Messervé, of the New Hampshire troops, who was a ship carpenter. The French had thought the roads impassable for such heavy bodies, but the perseverance and resolution of the troops, and the experience they had in the removal of heavy weights, aided them in their Herculean labor. All the powder, shot and shells, which they daily used in the siege batteries, they had to carry over the same roads on their backs. Tidcomb's battery did great execution against the Circular battery, by means of which, and the advance battery, not only the West gate was demolished, but a large breach was made in the wall to within ten feet of the bottom of the ditch. The Circular battery was almost entirely demolished, but three guns out of sixteen being left standing, and those so exposed to the N. W. battery that nobody could keep the platform. The West flank of the King's bastion was almost wholly ruined, but in some measure repaired with timber. This battery, the advance battery, and the light-gun battery, were sustained by 1350 men. After many fruitless preparations for an attack on the Island battery, it was attempted on the night of 26 May by a party of 400 men, who went there in whale boats very thin and slight, so that a few musket balls could sink them ; but from the strength of the place, and the advantage the enemy had of being under cover, and our men being exposed in open boats, the surf running very high, and their not being thoroughly acquainted with the best place of landing, they were repulsed,

with the loss of about 60 killed and drowned, and 116 taken prisoners. One Brookes, an American officer, had nearly struck the flag of the Fort ; it was actually half down, when a Swiss trooper in the French service clove his skull. On 6 June, the French had two guns run out of new embrasures cut through the parapet near the West gate, which soon began to play with great fury, and the besiegers were obliged to turn three guns against them. In three hours they dismounted one and silenced the other for that day. The 9 and 11 inch mortars, with constant use straining their beds, occasioned their being removed to this battery, which was nearer the enemy, as were also the cohorns. The bombs in great number fell all around, but did very little damage. There were 10 men killed, and 15 or 16 wounded, several of them with musket balls. In the meantime the besieged worked constantly in the night to barricade the gateway, where a breach was made. They also made a retrenchment across the Circular battery—raised another work to cover their magazine, and laid a boom before the town, to hinder boats from landing under their walls. At the same time the English men-of-war and cruisers were very diligent, and took several prizes. The ground was so uneven, and the New Englanders so scattered, that the French could form no estimate of their numbers, nor could they learn it from the prisoners taken at the Island battery on the 26 May, who, on their examination, as if by previous agreement, represented the number to be much greater than it really was. At this time, besides the damage done to the roofs of the houses, the West gate was defaced, the adjoining curtain and flank were much hurt, but no practicable breach was made by the random bombarding.

Upon the capture of the Vigilant, it was thought that if the fact were communicated to the besieged, it would have an effect. The general and commodore accordingly devised an expedient for that purpose. Some English prisoners had been used with cruelty, and the general requested the captain of the Vigilant, the marquis *de la Maisonforte*, to visit all the English ships in which there were French prisoners, and observe their condition. The marquis being satisfied that they were

all well treated, was then requested to write to the governor of the city to that effect, and to request the like favor for the English, who were prisoners. With this he complied, and on 7 June, captain McDonald went to Louisbourg with a flag of truce to deliver the letter of the marquis, and was carried into the presence of the governor and his chief officers, who, supposing him not to understand French, spoke unguardedly, so that he ascertained that they had not before been apprized of the capture of the *Vigilant*, and were much disturbed by it.

The island battery was a strong fort at the entrance of the harbor, situate on a small rock of about 20 yards broad and 200 long, and almost inaccessible, the battery being in front and a guard house and barracks behind. It was mounted with thirty 28-pounders, seven swivels, and two brass 10-inch mortars, and its garrison consisted of 180 men. It being of the utmost consequence, in the opinion of the besiegers, to obtain possession of this post,—and after the unsuccessful attack made on it by boats, that plan being considered impracticable,—it was determined to erect a battery on a high cliff near the light house, opposite to it, which would be 3400 feet distant, in such a manner as to be exposed to the fire of but four of the enemy's guns, and at the same time to flank a line of above twenty of their guns. Lieut. colonel Gridley was employed on this work, and notwithstanding the almost insuperable difficulties that attended it, it was happily effected, and two 18-pounders mounted the 11 June. The difficulties the English had to encounter were the transporting their cannon in boats from Gabarus bay to the Eastward of the light house—getting up the bank of the shore, which was a steep, craggy rock, and hauling them a mile and a quarter over an incredibly bad way of hill, rocks and morasses. Powder growing short, the fire of the besiegers had for some days very much slackened, and the French began to creep a little out of the casemates and covers where they had hid themselves during its greatest fierceness. This day, 11 June, being the anniversary of the accession of king George 2d, as a mode of honoring it, orders were given for a general discharge of all the cannon from every battery, at 12 o'clock. This was done, and it was

followed by an incessant fire all the rest of the day. It was determined, as soon as possible after the arrival of the Canterbury and Sunderland, to make a general attack by sea and land. Accordingly, they arriving the next day, all the transports were ordered off to take out the spare masts, yards, and other lumber of the men-of-war. The soldiers were employed in gathering moss to barricade their nettings, and 600 men were sent on board the king's ships at the request of Warren. The large mortar was ordered to the Light-house battery; and a new supply of powder coming in, the fire was more fierce from this time to the 15th than ever. Four more guns had been mounted on the Light-house battery by the 14th, and a force of 320 men stationed there. When the large mortar began to play from it upon the Island battery, out of 19 shells discharged, 17 fell within the fort, and one of them upon the magazine. The shot from the cannon ranged quite through the barrack on the island, and its garrison being so much exposed to its effects, some of them in terror fled the fort and ran into the water for refuge.

The Grand battery being held by the English, the Island battery so much distressed, the North-east battery open to the fire of the besieger's advance battery, so that it was not possible for its defenders to stand to their guns,—all the guns of the Circular battery, except three, having been dismounted, and its wall almost entirely broken down,—the West gate demolished, and a large breach made in the wall adjoining,—the West flank of the King's bastion nearly ruined,—the houses and other buildings in ruins, (but one house in the town remaining uninjured), and the ammunition of the besieged beginning to fail, they sent out a flag of truce to the camp, desiring time to consider upon articles of capitulation. This was granted until the next morning, when they brought out articles, which were refused, and others were sent in by Pepperell and Warren, to which Duchambon assented.

Terms of Capitulation agreed to June 15, 1745, for the surrender of the town and fortresses of Louisbourg, and the territories thereunto belonging, between commodore Warren and general Pepperell, on the English side, and M. du Chambon, the governor of Louisbourg :—

1. That if your own vessels shall be found insufficient for the transportation of your persons and effects to France, we will provide such a further number of vessels as may be sufficient for that purpose ; also any provisions necessary for the voyage, that you cannot furnish yourselves with.

2. That all the commission officers belonging to the Garrison, and the inhabitants of the Town, may remain in their houses with their families, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion ; and no person shall be suffer'd to misuse or molest any of them, till such time as they can conveniently be transported to France.

3. That the non-commission officers and soldiers shall, immediately upon the surrender of the Town and fortress, be put on board some of his Britannick Majesty's ships, till they can also be transported to France.

4. That all your sick and wounded shall be taken tender care of, in the same manner with our own.

5. That the commander-in-chief now in the Garrison shall have liberty to send off two covered waggons, to be inspected only by one officer of ours, that no warlike stores may be contained therein.

6. That if there are any persons in the town or garrison which you shall desire may not be seen by us, they shall be permitted to go off masked.

“ The above we do consent to, and promise on your compliance with the following conditions, viz. : ”

1. That the surrender and due performance of every part of the aforesaid premises be made and completed as soon as possible.

2. That as a security for the punctual performance of the same, the Island battery, or one of the batteries of the town,

shall be deliver'd, with all the artillery and warlike stores thereunto belonging, into the possession of his Britannick Majesty's troops, before six of the clock, this afternoon,

3. That his Britannick Majesty's ships of war, now lying before the port, shall be at liberty to enter the harbour of Louisbourg, without any molestation, as soon after six of the clock this afternoon as the commander-in-chief of the said ships shall think fit.

4. That none of the officers, soldiers, nor inhabitants in Louisbourg, who are subjects of the French king, shall take up arms against his Britannick Majesty, or any of his allies, until after the expiration of the full term of 12 months from this time.

5. That all subjects of his Britannick Majesty who are now prisoners with you, shall be immediately delivered up to us.

P. WARREN.

W. PEPPERELL.

"It having been desired by the governor of Louisbourg that his troops might march out of the Garrison with their arms and colours, and to be then delivered into the custody of commodore Warren and Mr. Pepperell, till the said troops' arrival in France, and to be then returned to them, the same was consented to."

Hostages were then exchanged, and the city and fortresses were surrendered on the 17 June, o. s. The loss of the English during the siege was computed to be 101 killed, and 30 who died of sickness. The enemy is supposed to have lost over 300 men.

Duchambon says: "The fire of the enemy from cannon "and mortars was without cessation from the beginning of" "the siege,—the houses of the city were perfectly riddled" "with balls.—the flank of the king's bastion was demolished," "—the wooden and turf embrazures that have been frequently repaired were destroyed, and a breach was made in" "the Dauphin gate, through which an entrance was now" "practicable by the help of fascines, which the enemy were" "bringing forward for two days to the advanced battery, and "

"all this had been done in the face of our cannon and muskettry, and which were served with an activity and vigor beyond expectation. This is proved, monsieur, by a fact that of the 67,000 kegs of powder we had at the commencement of the siege, there remained on the 17 June but 47 in the city, which quantity was absolutely necessary on the eve of capitulation. We had also expended all our shells of 9 and 12 inches.—Every one was worn down with fatigue and watching; and of the thirteen hundred men at the beginning of the siege, fifty were killed and ninety-five wounded, and many were sick from the hardships they endured." On the 16 June, the inhabitants of the city sent the governor a petition, requesting him to capitulate. General Pepperell says: "We gave the town about 9000 cannon balls and 600 bombs before the enemy surrendered." In Duchambon's letter to count d'Argenson, dated Belle isle road, 13 August, 1745, he says the English had 13,000 sea and land forces, and he but 1300, and attributes his yielding to want of powder and people.

On the 17 June, the French garrison marched out with arms, music and standards, after a siege of 49 days, (Pepperell himself marching in at the head of his troops by the South-west gate,) and paraded in a line between the casemates in front of the French troops, who were drawn up in a parallel line in front of the barracks to receive them. Salutations were exchanged, and formal possession taken. A banquet was prepared by Pepperell for the officers of his army. Several clergymen were present, and the senior of them, old Mr. Moody, of York, the uncle of Mrs. Pepperell, was called on to ask a blessing at the feast. The friends of Moody felt somewhat anxious lest he should disgust the guests by a prolix performance such as he often indulged in; but his temper was so irritable that none would venture to suggest to him that brevity would be acceptable. They were agreeably disappointed and highly gratified by his saying grace as follows: "Good Lord, we have so many things to thank thee for, that time will be infinitely too short to do it. We must therefore leave it for the work of eternity."

“ Bless our food and fellowship upon this joyful occasion, for ”
“ the sake of Christ, our Lord. Amen.”

By the capitulation the inhabitants as well as the garrison were included in the engagement not to bear arms against the British for twelve months. The garrison which surrendered comprized about 600 regular soldiers and 1300 militia, half of whom were called in from the neighboring settlements. These with near 2000 inhabitants, and 560 the crew of the Vigilant, making in all 4130 persons, were sent to France embarked in 14 cartel vessels bound to Rochefort, of these 1822 went *viâ* Boston, and 76 *viâ* New Hampshire. Seventy-six cannon and mortars and other property to a great amount fell into the victors' hands, and the town was found to contain provisions and ammunition enough for five or six months. [There seems some contradiction in the different accounts as to what powder and shot remained in the place at the time of the surrender. The strongest testimony leads to the conclusion that they ran short of gunpowder.] It is said that on entering the fortress and viewing its strength, and the plenty and variety of its means of defence, the stoutest hearts were appalled and the impracticability of carrying it by assault was fully demonstrated. We must bear in mind however that the blockade of the port was very effective, and the place was thus invested so as to preclude any relief getting into it, so that it must eventually have fallen, though by a slower but very destructive process. A schooner was dispatched to Boston with the news of the conquest, which arrived there on the 3 July about 1 A. M. At break of day the bells rang out and that day and night were devoted to rejoicing.—As it was expected at Louisbourg, that French vessels would arrive, the French flag was kept flying to decoy them. Two East Indiamen and one South Sea ship were captured by the squadron at the mouth of the harbor. These prizes were valued at £600,000. The place was kept under the joint authority of Warren and Pepperell. Governor Shirley arrived there on the 17 August, and he persuaded the New England militia to continue in the service beyond the term for which they had enlisted. The

Vigilant, Chester and Louisbourg (five ships) staid there over the winter. We may conclude that a large garrison was left to preserve this important conquest, particularly as we find, three years after, that there were nearly 4000 troops stationed there.

The information of this event having reached London on the 23 July; at noon, the Lords of the Regency in council ordered the Tower and Park guns to be fired in honor of the victory. This took place at 3 P. M. In the evening the public offices, &c., were illuminated, and the night concluded with bonfires, ringing of bells and all the other demonstrations of joy then usual.

Pepperrell was made a baronet, Warren promoted to be rear admiral of the blue. Commissions were issued to both Pepperrell and Shirley, as colonels, authorizing them each to raise a regiment in America, as part of the regular army. No prize money was awarded to the New England troops, but the expenses of the expedition were reimbursed in 1748, to the colonies interested, by Parliament.

This siege, so suddenly resolved on by the colonists, so boldly undertaken, so resolutely persevered in, until crowned with complete success, is an event of no ordinary character. That a colony like Massachusetts, at that time far from being rich or populous, should display such remarkable military spirit and enterprize, aided only by the smaller province of New Hampshire, that they should equip both land and sea forces to attack a redoubtable fortress called by British officers impregnable, and on which the French crown had expended immense sums,—that the British commodore should give such hearty aid and concurrence, and that such entire harmony existed between him and Pepperrell, and among those who were under their respective commands, that 4000 rustic militia, whose officers were as inexperienced in war as their men, although supported by naval forces, should conquer the regular troops of the greatest military power of the age, and wrest from their hands a place of unusual strength, all appear little short of miracle. No better evidence can be found to shew that the British race had

not in any way degenerated from the high qualities of their nation, although changing their homes for the wild regions of America. The traditions of the border wars with the Canadians and Indians no doubt operated in producing a military disposition among the people of New England ; but many years had elapsed since any actual service of that kind had been called for, and I do not know that there is a name among the members of this expedition connected with previous operations of battle, except that of colonel Moulton, who had held a command in the raid of Norridgewock twenty years before. The merit of projecting this expedition has been attributed to colonel Vaughan, and to Mr. Robert Auchmuty, Judge Advocate of the Court of Admiralty in New England ; but Pepperell, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle of June 19, 1745, written immediately after the capture, says expressly that colonel Bradstreet was the first projector of the expedition. Auchmuty's project, which is printed in the London Magazine for 1745, differed from that acted on, as he suggested that 3000 colonials should be united with 2000 regulars and 6 ships of the line. Vaughan probably urged on the notion, and much was due to governor Shirley, who gave shape and form to the plan—drew up excellent suggestions and directions, leaving yet every latitude of discretion to Pepperell, and used every exertion to promote and provide for the expedition. Governor Benning Wentworth, of New Hampshire, wisely placed his men absolutely under Pepperell's command. The importance of this victory can hardly be overrated. It certainly saved Nova Scotia to the English, and perhaps secured New England from serious dangers, while it infused a spirit of self-reliance in the British colonists. The harmony that subsisted between Warren and Pepperell had, as the former says in a letter to the duke of Newcastle, soon grown into a strict friendship. They had much difficulty to encounter. The town was in ruins. The troops not habituated to discipline or obedience. The water was unwholesome—the climate severe—firewood was scarce, and rum was over-abundant. Warren had ordered all the rum in the place to be lodged in the citadel casemates, which had been effected to the amount of 64,000 gallons

(equal to more than 1000 hogsheads), and yet so much had escaped his efforts, that Admiral Knowles, his successor in the government, says 1000 men would be daily drunk. It is not to be wondered at, then, that sickness prevailed and mortality ensued. In January, 1745-6, Warren and Pepperell tell the duke "out of the number of 2740 alive at the time of Mr." "Shirley's departure, we have buried near 500 men, and have" "near 1100 sick;" and in May, Pepperell states that about 1200 of the troops had died of fever. They recommended the dismantling and abandonment of the Block-house at Canso, for want of men to support it—also that a fort and settlement should be established at St. Anne's.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

(1.)

Commodore Warren's Squadron before Louisbourg.

Eltham,	40 guns,	Capt. Durell.
Superbe,	60	
Launceston,	40	" Calmady.
Mermaid,	40	" Douglas.
Hector,	40	" Cornwal.
Princess Mary,	60	" Edwards.
Canterbury,	60	
Sunderland,	60	
Lark,	40	(Store ship.)
Vigilant,	64	Prize taken 18 May.
(James Douglas got command of her.)		

(2.)

Sea forces of Massachusetts, &c.

Ship Massachusetts frigate,	20 guns,	Capt. Edw. Tyng.
Cæsar,	20	" Snelling.
Shirley galley,	20	" John Rouse.
Snow Prince of Orange,	16	" Smithurst.
(The Prince of Orange was sunk in a storm, and the crew drowned.)		

Brig Boston packet,	16 guns,	Capt. Fletcher.
Sloop,	12	" Donahew.
"	8	" Saunders.
"	8	" Bosch.
Sloop hired from Rhode Island,	20	" Griffin.
Connecticut vessels—one of	16	" Thompson.
Colony sloop,	16	
Of New Hampshire—		
Province sloop, about 14 guns.		
Of Rhode island—		
Colony sloop, about 14 guns.		

(3.)

Officers in Pepperell's army at the reduction of Louisbourg, 1745.

1. York County.—Pepperell's Regiment.—Colonel Bradstreet, lieut. colonel Storer, major Cutts. Captains : Peter Staples, Ephraim Baker, John Fairfield, Bray Dearing, John Kinslagh, John Harmon, Moses Butler, Thomas Perkins, William Warner, Moses Pearson.

2.—Connecticut.—General Wolcott's Regiment.—Colonel Burr ; lieut. colonel Lothrop ; major Goodridge. Captains : David Wooster, Stephen Lee, Daniel Chapman, William Whiting, Robert Dennison, Andrew Ward, James Church, Henry King.

3. Cumberland County.—Colonel Waldo's Regiment.—Lieut. colonel Noble ; major Hunt. Captains : Samuel Moody, John Watts, Philip Damarisque, Benjamin Goldthwaite, Daniel Hale, Jacob Stevens, James Noble, Richard Jacques, Daniel Fogg, Joseph Richardson.

4. Brigadier Dwight's Regiment.—Colonel of Artillery. Lieut. Col. Thomas, major Gardner.

5. York County.—Colonel Moulton's Regiment.—Lieut. colonel Donnell ; major Ellis. Captains : John Card, John Lane, Christopher Marshall, James Grant, Charles King, Peter Prescott, Ami R. Cutter, Samuel Rhodes, Bartholomew Trow, Estes Hatch.

6. Worcester.—Colonel Willard's Regiment.—Lieut. Col. Chandler ; major Pomroy. Captains : Joshua Pierce, John Terry, John Alexander, David Melvin, John Warner, Jabez Homestead, Joseph Miller, James Goulding, James Stephens.

7. Essex.—Colonel Hale's Regiment.—Lieut. colonel Eveleigh ; major Titcomb. Captains : Benjamin Ives, Daniel Eveleigh, — Titcomb, John Dodge, Jonathan Bagley, Jere. Foster, Samuel Davis, Thomas Stanford, Charles Byles.

8. Bristol.—Colonel Richmond's Regiment.—Lieut. colonel Pitts ; major Hodges. Captains : Nathaniel Bosworth, Thomas Gilbert, Josiah Pratt, Robert Swan, Ebenezer Eastman, Cornelius Sole, John Lawrence, Nathaniel Williams, Ebenezer Nichols, — Weston.

9. Colonel Gorham's Regiment.—Lieut. colonel Gorham ; major Thatcher. Captains : Jonathan Carey, Elisha Doane, Sylvester Cobb, Israel Bailey, Edw'd. Demmick, Gershom Bradford, Samuel Lombard.

10. New Hampshire.—Colonel Moore's Regiment.—Lieut. colonel Messervé; major Gilman. Captains: Samuel Whitten, William Waldron, True Dudley, Tufton Mason, William Seaward, Daniel Ladd, Henry Sherburne, John Turnel, Samuel Hale, Jacob Tilton, Edward Williams.

(4.)

The authorities which I have followed as to this siege of Louisbourg, are Hutchinson, Belknap, Williamson, and Douglas, the correspondence in mss., London Magazine, &c. One source of many particulars was the American Magazine for 1746. It contains an official journal of the operations of the besieging army. Certified at Louisbourg as true, Oct'r. 20, 1745, by Pepperell, Waldo, col. Sam. Moore, lt. col. Simon Lothrop. and lt. col. Richard Gridley, of the artillery.

(5.)

From a letter of Pepperell to Shirley, (date wanting.)

"Mr. Benjamin Green, whom you was pleased to appoint secretary in this expedition, it would be a pleasure to me if you would be pleased to mention him at home to be continued secretary, if his majesty should be pleased to make this place a government. Commodore Warren voluntarily offered to join with me in a letter home for that or anything else, and has mentioned to him to send for his wife to come here with madame Warren."

Benjamin Green was subsequently a member of H. M. Council, treasurer and president in Nova Scotia. His great grandson, Capt. Parker, was killed at Sebastopol.

(6.)

Pepperell to Shirley. July 4, 1745.

He sends Shirley a hhd. best claret he could get at Louisbourg, as a present. P. S. recommends Mr. William Winslow as Commissary of provisions or store-keeper to the Garrison.

"Mr. Bastide no doubt would have done all in his power, had he come sooner, for the service of the expedition, but our batteries were erected, and played on the enemy before he came, and the affair almost over." "Your Excellency did tell me that this summer you did design to bring madam Shirley here. Nothing would give me more pleasure than waiting on you before my removal. I should be glad your own eyes may see this place, for I cannot make a just representation of the strength and formidableness of it."

(7.)

William Pepperell, of Kittery, colonel of the Western regiment of Yorkshire militia, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Land Forces, with the rank of lieutenant general. He was born in New England 27 June, 1696. His father was from Devonshire, in England. He was a merchant—upright, popular, and of engaging manners. Pepperell left no surviving son. His grandsons' estates were confiscated, they being loyalists. [2 Will., M., 224.]

Samuel Waldo, a native of Boston, colonel of the Eastern Yorkshire regiment of militia, and member for Falmouth in the General Court, was made third in command, with the rank of brigadier general. The enlistment for volunteers began on 2 Feb'y., 1745. Brigadier Waldo died in 1759. [*London Magazine for July, 1759.*]

Captain Edward Tyng, of Falmouth, was appointed commodore of the New England fleet. He was son of Mr. Tyng, named as Governor of Nova Scotia in 1691, but captured by the French. He married a daughter of Cyprian Southack, one of the Council of Nova Scotia, and his second wife was sister of Samuel Waldo. On the 24 June, 1744, he commanded the galley or snow called the Prince of Orange, and captured a French privateer.

Sir Peter Warren, K. B., was born about the year 1700—was commissioned a captain in the Navy 1727—commanded the Leopard, 50, in 1734, and the Squirrel, 50, in the expedition against Carthagera in 1741.

In 1744, commodore Warren commanded the fleet at the Leeward islands, and in the following year at the siege of Louisbourg. As a reward for his services on the latter occasion, he was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral of the Blue 10 August, 1745. He applied for the government of New Jersey on the death of Governor Morris, but without success. In 1747 he was made Rear Admiral of the White, and greatly distinguished himself in the sea fight off Cape Finisterre, while commanding the Devonshire, 66, and the same year, May 29th, [*L. M. for 1747, p. 391*], was created a Knight of the Bath. In May, 1748, he was made Vice Admiral of the Red. Admiral Warren was married to Susan, eldest daughter of Stephen de Lancy and Ann van Cortlandt, of New York. From the inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey, we find him designated—

“Sir Peter Warren, knight of the Bath, Vice Admiral of the Red squadron of the British fleet, and member of Parliament for the city and liberty of Westminster. He derived his descent from an ancient family of Ireland.”

His death is there stated to have happened “on the 29th day of July, 1752,” “in the 49th year of his age.” [*From the London Magazine for 1757, pp. 552 and 560.*] The celebrated Sir Wm. Johnson, of the Indian wars, was his nephew. *London Magazine for 1752, p. 383*, the death of Sir Peter Warren, Knight of the Bath, Vice Admiral of the Red, and member of Parliament for Westminster, is stated as occurring 29 July, 1752, in Ireland, of an inflammatory fever. He left a lady and 4 daughters. [*See New York colonial documents, v. x., p. 46, note.*]

Governor Wolcott.—He had marched with Nicholson from Albany in 1711, on the projected invasion of Canada, being then Deputy Commissary of the Connecticut quota of the troops. He headed the contingent of Connecticut as Major General, next in rank to Pepperell, being then 66 years old in 1745. He was afterwards Chief Justice of Connecticut, and Governor of that province from 1751 to 1754. He died May 13, 1767, in the 89th year of his age. His son signed the declaration of independance.

Colonel John Bradstreet, who commanded Pepperell's own regiment in 1745, was, after the reduction of Louisbourg, appointed Governor of Newfoundland. He was much employed in the French war—was major general in the Royal service in 1772, and died in 1774.

Colonel Jeremiah Moulton was born in York, Maine, 1688, and was taken prisoner by Indians at York when 4 years old. He marched with captain Harmon and 200 men to Norridgewock, and destroyed the Indian village, killing father

Ralle and 26 Indians. He commanded a regiment at the siege under Pepperell, and was afterwards Sheriff, Councillor, Judge of Common Pleas and Probate. He died at York July 20, 1765, aged 77.

Lieut. colonel Messervé, under colonel Moore, of New Hampshire, in 1745, was colonel of a New Hampshire regt. : sent to Crown Point under Abercrombie and Gen'l. Winslow. He went with Amherst to the second siege of Louisbourg, with rank of colonel, but in charge of 200 ship carpenters. He and his son died at that siege, of the small pox, 1758.

CHAPTER VI.

LEAVING the captors of Louisbourg to enjoy the fruits of victory and conquest, let us return to look upon our old friends in the little garrison of Annapolis, and observe how they have fared in the meantime. Mascarene, after the vigils and anxieties of the summer and autumn of 1744, had comparative quiet during the winter. He busied himself in repairing the fortress. Writing 18 March, he says that "tho' the season was" "far advanced when the Ennemy totally left us, two Bastions" "have almost entirely been revested before the winter sett" "in ; which, the old revestments being entirely decay'd, and" "the soil with which they are rais'd a meer sand, would, in a" "little time longer, have tumbled down, and left us all winter" "naked to the Ennemy. The materials brought in since, by" "the River being, contrary to what generally happens, left" "open since the latter end of January, will enable us to" "revest a curtain and two flanks, remaining still very bad," "and to pallissadoe our cover'd way, which is still open, and" "the filling up the hollows, and esplanading the Glacis, if the" "Ennemy will allow time for it, will put me in a better condition to receive him than I was in last year." He says the winter has proved milder than usual, and the French inhabitants have in general behaved well.—In the beginning of this year, Alexander Bourg, the notary of Mines, an aged man, Amand Bugeaud, and one Joseph leBlanc, called Le Maigre, (i. e. the lean), were brought to Annapolis, and subjected to close interrogation as to their conduct during the invasion. The result appeared to be that they had done nothing to aid Duvivier

and his followers, except as far as they were compelled by menaces of death and superior force. During March and April, the repairs were going on, the utmost diligence being used, the inhabitants shewing a readiness to furnish the proper materials. There was a rumor in March among the French population, that three vessels of force, and a new governor, had arrived at Louisbourg—that a party of officers and men had come in the winter to Chignecto, and that the Indians were gathering to join them and the forces to be brought by sea from Louisbourg, in order to make another attempt upon Annapolis. This report caused Mascarene and his garrison to exert themselves with alacrity to make ready for events. He had still with him the four companies of auxiliaries which Shirley had sent in the past summer, without whom he could not have carried on the repairs requisite, nor even, as he says, supplied the guards for the common duty of the garrison. The enemy had seized on a vessel that was loading some provisions for the inhabitants of Annapolis river, and detained another which went on the same errand, and suffered no one to come to Annapolis from the upper part of the bay, (Chignecto?) and thus the rumor prevailing seemed to have a good foundation. In the course of this winter some of the inhabitants of Mines, Piziquid, &c., entertained, or professed to entertain, apprehensions for the safety of such of them as were half breeds, owing to the declaration of war against the Indians proclaimed in New England. On this, Mascarene wrote to the deputies of these places to re-assure them, promising to protect all loyal men, no matter what color their faces might have. (5 Jan'y., 1744-5.) 20 March, he refuses an application from Pierre Alain for a mill seat on the river Chiconecto, as his instructions prevent his making new grants to the inhabitants.

Mascarene was at this time apprized of the sailing of the New England armament to attack Louisbourg, and considered it would prevent any early attempt on Annapolis, and thus afford him time to complete the outward repairs of the Fort, and to expect the arrival of the reinforcements which he had been informed were coming from England to his assistance.

In the beginning of May a rumor came to Annapolis that there was a body of 300 Canadians and 300 Indians at Mines, with several officers, an engineer, surgeon, &c. This party was commanded by M. Marin, a lieutenant from Canada. They came to the vicinity of the Fort at Annapolis during the month of May. They captured two schooners from Boston having goods on board, and made the wife of one of the carpenters of the garrison prisoner. They appear to have hovered awhile in the vicinity of the Fort, and then to have returned to Mines. On the 1st, Mascarene sent out a party of fifty men under the Fort major, by night, to bring in such of the inhabitants of the cape as knew anything of this invasion. Five or six persons were brought in and examined under oath, who confirmed the story of the enemy being at Mines, and stated that two lads, named Charles Raymond and Peter Landry, had privately made three journeys to Mines, from Annapolis. Mrs. Gautier and Paul Suratt were detained, and Peter Gautier was committed to prison for endeavoring to conceal this affair. 4 May, the deputies were reproached for the conduct of the people in carrying on a clandestine correspondence with the enemy by means of the two boys, who had absconded for fear of punishment for their former misbehavior. The deputies threw the blame on a few designing persons.— On the 10 May, the council advised the pulling down two houses, “which are a blind betwixt the Block-house in the” “lower town and the company of Rangers’ quarters, and” “hinders their mutual defence,” to be appraised and pulled down, viz’t., the houses of the late Mr. Oliver, and that of serjeant Davis, and that the crown should be applied to for compensation. May 13, Mr. Bastide, the chief engineer, reports the necessity of pulling down or demolishing “the several” “houses in the Lower town belonging to Mr. Adams, Mr. Ross, Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver, which are in danger” “of being fired by the enemy, who last night attempted to do” “it, and as the consequence of which may be fatal, not only to” “the neighbouring buildings that are contiguous, but also to” “the garrison, which is judged to be so near the town that it” “may catch flame, as the wind blows strongly at North East.”

Mr. Bastide says, in his letter of 12 May, that the enemy last night endeavored to set Mr. Adams' house in the Lower town on fire with their fire arrows ; and this old house, with some other ruinous ones, not inhabited, interrupting the defences between the Ordnance house and the two block-houses, and exposing the good houses to be also burnt, and the risk to the Fort in a North wind, which then blew, recommends to demolish them before night, &c.

The party under Marin had spent the winter at the head of the bay of Fundy ; and after three weeks spent in the neighborhood of Annapolis, where their success was confined to the surprize and capture of the two Boston trading schooners, they received a request from M. Duchambon, sent by express, begging their aid to come to his relief, he being then heavily besieged. Part of them, about 400, embarked in a small vessel to go from Port Royal (Annapolis) to Louisbourg, but near cape Sable were chased by Provincial armed vessels, and had to land to escape capture, and finally did not reach near to Louisbourg until July, after the place had surrendered. Douglass says they had two sloops, two schooners, and about 60 large canoes, and were met in Ascamouse harbor, June 15, by capt. Donahew, Beckett, and Jones, of the Provincial cruisers, and forced to retire. [Summary, p. 324.] Duchambon thought if they had arrived in time, the English would have raised the siege.

Five of the deputies who attended before the council at Annapolis on 25 May, o. s., stated that the behavior of the enemy towards the inhabitants had been very harsh. That coming in the night, they sent men to every house whilst the dwellers were buried in sleep, and threatened to put any to death that should stir out or come near the Fort. That they had been ordered to furnish weekly a certain quantity of cattle, and to bring their carts and teams, the orders being, most of them, on pain of death. In proof of their assertions, the deputies produced a number of orders signed '*Marin.*' The orders are dated 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31 May, and 2 and 3 June, new style, embracing a period of a fortnight identical in time with the space from 9 May to 23 May, old

style. [It is requisite to pay attention to this difference, when we have to compare the French and English statements of the same occurrence. As the English retained the old style until 1752, the dates in all French narratives are eleven days in advance of those mentioned by the English. For example : M. Duchambon writes to the minister, the count d'Argenson, that he was obliged, on the 27th of June, to surrender Louisbourg, &c., this corresponding with the 16 June, o. s., the day of the signing the capitulation. I have frequently added the letters o. s. and n. s. to shew the true time intended, but in other cases wish the reader to infer that in English affairs and narratives the date then was always old style, while the French kept to the new style.] The written orders issued by Marin, copies of which have been preserved, are about twenty in number. Many contain menaces of death in case of disobedience—others speak of corporal punishment. In one for furnishing cattle weekly, they are told the Indians should burn their houses and destroy their cattle if they disobeyed. They are to bring in horses, saddles, canoes, bags, codlines and leads, &c. Death is menaced to any who should obey the order of the English commander to repair to the Fort. They very much resemble the orders issued the previous summer by Duvivier. Indeed they seem at once cruel and ludicrous—cruel in their menacing language, and ludicrous as the acts of an inefficient force, who did nothing military or manly, but hung about the precincts of a fortress, acting more like a band of thieves and incendiaries.

On 19 June, o. s., president Mascarene and the council met, and they had before them deputies from Pisaquid, river Canard, and others, and all the deputies of Annapolis river. Mascarene remarked on the conduct of several of the inhabitants, who had pointed out the effects of the English to the enemy, and had given them intelligence of the circumstances of the garrison, thus leading to the surprising some of the Rangers on Goat island, &c. He told them the well-affected ought to point out such offenders. He also said that all the plunder obtained by the French from the seizure of the two schooners from Boston, had been dispersed, and bought up

by the inhabitants of Mines. On this, Joseph le Blanc, of Grand pré, replied that the people at Mines had bought up the goods, in order to return them to the British proprietors, and had also ransomed three prisoners, whom they were ready to bring to Annapolis. The president and council on this, resolved that the three ransomed prisoners should be at once brought in, the money paid for them be reimbursed, and the captured goods brought in a vessel, with accounts, on oath, from the purchasers, which would be considered. Thursday, 27 June, o. s. Jean Terriot and Jean Potier, deputies from Chignecto, appeared before the president and council. They were ordered to discover those inhabitants who had assisted the enemy; to return to the owners any effects of British subjects seized by the enemy and left there, and not to suffer any person to reside there but those who, by the oath of fidelity taken by themselves or their fathers, were British subjects; "and to make use of all the means in their power to" "make monsieur Dugay speedily to quit the country, &c."

Monsieur Duvivier had been sent to France in the winter of 1744 to solicit a force to conquer Nova Scotia, and accordingly sailed in the beginning of July with seven ships of war for that purpose, who were to stop at Louisbourg on their way. On their passage they captured a vessel bound from Boston to London, on board which was lieutenant governor Clark, of New York. They were thus informed of the fall of Louisbourg, and of the strong English squadron there. On learning this disaster they went back to France.—In August, Mascarene gave an official certificate to the three brothers Mius, of Poubomcoup, of their steady loyalty since the declaration of war.—In October, the president proposed to check the Indian fur trade. This was not agreed to by the council; but it was resolved that "no powder, ball, strouds or blancoating" (blankets) "be disposed to the French inhabitants, and that" "former orders prohibiting all trade with the enemy be enforced."

October 28, monday. Advices were read in council of de Loutre's arrival at Chignecto, from Quebec, with a shallop, bringing presents for the Indians. Nov. 4, some of the depu-

ties from Chignecto appeared before the president in council. By their admissions it appears that de Loutre lodged in the *presbytère*, (parsonage), said mass, and the inhabitants attended him. Being blamed for this, they pleaded their being long without a priest, and asked leave to send for one to Canada, which was not agreed to. They said they knew not the quantity of the presents sent to the Indians. They were brought in a vessel to Gaspé, and one Boutiller, of that place, brought them thence in a small vessel to Chignecto, and if they were landed it was on that side next to baie Verte. They also said that they met some cape Sable Indians, who had two barrels of powder, four bags of shot, and a bale of blankets.

In November, president Mascarene gave directions to the deputies of Chignecto to report to him every six weeks, not to suffer the landing of either provisions or ammunition there, that might be of service to the enemy,—“to give advice of” “the ammunition that may have been left by M. le Loutre at” “Chicanecto, and in whose keeping—not to suffer any stranger among you of those who have not taken the oath of” “fidelity to his Britannic Majesty.” The Indians of Nova Scotia, in August, 1745, indicated a wish to make peace, but were so far undecided that they could not answer for themselves, if a French naval force should come to the bason of Port Royal; and they induced Pierre Landry to write a letter to the president on their behalf. His answer was, that they were not to expect peace unless they could give a satisfactory security that it should be lasting; and it was resolved that no vessel should be allowed to go up the bay, until the Indians be brought to terms that shall be satisfactory.—At this time some families came to Mines from Louisbourg to settle, and five deserters from Warren's squadron came there also, whom Mascarene ordered back, giving them a letter begging for their pardon. In this autumn a party of eleven or twelve Indians stopped the persons who were bringing live stock from Mines for the garrison of Annapolis. Mascarene wrote to the deputies that this was no small surprise to him, considering the force and numbers of the inhabitants, and attributes it to their disloyalty—speaks of their pretended cloak

of fear and their passive obedience to the enemy, and of the deference and submissiveness they shew towards monsieur de Loutre, who, from being the missionary, has become the general of the Indians at war with the king; and he writes to John Teriot, Chignecto, 29 Oct'r.: "I think you might also" "have acquainted me of the quantity of ammunition and" "presents that mons'r. de Loutre and that shallop had" "brought for the Indians." It could not have been done so secretly, he adds, but that some of them would know the particulars. The chiefs of the Micmacs addressed a letter concerning peace to Mascarene, without signatures. He recommends them to send delegates to the government at Louisbourg. A report having been spread that Pierre Alain had offered to go against the Indians, Mascarene wrote to the deputies of Grand pré, informing them that this story was a malicious falsehood.

[21 Dec., 1745. There being no Judge of Probate appointed, on the petition of Edward How, esquire, stating that he is not only the nighest of kin, but the greatest creditor of lieutenant Thomas Armstrong, deceased, the president and council grant administration to him.]

Mascarene, writing to the duke of Newcastle, 9 December, 1745, says his object has been to keep the French inhabitants from joining the enemy, and getting their aid in bringing timber, &c., to repair the Fort; but he fears if a French fleet and army should arrive, they would be led to join them. He says also this Fort makes now a pretty good appearance.—That he was not far astray as to the sentiments of the French inhabitants will be apparent from the contents of a letter from the governor and intendant at Quebec this year, as extracted from in the appendix to this chapter. This document throws the clearest light on the system pursued by the French government at Quebec, and the way in which they victimised their own colonists and the native tribes who looked up to France for protection. The double dealing and hypocrisy enjoined on the poor Acadians, and to carry on which all means were resorted to that could influence them, at this period can be very plainly seen. Threats of death—of

being hounded by the Indians, are mixed with appeals to their feelings as Frenchmen by descent ; and, worst of all, the sacred influences of religion are abused for the purposes of political intrigue and ambition. The hearts of the poor French were constantly assailed on the points where all men are most susceptible—love of country, of race, of religious liberty. As to the Micmac, he was supposed to be only vulnerable, through his pocket and presents were the unfailing resource of those who desired to guide him. Active intercourse was kept up overland with Quebec, by Indian expresses, who did not always seem to hurry themselves. Thus letters from de Loutre and Germain of 27 Dec., 1745, and 30 Jan., 1746, were only received at Quebec on the 28 March. De Loutre's Indians had intercepted letters from the government of Louisbourg to that of Annapolis.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

[10 vol. *New York Documents*, (*Dr. O'Callaghan's*), pp. 4, 5.]

(From the letter of Messrs. Beauharnois & Hocquart to the count de Maurepas.)

Quebec, 12 September, 1745.

" The English being now masters of Isle Royale, will become still more jealous, and more careful than ever to secure Acadia to themselves. That beautiful and fertile province is essential to the maintenance of their new conquest, in which the English have not made any establishment of importance since the peace. 'Twas only last fall, and particularly during the present autumn, that they have put Port Royal in a state of defence, and have a garrison of about 300 men in it. All the rest of Acadia is inhabited exclusively by French people ; and according to the information we have received of their numbers, there may be about 2500 men capable of bearing arms at Beaubassin, Minas and Port Royal, the three most populous places.

" As regards the disposition of the inhabitants towards us ; all, with the exception of a very small portion, are desirous of returning under the French dominion. Sieur Marin, and the officers of his detachment, as well as the missionaries, have assured us of this ; they will not hesitate to take up arms as soon as they see themselves at liberty to do so ; that is, as soon as we shall become masters of Port Royal, or they have powder and other munitions of war, and will be backed by some sedentary troops for their protection against the resentment of the English. If, notwithstanding this preliminary, any settlers should still be found to

hesitate declaring themselves, all difficulties would be overcome by the employment of menaces and force. The reduction of Louisbourg has, meanwhile, disconcerted them. M. Marin has reported to us, that the day he left Port Royal all the inhabitants were overpowered with grief. This arose only from their apprehension of remaining at the disposition of the enemy—of losing their property, and of being deprived of their missionaries. The English might probably have recourse to such policy, or at least adopt measures to keep them in a strict and severe subjection. They will not experience any great difficulty in that, and consequently will not have to observe any delicacy, because the supplies of powder and lead, and other munitions, which the Acadians and Micmacs of the country were in the habit of drawing from Louisbourg, will be no longer forthcoming. These Indians, irreconcilable enemies of the English, cannot have any other place of refuge than Canada, or Ristigouche and Miramichi. This is what we have now to fear, and, with a view to retain them, have thought of remedying it by transmitting to Miramichi some powder and lead, to which we add some provisions and other supplies.

“ We have just explained the conduct the English will probably observe towards the Acadians. We cannot imagine that they could entertain the idea of removing those people, in order to substitute Englishmen in their stead, unless the desertion of the Indians would embolden them to adopt such a course, utterly inhuman as it may be. The evacuation exacted and agreed to by the capitulation of Louisbourg, excites a prejudice which must increase our distrust. The Acadians have not extended their plantations since they have come under English dominion ; their houses are wretched wooden boxes, without conveniences and without ornaments, and scarcely containing the most necessary furniture ; but they are extremely covetous of specie. Since the settlement of Isle Royale, they have drawn from Louisbourg, by means of their trade in cattle, and all the other provisions, almost all the specie the King annually sent out ; it never makes its appearance again—they are particularly careful to conceal it. What object they can have, except to secure for themselves a resource for an evil day ? Already many of them have caused inquiries to be made whether they could find lands here to settle on, and whether they would be admitted to enter on them. We have avoided all answer.

(Referring to Louisbourg.) “ It can hardly be expected that the English will give up their conquest, unless the King have gained advantages over them in Europe, which would induce them to do so. These will have to be considerable, otherwise we do not believe that they will surrender it, unless on condition that its fortifications be razed. This clause and its execution would relieve them of all uneasiness ; the battery or fort of l'ilet would have, nevertheless, to remain.

(Referring to Port Royal, Annapolis.) “ The enemy will not fail to stock the place abundantly with all the stores necessary for its defence and to strengthen its garrison. This consisted of 300 men when Sieur Marin left the place in the beginning of June. There were then six 24-pounders pointed towards the river, one 12 inch mortar, and 30 pieces of cannon on the rampart. The fort is a square, with four Bastions, being about 180 toises (1080 feet) from one point of the bastion to the other. The wall is of earth, faced with squared timbers 10 a 12 inches in width and 18 feet long, joined together and set up perpendicularly ; the embrasures of the parapets are very open ; the top of the parapets is set off with round sticks, 12 inches in diameter, fastened with rope ends, these sticks being

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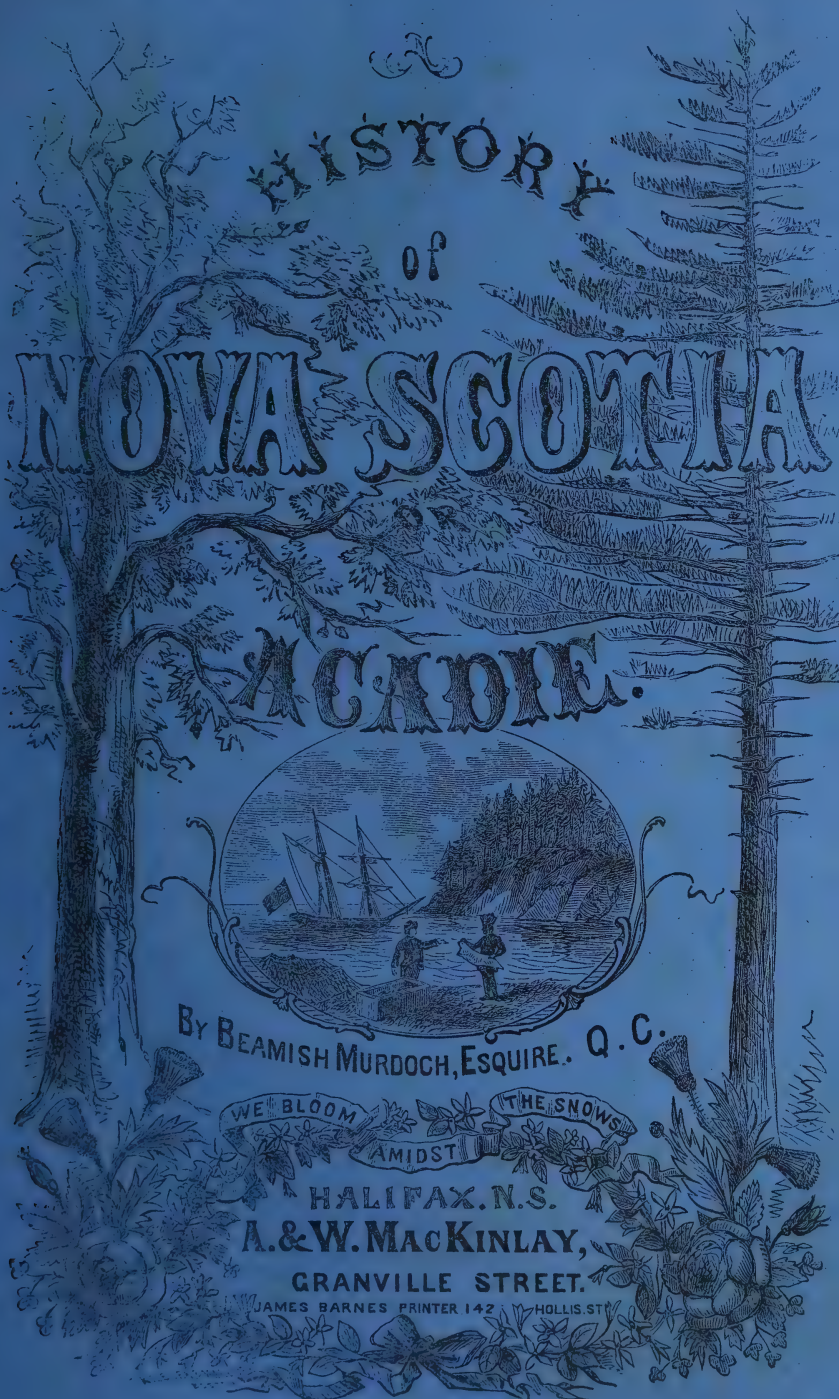
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“A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA OR ACADIE. BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE, Q. C.

JAS. H. THORNE.

Deputy Secretary.

so disposed as to admit of being loosened and slipped over the talus of the parapet, with a view to break the ladders which would be employed in scaling. The ditch may be 10 a 12 toises (60 a 72 feet) in width, and 5 or 6 in depth; in its centre is a cunette, (a wet ditch in the middle of a dry one), with a palisade; the covert way is nothing else than the counterscarp. The glacis, with well defined, salient and entering angles, may be 15 toises. The outworks consist of the three block-houses, one situated between the mouth of the Little river and the fort, and defends the plain; the other two, E. N. E. of said fort, defends the approach of the Lower town. 'Tis to be observed, that during Mr. Marin's sojourn, all the houses in the Lower town were abandoned. The most part belong to the officers of the garrison. The English, however, have a large frame house, (*maison de colomabage*), there to lodge their Indian allies; this house was defended by four guns.

"The English were informed in the month of April, by three Indians, whom one of their privateers, sailing under French colors, had surprised at cape Sable, that Mr. Duvivier was expected at the end of May with several men of war. It was in consequence of this advice, or even of previous information, that Mr. Mascarin, commandant of Port Royal, redoubled his precautions in order to place himself in a state of defence. You will see, my lord, by the annexed journal, that Mr. Mascarin had commenced on the 12th or 15th of May to have the North side of Goat island cleared, either with a view to discover at a greater distance the ships that enter the narrow mouth of the harbor, the view of which is intercepted by trees, or rather to erect a battery on it, to defend the only ship channel between that island and the main land, and by that means prevent vessels going up as far as the Fort. 'Tis to be presumed that the English have now erected that battery, and that they will, on the receipt of the first news of preparation against Acadia, construct, perhaps, another battery at the entrance of the Strait. Should they erect one on Goat island, it will not prevent ships entering and anchoring in the Basin, nor troops landing on the South shore, opposite the anchorage ground. 'Twill be very easy to render the road from that point to Port Royal passable for the artillery destined for the attack; the distance is about 3 leagues. They urge an expedition to be sent out to retake Louisbourg and conquer Acadie, at least a military settlement at Spaniard's Bay, (Sydney, C. B.) 10 men of war, 2500 regular soldiers, &c., are proposed.

"Port Royal is, in truth, advantageously situated for the security of the ships which will come to fish on the coasts, but the entrance to the basin is narrow, and the currents there are strong: besides, the fishery is much more abundant on the East coast, which has three or four very excellent harbors capable of accommodating the largest sized vessels, viz't., LaHève, Chibouctou, and Port la Tour, (Barrington.) This coast is not settled; at Mirligueche, a small harbor 5 leagues east of LaHève, are only 8 settlers, among the rest are Paul Guidry, alias Grivois, jovial or jolly, a good coast pilot. Again, West of LaHève, at the place called the Little river, are two more settlers. Germain Lejeune, one of these, is intimately acquainted with the coast. The man named Boutin, and his children, live three leagues east of the entrance of Chibouctou. The attachment of these people to France can be relied on. (They suggest that if Annapolis should prove too well defended, then to settle LaHève and Chibouctou.)

"The English do not dry any fish on the East coast of Acadia since the war, through fear of being surprised there and killed by the Micmacs. These Indians.

rove along that coast from spring to autumn, in quest of a livelihood. Lately a boat belonging to an English merchantman, having landed at LaHève for wood and water, these Indians killed 7 of the crew, and brought their scalps to sieur Marin; they can be depended upon to pursue the same course as long as means will be found to furnish them with arms, powder and ball. This is also the opinion of M. Loutre, their missionary at Chibénacadié, who arrived at Quebec on the 14th of September. He brought with him five of these Micmacs, deputies from that nation. We will report to you, my lord, their resolution, and what will take place between us. This missionary has laid before us, on his arrival, the letter Sr. Dailleboust wrote him on the 22nd of July, indorsed on which is a sort of passport from generals Warren and Pepperell, enjoining him to repair to Louisbourg, in default whereof his life is threatened. The missionary has paid no attention either to the letter or passport, and we are about sending him back to his mission.

“ We have held a council with the deputies of sieur le Loutre’s villages.

“ The attachment of these Indians may be depended on. We send by sea, as far as Miramichi, 4000 lbs. of powder, and lead in proportion, and some cloth to cover them. It were to be wished that we had been in a condition to supply them with more ammunition, but in our present condition ’twould not be prudent to strip ourselves. We made up the deficiency with 2000 li. in specie, which we have entrusted to M. Loutre, for the purpose of relieving their more urgent wants.”

21st Sept. M. Loutre left with his Indians. He is to go to the river St. John, to Beaubassin, and thence proceed to his mission. (He was furnished with signals to communicate with any French men-of-war on the East coast of Acadia.)

No. of Micmacs in Acadie.

In Acadia proper, belonging to sieur Loutre’s mission,	200
Ile Royale, M. Maillard, missionary, (they will have removed to Miramichi and Ristigouche),	80
Miramichi mission, father LaCorne, missionary,	195
Ristigouche mission, father L’estage, missionary,	60
Total,	535

27 September. M. Germain, missionary on the lower part of the river Sr. John, arrived here yesterday with the chief and 24 Indians of his mission, the most of whom served in Mr. Marin’s party. The missionary adds that the English have permitted Mr. Maillard, priest and missionary at Isle Royale, to remain at St. Peter’s in charge of the inhabitants of that place who remained after having taken the oath of fidelity, the same as the Acadians did formerly. The Micmac Indians belonging to this mission, numbering 80 families, are on their way to Quebec.

CHAPTER VII.

1746. During this winter, the Indians, although they had made some movements towards peace with the English, appeared still very hostile, and used all their exertions to intercept the communications between Annapolis and Louisbourg. The latter place had now become the military head-quarters of the British. In the autumn of 1745, two regiments of foot, viz., Fuller's and Warburton's, and three companies of Framp-ton's regiment, arriving near the North American coast late in the season, from caution they put into some port in Virginia, to await the spring season. They did not reach Louisbourg until the 24 May, 1746, when they relieved the New England-ers, in garrison there since the surrender of the place in June previous, who were about 1500 in number. [*Douglass*, 343.]

Mascarene blamed de Loutre for the troubles of the country, charging him with bringing on the first attack of Annapolis by the Indians, and thus exciting the New England people to besiege and take Louisbourg, which, he says, would not have been dreamed of, but for the attacks on the Fort. He also attributes to the same influence the Indians being still at war. — He desired the protection of a ship of war to defend the harbor, and to convey supplies from New England, and a tender to carry intelligence and keep up obedience among the people of the bay. On this subject he wrote to the duke of Newcastle in January. One of the incessant subjects of dissatisfaction to the government of Annapolis had long been that the French inhabitants of Mines and Chignecto were accustomed to supply Louisbourg with cattle and provisions,

by vessels taking them on board at baie Verte. Although this was forbidden by orders from the governor and council, yet one can hardly blame the farmers for seeking the only market where their produce could be disposed of to advantage. We have seen that the silver coin current in the province was all French, and it must have come in this way. Neither the limited demand at the garrison of Annapolis, which, of course, was chiefly supplied from the farms on the river, nor the more distant sale at Boston, could have compensated for shutting off this traffic. We may therefore fairly conclude that self-preservation would go far to justify the people of Mines and Beaubassin in adhering to this trade, notwithstanding any official prohibition; and we may also infer that the governor and authorities at the Fort, while, as a point of honor, they felt bound to object to it, were nevertheless not very deeply aggrieved at the existence of an intercourse which brought specie and goods into the country, and favored its wealth and improvement. After Louisbourg however became an English possession, it seems that the French inhabitants were actuated by their hostile feelings to run counter to their own interests so far, that they could not be induced to send any cattle or produce from Nova Scotia to Louisbourg, where, from the presence of a large garrison and squadron, the demand must have been greater than heretofore. The English colonies on the continent of course did what they could to supply the place. Mascarene wrote in January, and again in May, to the deputies of Mines and Chignecto, recommending their causing provisions to be sent; and he mentions (30 May) that three men of war, transport vessels, two additional Royal regiments, and two regiments of New Englandmen were then at Louisbourg; that the English West Indian squadron was making towards it, and that in England four men-of-war and two more regiments were getting ready to go there; and that the rebels in Scotland had been put down. This was not the only grievance he had to complain of, as he writes (18 May) to the deputies of Chignecto, expressing his surprise that they had not given him advice of the arrival of the *sieur* La Corne, (a Canadian officer), in their neighborhood, and of a person

named St. Lawrence, nor of their departure, nor of the news brought from Canada.

In June, a soldier of the garrison named L'argentière, deserted, and took the road to Mines. At the same period, the French inhabitants of the island of St. John fled from the approach of the English, and Mascarene apprehended they would come on to Nova Scotia. June 2. Anne Bourg, wife of Jacques le Blanc, called LeMaigre, asked leave to go to the river St. John, which the president refused her, conceiving it an attempt at intercourse with the enemy. In June, the *Dover*, capt. Collins, a British ship of war, having arrived at Annapolis, Mascarene managed to detain her for the protection of the place, which he expected would be attacked. Mascarene had, in January, issued a commission to Geo. Giddings, commander of a sloop called the "*Ordnance Packett*," to attend the service of the province, and to capture vessels and cargoes, &c., liable to confiscation under the Marine Treaty of London, of 1 Dec'r., 1674, &c. This vessel he employed to visit Louisbourg, and to convey provisions from Boston for the garrison; and in August to take a party of Rangers, under Lt. Gorham, up the bay. He also employed the *Bilander*, an Ordnance vessel, to range the coast for intelligence, and to intercept the enemy. On 31 January, Marie Gautier, Pierre Gautier, and Joseph le Blanc, called le Maigre, (of Grand pré), who were detained under charges, escaped. Joseph Maletot, an English prisoner, had been ransomed from the enemy for 300 livres; and Antoine Landry gave a power of attorney to Prudent Robichaux, 3 March, 1746, to receive the amount from the governor. René Blanchard and associates had furnished the money. In April, the deputies of Annapolis river were ordered to furnish 40 men weekly to work at the wood-work of the quay at Annapolis.

The earnest exertions of the French to recover possession both of Acadie and cape Breton, led to a plan on the part of the English government to reduce Canada, and drive the French out of this continent entirely. Governor Shirley's perseverance, and the method that marked all his acts and speeches, especially on this matter, entitle him to no small commenda-

tion. The constant movements of the Canadians, with their red skin auxiliaries, upon the borders of New England, in Newfoundland, and on the coasts and waters of the peninsula and its islands, created such constant distress and loss to the northern colonies of England, that the feeling to rid themselves of such an incubus, tormenting in time of nominal peace as well as in that of avowed war, must have been very general and powerful among the Anglo-Americans. Whatever influence they could exert over their fellow-subjects in the mother country would, of course, be used to forward their aims in this respect. Accordingly we find they had so far succeeded, that in April, 1746, orders were sent from England to all the colonies North of Carolina, that each province should raise as many companies of 100 men as they could well spare, who were to be clothed, armed and paid by the British government. Under the order, Virginia raised two companies, Maryland three, Pennsylvania four, the Jerseys five, and New York fifteen, making 29 companies, who were to rendezvous at Saratoga, under Brigadier Gooch, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, and who were to be employed to conquer Crown-point and Montreal. Massachusetts enlisted twenty companies, Connecticut ten, Rhode island three and New Hampshire two, being 35 in all, who were to be joined by a squadron and land forces from England, to undertake the reduction of Quebec. Thus the colonial troops amounted to 6400 men. After the orders had been sent, many transport ships were engaged, and several regiments of British infantry were sent to Portsmouth, to embark, as was supposed, for America, under general St. Clair, and to be convoyed by a strong squadron, commanded by admiral Lestock. These troops were once or twice embarked and relanded, and at last, instead of going to America, as planned, they were sent on an expedition to port *L'Orient*, in France, which proved fruitless. As the possession of Louisbourg afforded the means of reuniting the English forces with the colonial—of refreshing and resting their people on the direct way to the place they were to attack, and as the French had not been able to get supplies of arms, ammunition or stores to Canada of any great magnitude, especially

after they lost Louisbourg, the facilities for the conquest of Quebec appeared to be greater than they had ever been. The men enlisted in the colonies were not disbanded, and the impression was general that the project of 1746 was only postponed until 1747. Time passed on, and no further step was taken until October, 1747, when orders were sent to America to discharge all these colonial companies. The duke of Newcastle, in his letter to admiral Knowles of 30 May, 1747, says that rear admiral Warren, upon his arrival in England in December, 1746, had stated that in his opinion, and that of general Shirley, a great force would be requisite to attack Canada, on which the design was laid aside, and the force under lieut. general St. Clair would not be sent out. He directs Philipps', Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments to be completed from the enlisted American companies. Philipps is too old and infirm to go out to his regiment and government. Warren gave him a paper, expressing his opinion in relation to the fortifying Chebucto, and other places on that coast. He had transmitted it to Shirley, "though that" "design must be suspended for the present."

In May, 1746, Warren and Pepperell visited Boston, for the purpose of holding a general consultation as to future warlike measures. On the 24 June, the general court (house of assembly) of Massachusetts, being then sitting, invited Warren, Pepperell and Waldo into the council chamber, and honored them with a gratulatory address. June 28, at the close of this session, Shirley used the phrase "*Canada est delenda*"—"Canada is to be destroyed."

In July, Mascarene issued an order, that in case of soldiers deserting, three guns should be fired from the bastion. The inhabitants were ordered, in such cases, to collect, and guard the roads, and to arrest any soldier unless he was with an officer or with a serjeant, holding a passport signed by the governor. He sent the schooner Tame, Abram Morse, commander, with despatches to Louisbourg. In August he sent the Ordnance packet up the bay. Mr. How, lt. Jos. Goreham, and a party of soldiers, were on board. The object was to obtain intelligence as to the movements of the French. In

September he sent the same vessel out to cruise in the bay of Fundy, towards St. John's river or Grand Manan, to capture and destroy the enemy's vessels, and convoy any English vessel running to Annapolis. He gave him a serjeant and ten men to assist, and directions as to signals by firing.

Meanwhile the French and Canadians were not idle. Stimulated by the loss of cape Breton, and by fears for the safety of Canada, they were active in every direction. On May 30, the Abenakis Indians, including those of Acadia and those who were domiciliated, numbering about three hundred, having been equipped, and having repaired to St. Michel, near Quebec, took their departure in bark canoes, under the command of lieutenant St. Pierre. They were to go by the way of St. John's river to Beaubassin, (now Cumberland), to wait there for the detachment of Frenchmen. They arrived at Beaubassin on 21 June. M. Marin arrived at baie Verte with the Micmacs on 17 June, n. s. [10 *New York Documents*, 45, 51.] The French frigate *l'Aurore*, commander *du Vignan*, and *le Castor*, commander *de Saillies*, left Brest on the 9 April, with orders to await the fleet then in preparation. On the 12 June, *l'Aurore* arrived at Chibouctou. M. de Loutre was with them. On their voyage the *Aurore* captured six small craft, three having cattle on board, and the others provisions, part of which he gave to M. le Loutre, who asked them for his Indians. The *Castor* entered Chibouctou 9 July, with two prizes laden with cattle and codfish, and left it on 29 July to cruise, and then to return to France. However, the *Castor* captured an English snow, commanded by a lieutenant of the navy, carrying 10 guns, 12 swivels, and 75 men, and returned with her prize to Chibouctou on the 1st August. Three English ships, of 44, 20, and 10 guns, respectively, had at this time anchored at *port la Foie*, in the island of St. John, (now Charlottetown), 2 June, 1746. M. de Ramezay, who had been sent to Beaubassin in command of 600 Canadians, wrote in July that he had just received a letter from M. de Loutre, who proposed to him, on the part of M. du Vignan, who commanded the two frigates at Chibouctou, to lay siege to Port Royal in case the fleet did not arrive in the course of this month,

(July.) But de Ramezay having orders to divide his detachment into two parts ; on his arrival at Beaubassin, he called his officers together to confer with them as to the course that was best, to accept M. du Vignan's proposal, or to march half the detachment towards Canso. They decided to march the entire party, including French and Indians, to Port Royal. De Ramezay set to work at once sending munitions and provisions to Beaubassin, in order to transfer them thence to Minas, and he sent to Quebec to ask for a mortar and some shells for the proposed siege. The information of the arrival of the frigates in June was sent in a letter from father Germain. 26 July, du Vignan wrote from Chibouctou to de Ramezay, that his object, in speaking to M. de Loutre about Port Royal, was merely to learn the state of that Fort, &c., and that neither his orders nor his condition would allow him to attempt the siege.

A party of Micmacs set out in boats from *baie Verte* 21 July for *port la Foie*, under command of ensign M. Croisille de Montesson. They were 200 in number. There they encountered 40 or 50 men, thirty of whom were soldiers, who had gone on shore. A few of the English escaped by swimming, but the most were taken prisoners, and sent afterwards to Quebec ; one, if not more, killed. At this time there were in the port one English frigate of 24 guns, and a transport of 700 tons burthen, in which remained about 200 men. As the English officers and soldiers were about to land to place a guard there, the French officer deemed the occasion favorable to master the two vessels, but the Indians were beyond his control, and would not remain. They had killed a quantity of oxen and other cattle that the English kept in a park on shore for their supply of provisions. Meanwhile apprehensions began to be felt in Canada that the English might invade that country, and, 1 August, an order was sent to recall part of the Canadians and Indians, the number of whom, at first, united, is stated by Mascarene, as reported, to be 2000 men, with 30 or 40 officers ; and by Douglas, as about 1600 men, when they went to Mines. The order stated "that M. de" "Ramezay might leave at most in Acadie 200 or 300 French-"

“men, and the Micmac Indians for the protection of the”
“Acadians, and return here either by sea or by the river”
“St. John, with the remainder of our Frenchmen and all our”
“domiciliated Indians, including those of the river St. John”
“and Panaouamske.” Letters to this effect were sent to father Germain, then at Beaubassin, and to the commandant of the expected French fleet. On further intelligence received, a second express was sent to Acadie, with similar orders, and even it was suggested that, if possible to spare them, all the detachments should return. On the 9 August, a brigantine called *La petite Marguerite*, commanded by the *sieur* Cery, was dispatched from Canada to *baie Verte* with arms, ammunition and provisions for the French troops, and letters, one to the commander of the French fleet to dispose of the forces in Acadie, the other to de Ramezay, that he is in no condition to besiege Port Royal with the help of the two frigates, and that they cannot spare him the mortar he asked for. The vessel brought 250 quintal of biscuit, 100 bbls. flour, 200 quintals vegetables, &c., 30 bbls. pork. — 1000 lbs. powder, 2000 lbs. ball, 200 Liege muskets, and other small stores. 11 August, M. du Vignan being at the end of his provisions, resolved to carry the *Aurore* and the *Castor* back to France, and to leave his provisions in charge of de Ramezay. 14 August, de Ramezay writes to Canada that *sieur* de Gay, a lieutenant of the frigate *Aurore*, had come to Minas some days before M. du Vignan's departure, to request him to take charge of 168 prisoners, who were to be sent to Quebec. He resolved, on this, to send M. Repentigny, with 150 Indians, to Chibouctou, to guard the prisoners, and du Vignan sailed from Chibouctou with the two frigates on the 12 August. Three Irish soldiers deserted from Port Royal to de Ramezay on 9 August. They said there were 30 other Irish who wished to do the same. They reported the garrison to be 300 men and 12 or 15 officers; that there was one year's provisions in the Fort—but very little firewood, and that there was a frigate of 40 guns stationed off Goat island. Major de la Naudière left Minas 21st August, and arrived in Canada 5 Sept'r. He brought a letter from de Ramezay, who was then about removing to

Beaubassin, and sending for the prisoners from Chibouctou, being in want of cash and provisions, and the inhabitants refusing to take notes. It was intended that Coulon, with 300 Canadians, should winter in Acadie. 21 Aug't. De Ramezay wrote that all his detachment had gone to Minas. 27 Aug't., de Ramezay received 16 prisoners from Chibouctou. Four pilots and four other inhabitants of Annapolis river went off to the enemy at Mines. They were reported, and such of them as had property were declared to have forfeited it. Among them was Nicolas Gautier, who owned a vessel, cattle, &c., which were seized. (Much of the preceding information respecting the Canadians' and Indians' movements in Acadie is from 10 N. York Colonial Documents, p. 54 to 62.)

We will now turn our attention to the fleet from France, which was not only intended to recapture Louisbourg, but also Nova Scotia, and to carry destruction to all the settlements and towns of New England. This fleet was under the command of M. de Rochefoucauld, *duc d'Anville*, who was born in the first or second year of the century, and therefore about 45 years of age. It consisted of eleven ships of the line, twenty frigates, and thirty-four other vessels being transports, fire ships, &c. The soldiers on board this fleet were 3150 in number, and a great abundance of arms, ammunition and provisions were sent with them. The instructions to the duke were to proceed to Louisbourg and recapture it, and then to dismantle it. He was next to go to Annapolis, take it, and leave a garrison in it; thence he was to go to Boston, which he was to burn, and afterwards to annoy and distress the English on the American coast; and finally to pay a visit to the English sugar islands in the West Indies.

List of the squadron under the duke d'Anville, lieutenant general of the French naval forces, which sailed from Rochelle the 22d of June, n. s.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	
Northumberland,	60	600	
Le Trident,	64	500	
L'Ardent,	64	500	
Le Mars,	64	500	
L'Alcide,	64	500	
Le Carillon,	60	500	
Le Diamant,	50	400	
Le Borée,	50	400	
Le Tigre,	60	550	
Le Leopard,	60	500	
La Renommée,	60	400	
La Mégère,	30	270	
L'Argonaute,	26	270	
La Parfaite,	8	100	} Fire ships
La Perle,	8	100	
La Palme,	10	70	
Le petit Mercure,	10	70	
Le Mercure,	10	70	
Le Girous,	16	140	
Le prince d'Orange,	26	200	
(Another of)	24	150	

Besides twenty other frigates and privateers, from ten to twenty-four guns, and several transport ships, having on board the regiment of Ponthieus.

2 battalion,	Men, 1350
The battalion, militia of Saumur,	600
“ “ “ “ Fontenay le Comte,	600
“ “ marines,	600
	<hr/>
	3150

The land forces are commanded by M. Pommeril, brigadier general.—*American Magazine for 1746, p. 430.*—*From the London Gazette, June 24.*

This expedition sailed from Rochelle 22 June, 1746, n. s. They met with contrary winds and storms, particularly a storm September 2d, near the isle of Sable, when four ships of the line and a transport were left in distress, and not afterwards heard from, and the squadron scattered and dispersed. The Mars and Alcide, 64-gun ships, bore off for the West Indies ; and the Ardent, 64, put back on the 15 Sept'r. for Brest. The Ardent was burnt and the Mars captured on the French coast by the English ships Nottingham and Exeter. One of the French fleet arrived at Beaver harbour about the beginning of September. On the 10 September, the duke d'Anville arrived at Chibouctou, in Acadie, in the Northumberland with the Renommée, and three or four transports. Here he found only one of his fleet, which had got in three days before him. (He had some time before detached M. Conflans with three ships of the line and one frigate, to convoy the trade to Hispaniola, and then rejoin the fleet. They called at Chibouctou, as ordered, but eventually sailed for France, without meeting with the rest of the fleet.) Sept'r. 16, three transports arrived at Chibouctou, and on that day the duke D'anville died, whether of apoplexy, sickness or poison, different statements existed. He was buried on a small island at the entrance of the harbor next day, said to be George's island. In the afternoon of the same day the vice admiral d'Estournelle, with three ships of the line, come in to Chibouctou. Mons'r. de la Jonquière, the governor of Canada, was on board of the Northumberland, and had been declared a *Chef d Escadre* after the fleet left France, and was then next in command to the vice admiral d'Estournelle.

In a council of war, held on board the Trident, 18 September, the vice admiral proposed that they should return to France. They were deprived of four of their ships of the line, viz't., the Ardent, Caribou, Mars, and Alcide, and the Argonaute, fire-ship. They had no news of Conflans and his ships ; so that only seven ships of importance remained. Many of the land forces were in the missing ships, and those in the harbor were in a sickly state. From 1200 to 1300 of the French are said to have died at sea, and 1130 at Chibouctou.

They suffered under scorbutic fever and dysentery, and the Indians caught the disease from them and died in numbers. d'Estournelle's proposition was debated for seven or eight hours. Jonquière and all the land and sea officers were opposed to it, thinking themselves bound in honor to make some attack upon the English, and supposing they could at least conquer Annapolis and recover Nova Scotia, and then winter at Casco bay or return to France. The sick, by the supply of fresh provisions from the Acadians, were recovering. The vice admiral not prevailing in his motion, became agitated, fevered and delirious, and was next morning found in his apartment fallen on his sword, and died within twenty-four hours afterwards. Some of the soldiers who had just arrived, now landed, and encamped on shore. The command devolved on M. la Jonquière. Sept'r. 23, nineteen of the Micmacs who were at the affair at port la Joie, got to Quebec, with one prisoner and some scalps. Sept'r. 24, M. St. Pierre got to Quebec, with 150 Indians, Abenakis, &c., On 3 October, the Renommée sailed for Quebec, with four vessels laden with stores, and a light brigantine was sent to France with despatches. On the 9 and 10, troops were embarked. On the 11th, a flag of truce from Louisbourg brought in forty French prisoners—a council of war was held, and that night all the rest of the troops and all the tents were embarked. On the 12th, the wind was too fresh for sailing. This day, la Parfaite, a prize snow from Carolina—the Antigua prize, and some fishing schooners, were burned. On the morning of the 13th, the whole squadron, consisting of 30 ships, 2 snows, 2 brigs, 1 dogger, 4 schooners and 3 sloops, sailed from Chibouctou. Fifty people from Menis were said to be on board, intended as pilots to Annapolis. On the 14th, several small vessels left the squadron for France. There were but seven vessels of the line remaining, and five of the ships were used as hospitals, there being now not above 1000 men of the army in an efficient condition. The squadron bore for cape Sable, with the design of attacking Annapolis; but when near the cape, meeting severe storms, they consulted on their position, abandoned the enterprize, and landed the French pilots. Two

of the ships are said to have gone as far as Annapolis bason, but to have withdrawn on finding men-of-war there. On 27 October there had been got ready at Quebec 7 vessels, with 6000 quintals flour, and quantities of codfish, oats and iron, to be sent to the fleet at Chibouctou; and ensign Beaujeu de Villemonde was sent by the way of the river St. John with advice to the commander of the fleet. The chevalier de Beauharnois left Chibouctou 2nd October, and got to Quebec 4th November.

To return to de Ramezay and his Canadians. They were on their return to Canada, when d'Anville's fleet arrived at Chibouctou, and an express was sent to recal them. M. Bigot, intendant of the fleet, wrote to de Loutre from Chibouctou 20 Sept'r. to come there. About four hundred French returned with de Ramezay, Coulon and LaCorne, three captains of the marine, and chevaliers of St. Louis. About the end of September de Ramezay came before Annapolis with a party of about 700 men. He made no assault on the place, but encamped at some distance. At that time Mascarene had a reinforcement of 250 men, which Shirley had sent him. He had also the Chester man-of-war, of fifty guns—the Shirley frigate, of 20 guns, and the Ordnance schooner, in the bason of Annapolis. In October, de Ramezay having advice of the withdrawal of the French squadron from this country, broke up his camp and removed to Mines, proposing to pass the winter there. It does not seem, however, that they remained there long, but withdrew to Chignecto. The presence of this formidable fleet was calculated to agitate and alarm all the English colonies, especially those of New England. Boston was reinforced in consequence by 6400 militia from the interior of the province of Massachusetts; and when the fact was known that this mighty armament, intended to destroy the British power in these regions, had been dispersed and overwhelmed by storms, sickness, and multiplied disasters, so that it not only failed to accomplish any part of the designs entertained by the French, but that hardly a ship returned to Europe, the joy and gratitude to God felt and expressed in New England was almost unbounded. Sermons were preach-

ed and printed on this subject, and troops were voted to protect Nova Scotia.

We will turn our attention to the affairs of Louisbourg in this year, 1746. On the 21 April, the two regular regiments (1219 men) arrived from Virginia to relieve the garrison, under convoy of the Fowey, Dover and Torrington ; and on 8 May, admiral Townsend, with three ships of war, the Kingston, Pembroke and Kinsale, and two store ships from England. On the 19 May, Warren addressed the American troops drawn up on parade, in a speech, (see appendix to this chapter.) On 23 May, admiral Knowles, his successor in the government, arrived with the Norwich and Canterbury. 2 June. Warren tells the duke that "the American officers are a good deal" "chagrined, and indeed so I hear are the colonies in general" "to which they belong, because they have not been consider-" "ed in the promotion of officers made to the two American" "regiments." He says it has lessened the influence of himself and Pepperell with them. He says also "We have" "buried near 2000 men since we have been in possession of" "this place." Admiral Knowles was, from the first, dissatisfied with Louisbourg. He says "he cannot think it will" "answer the expence that must be laid out, if we keep it." "The fortifications are badly designed, and worse executed." "Unless the climate could be changed, it is impossible to" "make works durable. The frosts begin to cease about the" "middle of May, which are succeeded by fogs. These last" "to the end of July or beginning of August, with the inter-" "mission, perhaps, of one or two fair days in a fortnight." "The cost of fuel last year was £6000, notwithstanding the" "number of houses that was pulled down and burnt." He had granted the inhabitants of the island of St. John leave to remain for the present. It would cost £6000 to £8000 to remove them, "as they are poor, miserable, inoffensive people ; and as I have hostages in my possession, there is no" "danger to be apprehended from them." But two fishermen are settled there as yet, "and those rather out of restraint" "than choice. I having forbid them to sell rum, so that this" "place is not likely to be inhabited soon by any other than"

"the king's troops, (unless rum sellers.) Indeed the land " "can never be an encouragement, it is so miserably barren," "the whole island being rocks, swamps, morasse or lakes, so " "that it never can produce herbage for the support of cattle," "much less grain," &c. Speaks of a ration of rum and spruce beer. "The water is bad, and causes fluxes." In July he says, "They have scarce two months in the year for the " cement to dry in," and reasons thence against fortifying. He depreciates everything and everybody. Careening cannot be done only in six weeks of the year. "As to the island being " "ever planted by settlers in it, 'tis impossible it should, for it " "is but here and there in the compass of many leagues that " "an acre of tolerable ground is to be found; nor can I " "believe the New England people will be brought to come " "here, but for their present gains, for every one I found " "here, from the generals down to the corporals, were sellers " "of rum." He calls the New England soldiers lazy, dirty and obstinate—rejoices at getting rid of them, and pities Warren, who had to deal with them. The Indian fur trade he calls chimerical. There is a great deal more in his letters to shew a prejudice against the place, and a manifest desire to underrate the value of its conquest. There had been anger between him and Warren on a point of duty. Warren says their friendship was a little interrupted by Knowles resenting too warmly his taking the *Superbe* from him, upon the loss of the *Weymouth* at Antigua. It seems also that the weather of our Northern region had impaired his health, and the doctors gave him no hope of recovery, unless he went to a warm climate, and he asked to be sent to capture St. Lucie, with a squadron and one regiment taken from Louisbourg; and his dislike to the Boston people seems to have brought on a serious riot there in 1748, on occasion of impressment for seamen. In reading his correspondence, we feel as if we had got to the fountain head of all the dismal misrepresentations of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, that were so reiterated and believed in during the latter part of the 18th century and the first part of the 19th, when our year was said to consist of 9 months of winter and 3 months of fog. It is surprising to

read a picture of climate so opposite to that given by the French governors and adventurers at an earlier date. But when we consider that Mr. Knowles arrived at Louisbourg in the last week of May, and without passing beyond its harbor, undertook, in June and July, already to certify to the seasons all the year round, the whole lands and character of the island, &c., and find his disparaging remarks increasing in intensity in 1746 and 1747, founded only on his personal feelings and views in the little port of Louisbourg, we can hardly adopt his conclusions as well founded. On the 20 Jan'y. 1746-7, he tells the duke of Newcastle that many of the troops have been frozen to death, "and the sentries, though relieved every half hour," "frequently lose their toes and fingers. Some have lost" "their limbs by mortification in a few hours. There is no" "such thing as using any kind of exercise to keep themselves" "warm, the snow in many places laying 10, 12 and 16 feet" "deep, and when it ceases snowing the whole island is cover-" "ed with a sheet of ice. Nothing is more common than for" "one guard to dig the other out of the guard-room before" "they can relieve them, and so by the rest of the officers" "and soldiers out of their several quarters, the drift snow" "sometimes covering the houses entirely."—"There is not" "a single person yet come to settle and fish here."—"Our" "miseries and distresses, occasioned by the severity of the" "weather, I really want words to describe. Nature seems" "never to have designed this a place of residence for man," "for with the poet we may justly say:"

"Here elements have lost their uses."

"Air ripens not, nor earth produces."

"The severity of the winters, and the want and misery I" "foresee people in these parts must be exposed to, makes" "me despair of any enterprize succeeding in Acadia or Nova" "Scotia; and certain I am, that were we in quiet possession" "of the town of Quebec, to-morrow, it would be impossible" "to keep it, had we no other enemy than the weather to" "encounter; but I heartily hope that expedition is over. I" "persuade myself, now admiral Warren has got from amongst"

“those enterprising genius's at New England, he will think”
“otherwise, and see more difficulties to surmount in conquer-”
“ing Canada than they would let appear to his view whilst”
“he was amongst them. He has most honorably acquired”
“reputation and riches, and I wish him happily to enjoy”
“them in old England; and next to the good he did his”
“country by taking this place, I hope I shall add some by”
“destroying it.” It is probable that the unfavorable description Knowles gave of Cape Breton, contributed to its being restored to France by the treaty of 1748. Time and events have shewn how mistaken were his views on many points; but it cannot be doubted that both Nova Scotia and Cape Breton have been long retarded in their progress, owing to prejudiced and distorted views of climate, soil and capability, originating with uninformed, impatient and peevish persons, who have taken a slight view of some portion of our coast. Admiral Knowles, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated 8 November, 1746, says: “Should his majesty judge it necessary to put the French inhabitants out of Nova Scotia and”
“Accadie after this violation of their neutrality, I hope he'll”
“do me the honor to let me have the command of the expedition.” This letter does not specify what violation of neutrality it refers to.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

(1.)

N. de la Rochefoucauld, duc 'Anville, was born in the beginning of the 18th century, and entered early in the French navy. He preserved in that severe service a taste for letters and an elegance of manners, which characterize his illustrious family. He was sent in 1746 with a fleet of 14 ships of the line to recover Louisbourg, but a violent tempest dispersed his squadron, and he died overwhelmed with grief, 16 September, 1746, at Chibouctou, where the English have since built the city of Halifax. [10 *New York Colonial Documents*, p. 73—note of Dr. O'Callaghan.]

(2.)

Jacques Pierre de Taffanell, marquis de la Jonquière, was born in 1686, at la Jonquière, a little property in the bishopric of Alby, in Languedoc, of a family originally from Catalonia, little favored by the gifts of fortune. An uncle of his was an inspector of the navy, which led to his entering that service in 1698. He was on some expeditions in favor of Philip 5, king of Spain, and was detached under the celebrated Claude Forbin, *chef d'escadre*. He served on land as aide major, in 1703, against the Protestants of the Cevennes. He was at the siege of Toulon in 1707—at Rio Janeiro and Chili, with Duguay Trouin, in 1711. He was made a *chevalier* of St. Louis and captain of a free company in 1731—*capitaine de vaisseau* in 1736—inspector of the navy in 1741. In February, 1744, he was flag captain to vice admiral La Bruyère de Court, in his engagement with admiral Matthews. He was with the expedition of M. the duke D'Anville in May, 1746, to recapture Louisbourg, &c. &c. He was sent out as governor general of Canada, and captured by the English on his outward voyage 3 May, 1747. He returned and took possession of his government 2 Sept'r., 1749, and died at Quebec 17 May, 1752, at the age of 67 years, and was buried at the church of the Recollets. By his marriage with mademoiselle de la Valette, he left one daughter only, who was married to the baron de Noe, of an illustrious family in Guyenne. M. de la Jonquière was well made, but low in stature, and had an imposing air. He was exceedingly brave, but uneducated, and very penurious and avaricious.

(3.)

(*From the American Magazine for 1746, p. 271.*)

The speech of his Excellency Peter Warren, Esq., to the American troops drawn upon the Parade at Louisbourg, May 19, 1746 :—

Gentlemen : It is with very great pleasure I have called you together at this time, because I have it now in my power to gratify you in what you have so long and earnestly wished for and desired ; I mean to return to your Families and Settlements after the great fatigues you have gone through both in the Reduction and Protection of this valuable Acquisition.

Your signal services upon this Occasion shall never be forgot by me ; and you may be assured I will (as indeed Sir William Pepperell and I have already done by letters from hence) in person, whenever I return to Great Britain, represent your Services, and the Importance of this Conquest to his Majesty and the Ministry in the truest Light.

By the early care taken in sending Troops, Ships of War, and Stores of all kinds, for the Protection of the Garrison, it appears that our Mother Country is thoroughly apprized of its value ; and the consequence of it to the colonies you are all well acquainted with.

In your return, Governour Shirley has strongly recommended your landing in the Eastern frontier of New England, which have been annoyed by some small parties of the enemy Indians. This will give such a countenance to the Out Settlements as cannot fail of having a very good Effect ; and as I am informed,

many of you have Settlements and Families upon the Frontiers, I flatter myself this will be very agreeable to you, especially as it will lay your Posterity to latest Generations under the greatest Obligations to you. Brigadier Waldo will go with you, and proper Provision of all kinds will be made for you.

I have seen with great Concern how much the Officers and Men have been Crowded in their Houses since the Arrival of the Troops to relieve them, to prevent which, as much as possible, we have kept one of the Regiments on board the Transports till we can prepare Quarters for them in the Hospital, which we are under the necessity of converting into a Barrack ; when that is done, and new Barracks built, (the Materials for which are hourly expected), I hope there will be Room to give Houses to all such People as shall chuse to settle in this Place, and to allow to such of the Troops as are married proper conveniences out of the Barracks.

Any Persons who have an Inclination to remain here as Inhabitants, or to enlist into his Majesty's service, may depend on my Protection, and the former shall always be at free Liberty to leave this Place whenever they please. And as nothing can contribute more to the Welfare of any Government and People than a religious Discharge of their Duty, and a benevolent and brotherly Behaviour to each other, I, in the most earnest Manner, recommend this, Gentlemen, to you all, that as we are one People, under the best of Kings and happiest of Governments, we continue in one Mind, doing all the good Offices in our Power for each other.

On Wednesday next we shall be able to land some more of the Gibraltar Troops, who, with those that are inlisted into the American Regiments, will mount all the Guards, and give you an Opportunity to get yourselves ready to embark on board the Vessels now preparing for you.

I take this Opportunity to acquaint you that though I have received my Commission as Governour of this Garrison, and the Territories thereupon depending, and Colonel Warburton hath his as Lieutenant Governor, and as such we are both to be obey'd ; but no Instructions are yet come to our Hands, but we may daily expect them, which I hope will enable us to grant the Houses and Lands of this Conquest to his Majesty's Subjects ; in the Distribution of which you may depend, Gentlemen, that the greatest Regard shall be shewn to you who conquered them.

I sincerely wish you all an happy Meeting with your Families and Friends, and shall ever think it the greatest Happiness that can attend me, to have Power, equal to my Inclination, to serve every Officer and Soldier that has been in the least Degree Instrumental in the Reduction of this Garrison to his Majesty's Obedience ; the securing which during the Course of a long and severe Winter, in which you suffered the greatest Hardships, and many brave Men perished, till the arrival of his Majesty's Troops, highly merits the Favour of your King and Country, which I hope will always be shewn you.

You are very happy, Gentlemen, in the Governours and Legislatures of your different Provinces, who, in all their Letters to Sir William Pepperell and myself, express the greatest Concern at the Mortality that raged among you last Winter, and that they had it not in their Power to keep their Faith with you, by relieving you so soon as they expected after the Reduction of this Place ; and such indeed was their care for you, that had not the two Regiments from Gibraltar happily arrived, nor the Levies gone on as well as they have done for the American Regiments

both here and in the Colonies, yet they were determined, at any Expence, to raise Men this Spring to relieve you.

When the two American Regiments are compleat, which I hope will be soon, I think, with those from Gibraltar, who have been long used to Garrison Duty, and while we have so strong a Sea Force as those already arrived and daily expected, under the chief command of Admiral Townsend, (for while he remains I have only the Second at Sea), who has in many Instances distinguished himself in his Country's Service as a good and experienced Officer, we need not fear the Power of France ; but should their Vanity lead them to make any Attack upon us, I am perswaded the same Spirit that induced you to make this Conquest will prompt you to protect it.

P. WARREN.

Louisbourg, May 19th, 1746.

(4.)

(American Magazine for 1746, p. 287.)

Extract of a Letter from Louisbourg, dated June 3, 1746 :—

“Colonel Choat is returned from St. John's. The French are all ready to embark for France, and in order thereto, Ships are going from hence to receive them ; they wanted to continue there on the terms granted to the Annapolis Royal French, but it was rejected.

Ships now at this Place and cruising.—Kingston, 60 guns ; Pembroke, 60 guns ; Chester, 50 guns ; Vigilant, 64 guns ; Norwich, 50 guns ; Canterbury, 60 guns ; Fowey, 40 guns ; Dover, 40 guns ; Torrington, 40 guns ; Kinsale, 40 guns ; Shirley, 20 guns ; Albany, sloop, 12 guns.

BOSTON, Wednesday, 25.—Yesterday arrived here, in 15 days from Louisbourg, his Majesty's ship Chester, of 50 guns, capt. Spry, commander, with a blue flag at her Mizen topmast head, in which came the Honourable Admiral Warren and Sir William Pepperell, Bart. At the ship's entrance into the Harbour, they were saluted by the guns of his Majesty's ships the Bienaimé and the Fireship Louisbourg, lying in Nantasket Harbour, and came to an anchor in King Road ; from thence, in the afternoon, upon notice being given 'em from Castle William, by firing some guns and hoisting the Flag that His Excellency our Governour was arrived at the Castle to receive them, they proceeded thither in the Admiral's Barge, and made his Excellency a visit, being saluted in their passage thither by the Guns of the Massachusetts Frigate and Boston Packet, and upon their landing at the Castle by the artillery there ; and from thence about five o'clock they proceeded to Town with his Excellency in the Castle barge, being saluted again at their putting off, with the discharge of the Castle Guns. Upon their approach to the Town, they were, by his Excellency's order, saluted by the Town batteries, which had their colours displayed, as they were also by several vessels in the harbour. Upon their landing at the Long wharf, they were received and congratulated by the Honourable Gentlemen of his Majesty's Council and House of Representatives, and a great number of Gentlemen and Officers, and being attended by his Excellency's company of Cadets, under arms, made a handsome procession to the Council Chamber ; and it being a training day for the Regiment of Militia in this town, the Regiment was drawn up under arms in King street by his Excellency's order, and the officers paid the standing salute, as he,

the Admiral and General, passed by thro' a great concourse of Spectators in the street, and at the windows and balconies, and afterwards the Regiment fired three vollies, and gave as many huzzas, and a general joy appear'd at their safe arrival here.

The same day the speaker and representatives waited on the Admiral and Pepperell, with congratulations, &c."

CHAPTER VIII.

1747. De Ramezay's intention was to winter in this province, so as to be ready to unite with the land and sea forces expected in the spring from France, with a view to the reduction of Annapolis. He withdrew from Mines to Chignecto. Mascarene considered that beyond the usual garrison of regulars at Annapolis, and the three companies of auxiliaries, volunteers from New England, he should have an additional force of one thousand men in the province, to repel the French — dislodge them from the country, and, by consuming provisions, deprive them of the facility of subsistence here. Their influence over the inhabitants would thus be lessened, and that of the English increased. The whole number he required was voted accordingly by the New England colonies, but by various accidents the Massachusetts quota of 500 was the only part that came over. They set out, the first division under captain Morris, (the ancestor of the family of that name), which arrived at Mines 13 December, 1746. When all were arrived, they did not exceed 470 men, besides officers. Having landed on the sea shore, at a distance West of Grand Pré, and no water carriage being to be had in the winter season, they marched by land thirty leagues in eight days, every man with fourteen days' provisions on his back. Major Erasmus J. Philipps and Edward How were sent to Mines to take charge of all civil affairs there, by an order dated 19 Jan'y., 1747. All salt held in Annapolis was embargoed from removal or sale. Colonel Arthur Noble came with the troops from Boston as commander, and colonel John Gorham is called commander of the

expedition. Mascarene gave written instructions to Mr. How, in which he says: "The most material points are—to keep" "troops at that place" (Mines) "till the navigation is freely" "open—to make them subsist of the produce of the country," "without burthening the inhabitants—to keep an exact" "account of what is expended that way, for w^{ch} Col. Noble" "to vouch for; what relates to Col. Waldo is to be repaid" "from New England in salt, English goods or Indian corn." "The less of the last the better for the publick service; and" "for the company of Rangers by Col. Gorham, which last is" "to be made out of the stores here—to use all possible" "means to gett a true intelligence of the number, strength," "dispositions and designs of the enemy at Chickanecto, in" "which service some of the delinquents might be employ'd," "and hopes given them, if they give a just and faithfull" "report, to regain the favor of the Gov't." The resources of the Mines district had been considered in the council, who concluded that one-tenth of the corn and cattle in that region would be sufficient to feed the troops stationed there for three months, without injury to the inhabitants. On the 29 January, o. s., (9 February, n. s.), colonel Gorham and major E. J. Philipps left Mines with a small escort, to go by land to Annapolis Royal. Colonel Noble and his 470 New England soldiers were quartered among the people of Grand Pré, being much scattered, and not apprehending any attack. We must now advert to the movements of the French party stationed at Beaubassin, (Cumberland.)

On the 8 Jan'y.. n. s., an inhabitant who arrived at Chignecto from Mines, reported to M. de Ramezay, who then commanded at Beaubassin, that the English, about 250 in number, had arrived at Grand Pré on the 24 December, (13 Dec'r., o. s.) Ramezay held a council of his officers, and they were all of opinion that they should move as soon as possible, to drive out the enemy before they should have time to establish themselves there. It was known that the English were lodged in the houses of the inhabitants, intending to fortify themselves in the spring, and believing that no attack would be made in the winter. De Ramezay was then suffering from a severe

bruise on the knee, received in his journey to Mines, [10 *New York Col. Doc's.*, p. 91], and gave the command of the detachment to M. de Coulon de Villiers, who had 240 Canadians, and 60 Indians, Malecites and Micmacs, with twelve officers. Wicker-work sleighs had to be made to carry provisions and accoutrements—snow shoes collected for the whole party, and the Indians brought in, as they were all absent. These preparations were not accomplished until the 23 January, n. s., (12 Jan'y., o. s.), at noon, when the expedition set forth from Chignecto, (Cumberland.) After seventeen days march thro' snow and frost, and over the ice of rivers and streams, they reached Piziguit (now Windsor) on the 9 February, n. s., (29 Jan'y., o. s., distant about 5 leagues from Grand Pré. The English accounts of this expedition raise the number of the French and their auxiliaries to 600 or 700. There the party passed the night in the dwellings of the inhabitants, having placed guards on all the roads to prevent their progress being made known to the English. On the 10 February, (30 Jan'y., o. s.), they learned from several inhabitants who had come from Grand Pré, (now Horton), that there were about 600 English, there, under command of colonel Noble, dispersed among the houses of the settlers, having no other lodgings to obtain—that the inhabitants had abandoned their dwellings to them, for fear of an attack by the French. They, the people of Mines, had assured the English that the French would come and attack them, but the English were incredulous, relying on the severity of the winter to prevent such an attempt. The French moved on about noon, and after marching about three leagues, (7 1-2 miles), halted.

Coulon divided his troops into ten detachments. He took with himself messieurs de Beaujeu, Delignerie, Lemer cier, Lery, four cadets and seventy-five men ; and the other nine divisions were each of an officer and twenty-eight men—(total 346 men.) These were designed to assail ten houses only. The English were posted in twenty-four houses, and the French had not men enough to attack them all, but they moved against the strongest houses, where the officers lodged. At 9, P. M., the French got to the river Gaspereaux,

half a league from Grand Pré. There they passed part of the night; and having placed the officers at the head of each detachment, they began their march at 2, A. M., on the 11 February, (31 Jan'y., o. s.), with the guides to conduct each party to the house it was appointed to break into. There were twenty-five Acadians with them, who had joined them at Pesseguit and the other places they had passed through, and who had offered of their own accord to take up arms.

They arrived at Grand Pré about 3 1-2, A. M., much incommoded by the cold and by the snow. (A snow storm was then raging, which had lasted 30 hours, and covered the ground about four feet deep.) The houses were well guarded, but owing to the great darkness that prevailed, the sentries did not discover them until they got within musket range. They attacked briskly in spite of the enemy's fire, killing the centinels—rushing into the houses, and forcing their way, when necessary, by the blows of their axes—surprised the English in their beds, (Col. Noble was slain fighting in his shirt, early in the engagement), and in a very little time obtained possession of the premises they occupied, and also of a boat and of a schooner of 80 tons, that had been used to bring the effects of the English. The officers and cadets distinguished themselves in this action, and the Canadians displayed much bravery. Of the English, were killed, colonel Arthur Noble,—his brother, ensign Noble, and three other officers—lieutenants Lechmere, Jones and Pickering, (Lechmere was nephew to lord Lechmere), and 70 non-commissioned officers and privates, according to the English account; but the French stated that 140 English were killed. The English wounded were stated by the French as 38, but by the English account at 60. The French claim to have taken 54 prisoners; the English say that 69 were taken. Among the prisoners were captain Doane, lieutenant Gerrish, ensign Newton, and Mr. How, who was also wounded. The French acknowledge the loss of seven of their people killed on this occasion, two of whom were Indians; and fourteen French were wounded, among whom were messieurs de Coulon and Lusignant. Coulon's left arm was pierced by a ball, and Lusignant had his

thigh broken, and received a wound in his shoulder. They were both carried to Gaspereaux, where the surgeon had been left.

The English who were in the houses not attacked, collected to the number of 350 in a stone building, where they had cannon. This place it was intended that Coulon and his party should attempt, but his guide led him to another house. When they had gathered in this stone house, and daylight came, they made a sortie, to the number of 200 men, with a view, as the French commander La Corne thought, to take him, who was in the next house, in which, he says, he had killed colonel Noble and his brother, but they were repulsed by the French detachment. The French and English continued to fight from house to house until 11, A. M. By one of the English accounts, the sortie was made because the stone building was very small, and unfitted for defence, and they wished to regain their vessels and stores, but their want of snow shoes defeated their exertions. The residue of the English got together, but had only 8 rounds of ammunition left, and provisions enough for one day only, and no fuel, and were much disheartened. About noon, flags of truce passed, and a suspension of arms until 9 A. M. on the next day was agreed upon. Both parties were exhausted.

Coulon being then at Gaspereaux, where he had caused himself to be carried, severely wounded and having lost much blood, the command had devolved on M. La Corne; and the officer at the head of the English was captain Goldthwaite, who had been a captain in Waldo's regiment at Louisbourg. The English officers wishing to enter into terms of capitulation, La Corne wrote to Coulon, who was lodged at three quarters of a league from the French camp, informing him of the proposal, and asking his intentions. He replied verbally by M. Montigni, that he should approve of whatever Coulon and the officers with him should decide upon. La Corne assembled the officers. They all agreed to grant terms to the English, still much more numerous than the French, who had been now abandoned by the greater part of their Indian allies.

The terms of capitulation were, in effect, that the English

troops at *Grand Pré* should leave within twice 24 hours for Annapolis Royal, with the honors of war. That the English previously taken, should remain prisoners of war. That the boat and the schooner, and what the Indians had pillaged, should not be restored. That the sick and wounded English might stay, till they recovered, at the river *au Canard*. That the troops of his Britannic Majesty, then at *Grand Pré*, should not carry arms at the river *au Canard*, the *Grand Pré*, *Pesseguit*, *Copeguet*, or *Beaubassin*, for six months. (See capitulation in Appendix to this chapter.) These articles were signed by all the officers, English and French, who were on the spot, and taken by *aide-major de Lignerie* to Coulon, at Gaspereaux, who signed the next day. The weather being extremely bad on the 13 Feb'y., (n. s.,) La Corne allowed the English the next day for burying their dead, with a safeguard of two sergeants and twelve soldiers. The English officers passed the day with the French, and La Corne says that they were surprised that the Canadians, whom they previously looked on as savages, with scarcely any sentiment of humanity, should treat them so politely and with so much mildness after the action, especially the prisoners, to whom they tried to soften, as far as it was possible, the pain of their lot. Among these last was Mr. How, a member of the council of Annapolis Royal, who had come after the detachment as commissary general. He had a very dangerous wound in the left arm. La Corne had taken him with arms in his hands, in the house where colonel Noble and his brother were killed, and he was released on *parole*, on condition that the *sieur* La Croix, who had been taken carrying relief to Louisbourg during the siege, and now remained prisoner at Boston, should be sent back in exchange for him, which was faithfully done. The missionaries, *Miniac* and *de la Goudalie*, requested and obtained the liberation also of a young English officer from La Corne.

On the 14th, the English being ready to leave, they marched out by pairs, with their arms and colors, powder and ball, through a lane formed by the French, (6 officers and 60 men), detached for the purpose. The English who came out were 14 officers, 330 soldiers, besides a commissary, a clerk, a doc-

tor and a surgeon, in all 348. They were escorted as far as the last houses of the settlers, being a distance of three leagues, where provisions were given them for the journey, and twenty Acadians went with them to the nearest houses of Port Royal.

The deputies of Mines represented to the Canadian officers that they were sadly destitute of provisions, many not having means of subsisting their families or of sowing their fields, owing to the frequent visits of the French and English detachments, who had consumed almost every thing. The officers decided to return to Beaubassin, (Cumberland), where they had left de Ramezay with a small party, and were more likely to obtain supplies, having a vessel and three boats that had wintered in *baie Verte*. To take advantage of the hard snow and the ice for marching, they concluded to start with as little delay as possible. They had some small cannon with them, two were six-pounders, and three two-pounders. As they could not take them on, they broke them. They burned the gun carriages and the boat taken from the English. The prize schooner belonged to an inhabitant named G—, who had always helped the French since the war began, and his vessel was given back to him by order of de Ramezay. They left *Grand Pré* 23 February, n. s., taking with them their prisoners and four captured flags, and they arrived at Beaubassin 8 March, n. s. La Corne, major de Beaujeu, and messieurs LeMercier and Marin, met there an order from marquis de Beauharnois to go at once to Quebec; and on the 1 June, de Ramezay, with most of his detachment, took the same route, leaving Le Gardeur de Repentigny at the post with 30 Canadians and about 40 Indians. At the end of two months they were also withdrawn from Chignecto, by order from Beauharnois. The removal of the French from Chignecto was supposed to have followed their learning the destruction of la Jonquière's squadron.

A large fleet had left Rochelle in the spring, comprising seven men of war, commanded by M. de St. George, a knight of Malta, having six outward bound Indiamen under his convoy, and five other ships of war commanded by la Jonquière, transports and merchant vessels destined for Canada, with

soldiers, stores and goods on board, designed for Nova Scotia and Canada. The English admirals, Anson and Warren, with sixteen ships of war, (thirteen being of the line), met this expedition on 3 May, in North Latitude $43^{\circ} 46'$. The English captured six French men-of-war, six French Indiamen, and many transports. The French loss in killed and wounded amounted to 700 men. Jonquière was made prisoner, and four thousand or five thousand French also were taken. The booty was also large, in ships, specie, arms, &c. Among other things found in the transports were 7000 suits of clothes and 1000 stand of arms, &c., designed for the use of the Acadians and Indians. The English lost capt. Grenville, of the *Defiance*, killed, and about 500 others killed and wounded. Anson was made a peer, and Warren a knight of the bath, an honor then but rarely bestowed. The duke of Newcastle states that Jonquière's fleet had on board ammunition and warlike stores, and 10,000 stand of arms, and that they intended to arm Canadians and Indians, and land a force at Bay Verte, to attack Nova Scotia. [*Letter 30 May, 1747, to Knowles.*] (The authorities I have relied on for the particulars of the engagement at Mines, in Feb'y. 1747, are the *History of the British empire in America*, 186-191; 2 *Williamson's Maine*, 249-254; *Douglass*, 324-326; *La Corne's narrative*, and the *London magazine* for 1747.)

On the 8 February, (19th, new style), president Mascarene writes a letter to Mr. How, in French, that he might shew it to the commander of the French party. To him and all his officers he sends his compliments, and thanks them for the civility they have shewn to our people after the action. He says: "I do not think he can count you among the number" "of the prisoners of war, as you have no commission from" "the king in our regiments here nor in the garrison, and" "that you have been at Mines only in quality of a member" "of council, to secure the inhabitants from the oppression or" "ravage that troops cause generally in their quarters." Suggests that if the prisoners are released, he will get governor Shirley to send back an equal number of French.—12 Feb'y., o. s., Mascarene issues an order, directing the cutting and

bringing in firewood for the garrison, and offers to pay 22 shillings, 13 liards, 4 sols, per cord. Each inhabitant is to furnish 8 cords.—The governor and council united in writing to governor Shirley, at Boston, praying his aid to get the exchange effected for Mr. How, whose personal worth and many services they mention. They state that he was sent to Mines as a civil officer, “and that at his own expences,” to assist in providing the troops there with provisions, and to prevent disorders. Mr. Newton was also sent to Boston, to forward the exchange. Mascarene, in a letter of 14 March, o. s., to the French commander, repudiates, with some indignation, a suggestion of the French officer, that his remark as to How’s not being fairly to be considered a prisoner of war, was intended to lead to his breaking his parole. I think Mascarene’s argument was sound, and that Mr. How was really a non-combatant. Taking up weapons to defend his life, or that of his friend, on a sudden nocturnal attack, could hardly vary his position as a civilian. M. La Croix, who had been taken 24 July, 1745, at the mouth of little Brador, returned to Canada with five other Frenchmen, who were sent back from Boston to M. de Ramezay, in exchange for Mr. How. La Croix left Boston 8 April, with a pass from Shirley, and got to Quebec 28 May. [10 *N. York Col. Doc’ts.*, p. 100] On the 12 April, capt. Rous came to Mines in a 24-gun brig, with two armed schooners and 300 men. They landed 150 men, hoisted their flag at the stone house, and, after four days’ sojourn, retired. At this time the French appear to have kept up a lookout party of some kind at Chibouctou, as de Ramezay sends news from that place, of the 28th March, that only one English vessel had made her appearance there—that she had fired on four Acadians, who had abandoned a pirogue, which the English subsequently carried off. Same date, two large ships seen sailing in the direction of Isle Royale, (that is Eastward.) 12 May, only two English vessels appeared at Chibouctou, but did not land. The French continued to have scouts and pilots there.—10 July, o. s. Firewood being scarce with the garrison of Annapolis, an order was issued to forbid its exportation.—In August, letters were received at Quebec

from father Germain, who offers a project for the capture of Port Royal, which he represented as actually devoid of any garrison, the soldiers there dying daily. [10 *N. Y. Doc's.*, 121.] The frontier wars of the French and Indians on the borders of New England, still carried on upon a petty scale, no doubt were very harrassing. At Quebec they had, this year, 361 English prisoners. In August, 171 of them returned to Boston, exchanged or ransomed—90 were scattered—30 too sick to be removed, and 70 had died in captivity. [2 *Williamson*, 254.]

Captain Cobb, afterwards an active commander of a government vessel, had pursued Gautier, the younger, as far as Mines. Mascarene tells the deputies on this occasion that "those who oppose the government, and think themselves" "in safety at Mines, are not as strong as they think." He promises, but postpones payment for supplies to the troops who had been there under Noble, probably supposing they would be less inclined to act hostilely by the debt remaining over. On the 3 Sept'r. president Mascarene issued a commission as a letter of marque, to William Knox, master of the sloop Marigold, about 80 tons burthen; Mr. Shirreff countersigns it as secretary, and Mr. How, as judge of vice admiralty, certifies that Knox has given bond, with two sufficient sureties in £1500, for obeying rules, &c.—Sept'r. 17, father Germain, being at Quebec, got 400 lb. powder, 1000 lb. lead and ball, 30 blankets, &c., for his Malecites, and 50 bbls. flour to be sent to Miramichi for them. [*Paris documents*, *N. Y. Doc's.*, v. 10, p. 126.] In the course of this year, a dangerous mutiny arose in the garrison of Louisbourg. Knowles, in obedience to orders he had received from England, ordered a stoppage out of the soldiers' pay to be made, "and in a few" "hours after the whole garrison were in a general mutiny," "and the troops ran and returned their provisions into" "store in a tumultuous manner, and swore they were no" "longer soldiers. It was impossible to discover any leaders, for in an instant there were more than a thousand" "assembled together." Knowles ordered them under arms, and met them upon the parade—told them it was the king's

order, &c. They remonstrated with him, regiment by regiment, stating that they were ready to risk their lives for the king; but they must perish, if, in so dear a place for provisions, their pay was retrenched, and that if they had not their full pay they could be no longer soldiers. He says: "All" "reasoning proving ineffectual, and perceiving many to be" "heated with drink, I found myself obliged to order their pay" "and provisions to be continued to them till his majesty's" "further pleasure should be known; when they huzzaed, and" "said they would serve faithfully." [*Louisbourg, 28 June, 1747.*]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.

(*From the 10 vol. New York Documents, p. 78.*)

CAPITULATION GRANTED BY HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY'S TROOPS TO
THOSE OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AT GRAND PRE.

(1.)

A detachment of his most Christian majesty's troops will form themselves into two lines in front of the stone house occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops, who will take their departure for Annapolis Royal within twice 24 hours, with the honors of war, six days' provisions, haversack, one pound of powder and one pound of ball per man

(2.)

The English prisoners in the hands of the French will remain prisoners of war.

(3.)

The shipping seized by the troops of his most Christian Majesty, cannot be restored to his Britannic Majesty's troops.

(4.)

As pillage was committed only by the Indians, the booty cannot be restored.

(5.)

The sick and wounded belonging to the English, actually in his Britannic Majesty's hands, will be conveyed to the river Aux Canards, where they shall be

lodged by order of the French commandant, and supported at his Britannic Majesty's expense, until they be in a condition to be removed to Annapolis Royal; and the French commandant shall furnish them with letters of protection, and they shall be at liberty to retain one of their surgeons until they be restored to health.

(6.)

His Britannic Majesty's troops actually at Grand Pré will not be at liberty to bear arms at the head of the bay of Fundy, that is to say, at Mines, Cobequitte, and Beaubassin, during the term of six months from the date hereof.

On the acceptance and signing of these conditions on the one side and the other, his Britannic Majesty's troops will bring with them a flag, and march to-day from their guard-house, of which his most Christian Majesty's troops will take possession, as well as of Grand Pré and all the munitions of war, provisions and artillery, which his Britannic Majesty's troops now have.

Done at Grand Pré, the 12th of February, 1747.

(Signed)

COULON DE VILLIER,
Commanding the French party.

BENJAMIN GOLDTHWAITE,
Commanding the English, who has
signed with thirteen others.

CHAPTER IX.

1748. We now approach the close of the war between England and France, which began in the spring of 1744, and terminated in this year, 1748. This peace, it will be found, did not put an end to the difficulties and sufferings of the English in our part of the world, as the Indians were encouraged and employed to do damage, while the French professed to keep the peace, but yet acted on unfounded claims, and pushed their troops into territories to which their right was purely imaginary, so as to restrict and hamper the progress of English settlement. The events of the year 1748, in Nova Scotia, are not of great magnitude, but they may possess an interest, as indicative of the temper and manners of the age, and throw some light upon the actual condition of the country and its inhabitants. We find that in May, 1747, the duke of Newcastle had commanded Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, and Knowles, governor of Louisbourg, that the American troops should be discharged, except such number as they should deem requisite for the defence of Annapolis and Louisbourg. They decided to retain seven auxiliary companies for that service. By commission, dated Boston, New England, 1 November, 1747, they appointed William Clapham captain of one of these seven companies, and on the 1st January, 1747-8, he took the oaths, &c., before governor Shirley. Hopson, who was lieutenant colonel of Fuller's regiment, had succeeded Knowles in the government of Louisbourg. He wrote 12 April, 1748, to the duke of Newcastle. He was then apprehensive of an attack on the colliery or the coal vessels. A

block-house had been sent there from Boston, which he intended to have set up at the colliery at the mouth of the river Indienne, (Indian bay, now called Lingan), which, he says, is "a small river 14 or 15 leagues N. E." (of Louisbourg), "or" "near it, and an officer's command with it, to protect the" "colliery there."

A proclamation of governor Shirley, dated 21 October, 1747, was received at Annapolis Royal 12 April, 1748. It promised the king's protection to the loyal inhabitants of Nova Scotia, but it proscribed by name, as guilty of treason and outlaws, Louis Gautier; Joseph and Pierre Gautier, two of his sons; Amand Bugeau; Joseph Le Blanc, dit le Maigre, (lean); Charles and Francis Raymond; Charles LeRoy, a native of this province; and his brother Philips LeRoy; Joseph Bros-sard, dit Beausoleil; Pierre Guidry, dit Grivois; (jovial) and Louis Hebert, formerly servant of captain Handfield;—in all twelve persons. £50 sterling is offered for each, if delivered up within six months; also a pardon to such of the guilty as deliver up an outlaw besides the reward of £50. It seems singular that this proclamation should emanate from the governor of Massachusetts, while the accused belong to Nova Scotia, and their crimes were committed in this province. But the secretary of State had directed Shirley to assist Mascarene in protecting this province, which he did effectively on many occasions, and there was no revenue in Nova Scotia, so that the hands of our governors at Annapolis were tied up, and they could effect little, unless when aided from New England. It is to be presumed that the twelve persons proscribed had been notorious, in aiding the French and Indians in the subsisting war. Mascarene wrote about this time to the deputies of Mines and Chicanecto, informing them that Shirley had been authorized by the English government to use all requisite means to keep this province in safety—that a vessel of 20 guns had arrived in consequence of this, and that another ship of war, transports and troops, were expected. So unsettled was the state of affairs, that persons going from one part of the province to another were often obliged to obtain special passports; as where disaffection prevailed and invasions were

frequent, the government was necessarily apprehensive of all unusual movements of individuals. As an example of this, we find, 23 April, 1748, a passport was granted by Mascarene, for the shallop Mary Joseph, Charles Boudrot, master—Charles Ambroise Melanson, and Honoré Bourg, mariners, and Margaret Pommicoup and Margaret La Montagne, passengers, giving them leave to go to cape Sables, viz., Pommicoup river, Baccareaux passage and Tibogue, but not beyond cape Sables. The Pommicoup here spoken of is the Poubomcou in earlier documents, now called Pubnico. Margaret Pommicoup, we may conclude, belonged to the Mius family, connected with the Latours. (See the pedigree, p. 264, vol. 1st, of this work.) On the 23 April, two vessels with goods on board, but equipped with arms for war, were sent to Mines. Captain Morris and Mr. Marston went with them to support them by their presence and to inspect that neighborhood, and the government sloop Ordnance-packet went with them.

The European powers who had been at war having sent plenipotentiaries to Aix la Chapelle to make peace, preliminary articles for a treaty were agreed on, and signed on the 19-30 April. All hostilities on land were thereby to cease within six weeks, and at sea "in the time mentioned in the" "treaty of suspension of arms between Great Britain and" "France, signed at Paris August 19, 1712," that is six weeks North of the Equator and six months beyond it. All conquests were to be restored. Thus cape Breton became again a French dominion. The cessation of arms was declared by proclamation at the Royal Exchange, London, on the 9 May, (o. s.) Meantime, to do what was right and fair, the English parliament this year made a grant of money to indemnify the colonists for their expences in the conquest of Louisbourg. The sums voted were :

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Massachusetts colony,	183649	2	7½
To New Hampshire,	16355	13	4
To Connecticut,	28863	19	1
To Rhode Island,	6332	12	10
To James Gibson, Esq.,	547	15	0
	<hr/>		
Sum total,	235749	2	10½
	<hr/>		

The lords of Trade, in their letter to president Mascarene of 24 May, say that his particular accounts of the expeditions of the enemy by land and sea gave them great satisfaction, and they highly commend the prudent measures he had taken, and they attribute the preserving of the province to his attention and the aid given by the neighboring colonies; and they have referred his request for salary and allowance to the duke of Bedford, one of the secretaries of State. Mascarene, in his letter of 15 June to the secretary of State, says, that the repeated attempts of the enemy on Nova Scotia have not had the success they expected; "and notwithstanding the means" "they have used to entice or force into open rebellion the" "inhabitants, who are all of French extraction and Papists," "they have not been able to prevail, except upon a few of" "them; and after having entered this province three differ-" "ent times, and as often blocked up this fort, with forces far" "superior to what could be opposed to them, they were at" "last, about a twelvemonth ago, obliged to retire to Quebec." "This fort, the only place of strength in this province, and" "the only one where the English have now a footing, and" "which, at the beginning of the war, was in a very ruinous" "condition, has, during the intervals the recess of the enemy" "allowed, been repaired in the best manner the situation and" "circumstances would allow, in which the French inhabitants" "have been made to assist with materials and their labor, on" "moderate encouragement of pay. H. M. ship Port Mahon" "arrived here a fortnight ago; and Mr. Shirley, pursuant to" "the order he had from home, has sent already upwards of" "200 men from the Massachusetts bay, and intends to send"

“more. By the last intelligence I had, I am informed the”
“Canadians are projecting some new attempt on this pro-”
“vince, expecting, as they give out, shipping from France, to”
“assist them.”

Father Germain had reported at Quebec that certain French refugees in the vicinity of Tatimigouche, who had come from the island of cape Breton, designed to go to that island to make some devastation there. In consequence of this information, it was resolved in Canada to send a party to Beaubassin, under command of ensign Marin, to consist of 100 Indians from the different villages, and 40 more men. This detachment was to be employed not only in preventing the English from forming any new settlements in Acadie, but also in annoying and harrassing them, either at Port Royal or in Isle Royale, (cape Breton), as far as the environs of Louisbourg, or in the different harbors where they cut firewood, should they find opportunity to go there, so as to disgust the enemy more and more with their conquest. On the 1st July, ensign Marin sailed with forty Frenchmen, in three *Biscayennes*, for baie Verte and Beaubassin, where he was to join the sieur Bailleul, who is to wait for him there with his detachment. [*N. York Colonial documents*, v. 10, pp. 166-169.] On the 8th July, the king's *bateau*, the St. Joseph, from cape Chat, brought to Canada twenty-four men and women, inhabitants of Isle Royale, who had remained since the war at the harbor called L'Indienne, who had been forced to come to Quebec by a detachment of 40 Isle Royale settlers, under the command of one Jacques Coste, who also captured two small English vessels at the same harbor. These 24 persons came to cape Chat along with 20 prisoners taken by the same detachment; but provisions having failed, Dugard, the commander, had been forced to pay a ransom, and the prisoners returned to Louisbourg. On the 29 July, Costé arrived in Canada, in command of a schooner taken at Indienne, (Lingan), with a *bateau* by his detachment of French and Indian refugees of Acadie. Costé brought off an English infantry officer and a soldier, whom he took at Little Brador, also the master of the schooner. This detachment burnt all

the houses of the French who were at Indian harbor and Little Brador, and who were working for the English since the capture of Louisbourg. It likewise burnt more than 2000 cords of firewood, that were along the coast, and which the English got the French to cut for their use. Governor Hopson says that there was a very good officer, lieut. Rhodes, of Sir Wm. Pepperell's regiment, in command at the colliery, which was about 4 miles from L'Indienne bay, who was then erecting the block-house for its protection. The capture of the shallops stopped the supply of coal for a month. He had to employ an armed vessel to protect the intercourse with the coal mine. All the French left on the island retired to Louisbourg, after about 40 settlers were carried off from the colliery, and Hopson had to find food for most of them, they not daring to return to their homes. In August, a quantity of goods were sent round to Mines, in a sloop, convoyed by two armed schooners and H. M. S. Port Mahon, in payment for the provisions furnished in 1746 by the inhabitants to colonel Noble and his party. The value per invoice was over 10,000 livres, being near £3200, Old Tenor, Massachusetts Currency. (See particulars in appendix.) A letter was addressed to Mascarene (15 April) by colonel W. Hore, and captains Benjamin Goldthwaite, Jedediah Prebble and William Clapham, of the independant companies lately raised in New England for assisting in the defence of Annapolis, requesting a change in the food of their men, who wished to have more meat in lieu of rum and molasses. Mascarene explains to them that his garrison are victualled by a contract made in England,—the others by a contract made by Shirley. He is willing to do all he can, but he refers them to governor Shirley.

On 26 August, M. Bigot, the intendant, arrives at Quebec. The count de la Galissonnière was there as governor since January. Mascarene, in an official letter, taxes the inhabitants of Mines with disobedience, divisions among themselves, screening the proscribed, stopping his packet with a proclamation enclosed for Chignecto and throwing the address into the fire, harboring rebels, and yielding "obedience to that" "banditti who are surely seeking your ruin as well as their"

“own, by involving you thus insensibly in their guilt,”—with employing Alexander Bourg as notary after he was dismissed, and with aiding deserters, and giving clothing, arms, powder and ball, to both deserters and Indians. He tells the secretary of State, the duke of Bedford, (8 Sept’r.), that there was at Mines a faction composed of those inhabitants, who, by having appeared too openly in the enemy’s interest, were exempted from the benefit of “a declaration of gov’r. Shirley,” “drawn up pursuant to orders received from him, and sent” “to be dispersed among the French inhabitants of this province.” They were encouraged from Canada—they sheltered deserters, and, backed up by the Indians, induced others to disobedience. “It will require time and good care to” “bring these French inhabitants to be good subjects, and to” “wean them of that inclination they naturally have for the” “French interest from their ties of consanguinity and religion.” He had been now some time aware of the preliminary treaty of peace having been signed. Besides the Port Mahon, sent to reinforce the province, there was the schooner Anson, of 70 tons, John Beare, commander, and Daniel Dimmock, lieutenant, and the schooner Warren, of 70 tons, Jonathan Davis, captain, and Benjamin Myrick, lieutenant. These vessels being under control of Mascarene, tended to produce obedience and peace in the province, as they could easily visit the settlements up the bay, and, by armed parties on board, check any mischief contemplated. During this autumn several French from Canada, cape Breton, and other dominions of France, applied to the government at Annapolis, desiring to take the oath of allegiance and become settlers in Nova Scotia. This request was refused by the council 28 Sept’r., as they did not think themselves justified in allowing French Roman Catholics to settle in the province without further instructions from the crown, and the applicants were directed to retire from the province when opportunity served. An exception was made in favor of Peter Bonner, François Rué, and Peter Outremer, who had respectively been resident here 19, 16, and 20 years—had married in this province, and behaved themselves well, and they were not to be molested. Colonel Gorham, captain

Morris, and other officers, were at this time at Mines, endeavoring to put out the embers of rebellion and disaffection.

Marin, who had left Canada in July, as a partizan chief to annoy and distress the English, went to the neighborhood of Louisbourg, where he captured a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, two sergeants and four soldiers, belonging to that garrison—two officers of an English ship of war, and four ladies. The prisoners having apprized him that hostilities had ceased, he sent the ladies back to the governor of Louisbourg, giving him notice that he could not surrender the other prisoners until he was notified of the cessation of war, of which he was ignorant. The governor wrote to him at once, and all the prisoners were sent back, except one named Mayer, a Swiss, formerly the orderly of the French garrison at Louisbourg, who deserted a few days before the surrender of the place, and was accused of treason. Marin got to Quebec on the 1 October, and the Swiss and his wife were brought there as prisoners. [10 *N. York Col. Doc's.*, p. 179.] On the 18 October, o. s., the old and new deputies of Grand Pré presented themselves before the governor and council at Annapolis. They had divided Grand Pré into districts, which was approved of; but as they had elected Martin au Coin, whose brother Paul was a known opponent of the government, and he suspected, the choice was annulled, and they were ordered to elect another in his place.

On the 7-18 October, 1748, the general and definitive treaty of peace was concluded and signed at Aix la Chapelle. By the 9th article, "His Britannick Majesty likewise engages" "on his side to send to the most Christian king, immediately" "after the ratifications of the present treaty, two persons of" "rank and condition, to continue in France as hostages, till" "such time as they have certain and authentick advice of" "the restitution of the Royal island," (Isle Royale), "called" "cape Breton," &c., "Provided nevertheless that the Royal" "island of cape Breton shall be restored, with all the artillery and ammunition found therein on the day of its surrender."

On 19 October, o. s., (30th, n. s.), the Anson and Warren

were ordered to take Gorham and his company, and a detachment of the auxiliaries, all to be under Gorham's command. He was ordered to go to St. John, and to call on the French inhabitants settled on that river to send two deputies to Annapolis, to give an account of their conduct during the war. If the Indians propose to make peace, he is to refer them to Annapolis, and he is directed to chide them for their breach of faith. He may call at Mines if the weather is favorable, but is to avoid landing any of his people at St. John's river or elsewhere, and keep strictly on his guard, and to be watchful against any surprise. There is an order of the same date to the "captain commanding the detachment of the Six auxili-
"ary companies raised in New England for the security of"
"this garrison and province," by which Mascarene directs him to obey colonel Gorham. Meanwhile the Port Mahon was recalled to Louisbourg, and several vessel loads of warlike and other stores had arrived at Annapolis from Louisbourg, and more were expected. Several persons from Mines were ordered to appear at Annapolis on the 5 Nov'r.: Etienne le Blanc, Honoré Gotro, who resides with François le Blanc, Guillaume Hebert, Abraham Dugas, Pierre Landry, (son of Antoine), Jean Gotros, widower, and his daughter Nannette, Bioné le Blanc, son of François le Blanc, Philippe Roy, at Pisaguid, and Germain Hebert. The above persons were required as witnesses for the crown against certain prisoners. About the end of November the two *row gallies*, the Anson and Warren, returned to Boston, taking home the men of the auxiliaries whose term of enlistment had expired.

An anonymous writer in the London magazine for Sept'r., 1748, p. 409, computes the expence Great Britain had met in taking and keeping Louisbourg, viz't.:

Paid to the colonies,	£235,747	2	10½
" Garrison, &c. for 3 years,	180,000	0	0
" Navy expense, in capture and protection,	150,000	0	0
<hr/>			
	£565,747	2	10½

Transports and incidental expenses he calculates will make the whole charge exceed £600,000. He says "this is three " times as much as Dunkirk was sold for to France, by king " Charles 2nd ; and since that prince is blamed for making " a bad market, what must be said of those who give such " an extravagant present."

At the close of this year, Mascarene and the council were worried by the complaints of a captain of artillery, who had foolishly got into a quarrel on Christmas evening with a person of inferior position, but as the captain, on investigation, seemed to have been himself the aggressor, and refused to accept of any apology, the affair terminated.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

An account of merchandize delivered to the deputies and elders of the three districts of Menis, viz't, Grand Prée, Pisaguid, and River Canard, on acco't. of their payment for provisions, &c., they supplied the N. Eng. Troops, from on board the sloop Diligence, Aug't. 20, 1748, viz't. :—

The items are all given and charged in livres, sous, &c. 2 hhds. molasses, at 4 l. 11 s. per gallon ; 66 hhds. salt charged at 51 livres 11 1-2 per hhd. of 7 1-2 bushels ; linen at 3 livres a yard ; 3 bbls. sugar, at 93 l. 1 s. per cwt. ; wood axes at 132 liv. per dozen ; scythes, do. ; cloth was 13 l. 8s. per yard ; striped calimanco at 76 l. for 28 yards. The whole invoice is—livres 10,551. 8 1-4 s.

Being calculated with an addition of 20 per cent. on each article from the prime cost in Boston,—“On board the sloop Diligence. in the basin of Minas, Aug't. 24, 1748.”

JOSEPH GORHAM.

BARTHOLOMEW LEMERCIER.

Acco't. Curr't.

Dr.

Minas, 1746. To what maj'r. Philipps paid by direction of widow Allen's acco't., Minas money, 79 9 7

To do. on acco't of the } 8 15 0
King's quit rents,

To Armand Bujeau's } 12 7 11
Estate,

100 12 8

is

Liv. Sols.

Old Tenor.

1207 4

£362 3 2 3-5

To what Mr. How paid during }
his time,

2899 7 1-5

819 16 9 1-5

Minas, Aug. 28. To merchandize del'd. as per Invoice to the deputys and elders of the three districts of Minas, for the payment of the inhabitants, Grand Prée, Piziquid and River Canard, as per receipt,

10551 8 1-4 3165 8 8 1-5

Liv. 14657 19 11-16 £4347 7 11 1-5

From all the deputys and elders took a joint receipt for the whole.

N. B.—Old Tenor is worth about one-sixth of Stg. money.

Cr.

Minas, 1746. By what the three districts of Minas furnished, vizt. : Grand Prée, Piziquid, and River Canard,

Liv.	Sols.	Old Tenor.
5791	6 1-16	1737 8 1 2-5

By sundry articles, viz't., Poultry, Garden stuff, journeys and firewood, not included in maj'r. Philipp's acco't., which, having not time to examine, past them,

3160	2	948 0 7
------	---	---------

By sundrys supplied, as per contra,—sums which maj'r. Philips and capt. How paid,

4016	11	1181 19 3 3-5
------	----	---------------

By René Le Blanc's House allowed,

1000	0	300 0 0
------	---	---------

By Baptist Babin, do.,

600	0	180 0 0
-----	---	---------

L. 14657 19 11-16 £4347 7 11 1-2

Errors excepted.

JOSEPH GORHAM.

Sir. The above account being to obviate and prove that the acco't. agrees with the directions received from your Honor, and hope it may meet with your concurrence.

We are, sir, your very humble servants,

JOSEPH GORHAM.

BART. LEMERCIER.

To the Hon. Paul Mascarene, lieut. go'r., &c.

A very particular receipt in full, drawn in French, is attached, dated 19 Aoust, 1748, signed thus :—

Antients of Minas—
René Le Blanc.

Jac. Terriot.

Fras. Le Blanc.

— Dougas.

Deputies of Piziquid—

his

Abr. ✕ Landry.
mark.

his

Jean ✕ Chienne.
mark.

Deputies of Minas—

Bern. Daigre.

his
Fras. X Boudrot.
mark.

his
Mich'l. X Le Blanc.
mark.

his
Paul X Oquine.
mark.

Deputies of River Canard—

his
John X Terriot.
mark.

his
Oliver X Deglass.
mark.

his
Jean X Granger.
mark.

his
Michael X Richard.
mark.

Witnesses—

Chas. Morris.

Jos. Gorham.

Geo. Gerrish.

CHAPTER X.

1749. In January, several claims were made on the government at Annapolis, for the damage sustained by the proprietors of buildings pulled down during the siege as a measure of precaution and defence. Mr. Skene, major Philipps, Mr. Shirreff, John Hamilton, and others, made demands of this nature. The church belonging to the inhabitants was burnt down through a mistake of orders, and other buildings were burnt or destroyed by the soldiers, under similar circumstances. It was resolved in council that every person concerned should swear to his estimate of loss, and that the papers should be "signed by the governor, in order for the " "sufferers to solicit proper compensation in England."—Captain John Gorham, of the independant company of Rangers, offered the government a proposition for settling a township on the Eastern coast, on certain conditions. This project was to be also sent home by the president, with his observations thereon. Mascarene sent all these papers to the lords of Trade, with his letter of 14 February, in which he recommends compensation for the buildings destroyed, and says that Gorham's plan for settling families from New England "according to the measures to be taken at home for " "settling and strengthening this province, may there best " "be considered."

Governor Shirley wrote at great length to the duke of Bedford, secretary of State, (Boston, 18 Feb'y.) on colonial interests. Complains of French encroachments in building fort St. Frederick at Crown point—in claiming the Northern part

of Nova Scotia, Canso island, &c. He suggests that the *quota* of each colony in war should be settled by an act passed in each assembly, but prepared and recommended by the crown, as the proportions settled by king William 3, in council, had long lost their efficacy. He proposes to intersperse protestant settlements among the French in Nova Scotia, taking part of the marsh lands from them for the new settlers : the French to be indemnified with woodland and upland ; also to fortify Chebucto, Chignecto, and minor points. He refers to an accompanying report and plan of a survey, made by captain Morris, who commanded one of the six New England companies of auxiliaries, “an officer who has distinguished himself” “by his behaviour at Minas against the enemy.” (This gentleman was afterwards chief surveyor in Nova Scotia, and the ancestor of a highly respected family in Halifax.) He recommends his being employed in further surveys in Nova Scotia. He also favors the bringing settlers here from New England or the North of Ireland. Mr. Morris, in his report, suggested a settlement of about one hundred families on the South shore of Annapolis bason—a settlement of forty families, protected by a battery at the Scotch fort, “a place of consequence” “where the river of Annapolis is not above 600 yards over,” “and the depth of the channel within 100 yards of it,” distance from the Fort five miles. Another settlement of forty families between the last and the fort—eighty settlers from Moose river to the fort—two settlements of thirty families each, six miles up the river. In all he proposes to place about 300 families in the country around Annapolis. The fishery—brick-making, for which, he says, there is excellent clay in all these districts—labor at the fort—supplying the fort and garrison with lumber and firewood, are mentioned as offering advantages to them. In Mines, he proposes to settle 100 families at River Canard, 150 at Grand Pré and Gaspereaux, and 60 at Pisiquid. He recommends the little island in Grand Pré as a site for a fort. It is 1300 paces long and 400 wide. At Advocate harbor and cape *Doré* he would place 30 families. It has 300 acres salt marsh, and excellent upland. There are no French proprietors there. It is said to have been granted

to the duke of Chandos. (I have not found a record of such a grant.) Copper is found in the crevices of the rocks for two miles together. Cobequid would admit of several settlements. Shubenacadie is said to be fertile. Chignecto is surrounded with marshes,—one, the northernmost, is eight miles long and 1 1-2 wide—contains 7000 acres ; another of 3000 acres. Five hundred families might settle there ; Minudie, 50 families ; and at Chipody, Memramcook and Petitcodiac, 150. From Chipody to St. John the shore is rocky and mountainous. At 1 1-4 mile from Chignecto basin is a hill or island 60 feet high, a quarter of a mile long, and one-eighth of a mile wide, on which, he says, a noble fortress might be erected.

Shirley wished that Canso should have a fort and small garrison, and a ship of war stationed there to protect the fishery and vindicate the title, as the French constantly claimed it by inserting it by name in the commissions of their governors at Louisbourg. They carry on fishery at Gaspé and cut timber in Nova Scotia within five leagues north of the gut of Canso, where a party was even then at work. They also had settled near 300 Canadian families at Gaspé, who repudiate all dependence on England. He says it is absolutely necessary that the line between Canada and the English provinces should be settled by commissioners. He thinks if English protestants settled among the French, they would intermarry. By captain Morris's scheme, 1420 English families could be settled, which Shirley says would exceed the number of the French. On the plan of compact settlements, half an acre to each house lot, they could picquet in their towns, and their usual log houses would be defensible against musketry, the only arms the Indians could bring against them. He proposes a fort at Mines, with a garrison of 300 men ; another at Chignecto, capable of holding 1200 men ; to have in peace a garrison of 500 soldiers and two companies of Rangers. He thinks 250 soldiers and 75 rangers would be sufficient for the fort of Annapolis. One ship of war and two armed schooners should be employed, to cruise on the coast from Canso to bay Verte, and complete the survey of Nova Scotia. To remove the French inhabitants " would be attended with very hazardous "

“consequences, and should be avoided, if possible.” If not intermixed with Protestant English, they will remain a separate body until they grow strong enough to subvert the king’s government. He recommends bringing French protestant ministers here, and banishing all their present priests, but providing Catholic priests for them, who are not bigotted to the French interest; also to grant “small privileges and immunities for the encouragement of such as should come over” “to the Protestant communion and send their children to” “learn English.” (This suggestion of offering worldly advantages in a change of profession can hardly be commended in our days.) He favors the establishment of truck-houses for the trade with the Indians, and the granting proper presents to them. He prefers New England settlers, as familiar with cultivating new lands,—as of well rooted allegiance,—and fondness for the Protestant religion. On the same principle he prefers New England troops to be posted in Nova Scotia, and would give each man, after three years’ service, fifty acres of land to settle on, or 100 acres if he has a family, and he thinks that within ten years at least two thousand New England families could be got to settle there. The principal garrison should be at *Chibucto*, and the troops in the province consist of 1250 regulars and 475 Rangers. In time of war he thinks there should be 2000 regulars. He recommends stationing a 40-gun ship at Canso, a 50-gun ship at Chibucto, a 20-gun ship at Annapolis or Chignecto, besides a 20-gun ship and two small schooners to cruise from Canso to the river St. Lawrence, and concludes that if Nova Scotia, &c. fall into the hands of the French king, he will have great resources for establishing a general dominion by sea.

Shirley was ordered by the king to prepare a plan of a civil government for Nova Scotia, and he sent his project to the secretary of State, in a letter of 27 February, 1748. He proposes a charter, based on that of Massachusetts, (granted 1692 by William and Mary :) 1. The grant of Nova Scotia to Massachusetts to be vacated or annulled. 2. The assembly to be triennial. 3. The governor to have power to suspend the lieutenant governor and the members of the council. The

governor and council to have power to remove judges, justices of peace, sheriffs, &c. 4. The number of representatives to be fixed and limited. 5. Liberty of conscience to be extended to papists for a definite term, after which they are to be disqualified, as in England. 6. The power of incorporating towns to be reserved to the crown. 7. The king to reserve to himself the appointment of governor, lieutenant governor, secretary, chief justice and attorney general. 8. The supreme court to have equity jurisdiction as well as common law. 9. Governor and council to have cognizance of marriage and divorce controversies. 10. Appeals to the king in council allowed in cases over £300 stg. 11. Trees 24 inch diameter at one foot from the ground reserved for the use of the navy. 12. Until sufficient English population, which, he supposes, ten years will bring round, the governor and council are to make laws, erect courts, &c.; and the chief justice to go on circuits, and determine, without a jury.

The proposal for a charter government was not adopted. The new government was therefore modelled more on the pattern of that of Virginia, the oldest Royal province, than on the Massachusetts charter.

The peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, of October, 1748, is said to have been proclaimed in London in the beginning of February, and at Boston, Massachusetts, 10 May, 1749, and it was proclaimed at Annapolis Royal 20 May, o. s. M. de la Galissonière, the governor of Canada, wrote to Mascarene, dating Quebec, 15 January, 1749. He complains of a missionary having been driven out of Mines—of the houses of Amand Bugeaud and Le Maigre, at the same place, having been burned. If Mines should prove to be French territory, the English must rebuild them, as they were aware at the time of the cessation of arms. Exacting submission from the people of Beaubassin and bay Verte, he calls premature and useless until the right to these places is determined. He complains still more of Gorham's exacting submission from the inhabitants of the river St. John, "a river situated in the continent" "of Canada, and much on this side of the Quenibec, where," "by common consent, the bounds of New England have"

“been placed;” also that Gorham told the Abenakis they must make their submission at Annapolis, if they wished to be included in the peace, and Gorham kept two of them who had gone on board his vessel to look for their missionary. He says it is very doubtful whether it was by the Abenakis that the Englishmen of Gorham’s vessel were killed; but if it were so, these two Indians had gone on board on the public faith given by Gorham, and ought not to have been arrested. He demands—1. The release of the two Indians. 2. That nothing shall be changed in the state of religion and its ministers in Acadie. 3. That Gorham and all others shall be forbidden to solicit or to threaten the inhabitants of the river St. John, or of any other dependancy of the government of Canada, to engage them to submissions which are contrary to the allegiance which they owe to the king of France, who is their master as well as mine, and has not ceded this territory by any treaty. 4. I beg you to let me know if you conceive the Abenakis are included in the peace, and if so, that you will induce M. Shirley to let them rebuild their village and to leave their missionaries in tranquillity, as they were before the war. He says they entered the war only as allies of France, and it ought to close for them as for the French, who are bound to protect them. He dwells on the difficulty he has to restrain the Indians, and the damage they may do to the English borderers.—To this letter both Mascarene and Shirley replied at considerable length, claiming for Great Britain the territories referred to by Galissionère—defending the course pursued with regard to sending Gorham to St. John, and in dismissing the priest at Mines and punishing traitors. The French of St. John, many years ago, had taken the oath of allegiance. Gorham and some of his men, who went ashore, were fired upon, and he took two of the Indians in order to induce the others to clear themselves of any share in this outrage, and to bring the offenders to light. They were well treated, and so little guarded that they got away—one of them got home, the other was retaken and sent to Boston. Shirley tells him that the Abenakis, when the war was impending, sent a deputation to governor Mascarene, professing to wish

to remain in peace, although war should arise between the two crowns. This was conceded, and they were honorably treated and dismissed ; but their real mission was to act as spies, and they " returned in three weeks after, among others of their " tribe, with the missionary de Loutre at their head, surpri- " sed and killed as many of the English at Annapolis Royal " as they caught without the fort," &c. " For this perfidious " behaviour I caused war to be declared in H. M. name " against these Indians in Boston, in November, 1744 ; and " so far as it depends on me, they shall not be admitted, sir, " to terms of peace, till they have made a proper submission " for their treachery, unless they should be already compre- " hended in the definitive treaty of peace." There are many excellent arguments and statements in the letters of both the English governors to the governor of Canada. They chiefly refer to the territorial rights of each crown, and to the determination of the English to check treason within their own bounds, without regarding either the priests, the inhabitants, or the Indians, who dwelt on British ground, as privileged to carry on open or clandestine hostility to the government or to the English of the adjoining colonies. I should have been glad to give this correspondence in full ; but in this instance, and in several others, I believe it better to abridge, as what might prove interesting in an historical collection, would tend to swell a work like the present beyond all reasonable bounds.

On the 8 May, an order of the governor and council was signified to M. Brossard, a French priest, who had come irregularly into the province, to depart without delay. 8 June, 1749, the president and council re-established an ordinance of 1730 against riding other folks' horses, and another concerning overseers of sheep ; and appointed Denis Petitot and Tuck Landry, overseers. Granger's schooner, which had been detained during the war, was allowed to leave Annapolis ; but Mines vessels were still forbidden to leave Minas basin 14 June. June 21, Lieut. Brown, with a party of Gorham's rangers, was sent up the bay after deserters, in the Warren row galley. During the spring of this year, Mascarene was informed that two officers and twenty or thirty men from Canada, together

with a number of Indians, had come to erect a fort and make a settlement at the mouth of the river St. John, and that two vessels with stores and materials were coming to them from Quebec, down the gulf of St. Lawrence and round cape Sables. He notified the English government of this in a letter of 2 June, in which he says also, "Thirty leagues up that river" "are seated about twenty families of French inhabitants," "sprung originally from this side of the bay, most of them" "since my memory, who, many years ago, came here, and" "took the oath of fidelity, and have been reckoned as the" "rest of the French inhabitants of the other settlements of" "this province, and the whole river up to its head, with all" "the Northern coast of the bay of Fundy, and in general all" "the parts of the said bay, were always reckoned dependant" "on this government, and, I presume, included in the com-" "mission of the French governor who commanded here when" "this place was surrendered to the arms of Great Britain."

CHAPTER XI.

WHETHER the restoration of cape Breton to France in the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* was an act of prudence or folly on the part of the rulers of England, is a question that can only be determined on a full and accurate investigation of the state of the two crowns at the time of the negociation, as respects their forces, both military and naval, and their prospective means of continuing the war to advantage. To resolve it, therefore, lies beyond the scope of the present work. There can be no doubt, however, that if the surrender of Louisbourg to its former owners could have been avoided, the British influence in America would have been essentially benefitted. The course adopted of founding a place of strength at Chibouctou, on the Eastern coast of this province, and making a settlement there of settlers of British origin, was, in these circumstances, a measure of wisdom and forethought. Not only did it strengthen the power of government within the province itself, but it afforded a place suited in every way for fleets and armies to be afterwards employed in the reduction of Canada. Nova Scotia no longer was to depend for military support and relief upon New England, but on the contrary could at all times supply assistance to the older English colonies in case of attack. A plan for sending out a body of settlers was adopted, and the lords of Trade, by the king's command, published a notification in March, 1749, offering to all officers and private men discharged from the army and navy, and to artificers necessary in building and husbandry, free passages—provisions for the voyage, and subsistence for a year after landing

—arms, ammunition, and utensils of industry—free grants of land in the province, and a civil government, with all the privileges enjoyed in the other English colonies. Parliament voted £40,000 sterling for the expense of this undertaking, and in a short time 1176 settlers, with their families, volunteered to go. Colonel the honorable Edward Cornwallis was gazetted as governor of Nova Scotia 9 May, 1749. Mr. Cornwallis sailed in the *Sphinx*, sloop of war, on the 14 May, o. s., and the settlers embarked in thirteen transports, and left England some time afterwards.

The *Sphinx* made the coast of Acadie on the 14 June, o. s., but having no pilot on board, cruised off the land until the 20th, when they met a sloop on her way from Boston to Louisbourg, having two pilots. Cornwallis decided to go to Chebucto, for which he had a fair wind. Before he went there he had visited Merliguiche bay, where there was then a small French settlement, (Malagash, now called Lunenburg.) He arrived at Chebucto, (now Halifax harbor), on the 21 June, o. s., being the 2 July, n. s. The next day he wrote a despatch to the duke of Bedford, secretary of State, and sent a duplicate to the lords of Trade, and wrote also to president Mascarene, by the sloop he had met and detained, and sent a Frenchman overland by the way of Mines to Annapolis, a journey of 3 or 4 days. It was 25 leagues from Chebucto to Mines, over which the French had made a path to drive cattle. (See appendix.) On the 27 June, o. s., the transports appeared off the harbor, and by the 1 July, o. s., they had all got in safely. The number of persons who came as passengers in the transports amounted to 2532, and there are said to have been some few who came with the governor and his suite in the *Sphinx*. The whole number of settlers is stated in an old ms. book to have been 2576 souls.

Cornwallis says, (22 June, o. s.,) that the coasts are as rich as ever they have been represented. "We caught fish every" "day since we came within forty leagues of the coast. The" "harbour itself is full of fish of all kinds. All the officers" "agree the harbour is the finest they have ever seen. The" "country is one continued wood. No clear spot is to be"

" seen or heard of. The underwood is only young trees, "
" so that with difficulty one might walk thro' any of them. "
(make his way anywhere, Duplicate of letter.) " D'Anville's "
" fleet have only cut wood for present use, but cleared no "
" ground. They encamped their men upon the beach. I "
" have seen but few brooks, nor have as yet found the navi- "
" gable river that has been talked of." (The N. W. Arm was
called Sandwich river on early maps, and is most likely the one
referred to.) " There are a few French families on each side "
" of the bay, about three leagues off. Some have been on "
" board." " We came to anchor in Merliguiche Bay, where, "
" I was told, there was a French settlement. I went ashore "
" to see the houses and manner of living of the inhabitants. "
" There are but a few families with tolerable wooden houses, "
" covered with bark—a good many cattle, and clear ground "
" more than serves themselves. They seem to be very peace- "
" able ; say they always looked upon themselves as English "
" subjects ; have their grants from colonel Mascarene, the "
" governor of Annapolis, and shewed an unfeigned joy to "
" hear of the new settlement. They assure us the Indians "
" are quite peaceable, and not to be feared. There are none "
" hereabouts."

As the evacuation of Louisbourg was now in progress, Cornwallis sent off one of the transports to Louisbourg on the 1 of July, and four more, the largest of the fleet, on the 5th. These had all got into Louisbourg on the 13th ; and as colonel Hopson, who had been the English governor, had engaged to deliver up the place to M. des Herbiere, the French commandant, by the 12th, Hopson, and the two regiments he had there, embarked at once for Chebucto, where they shortly after arrived.

Early in July, the settlers were, many of them landed, some on George's island, but more on the peninsula, where the city of Halifax now stands. The ground was everywhere covered with wood—no dwellings or clearings appear to have been previously made. On the 12 July, o. s., colonel Mascarene, the late president, arrived at Chebucto, accompanied, as Mr. Cornwallis had requested, by five of the council, (a quorum.) The

next day the new governor exhibited his commission to them, and took the oaths of office ; and on Friday, the 14 July, o. s., (25 July, n. s.,) he appointed a new council, who that day met with him on board the Beaufort, transport, in the harbor, and took the oaths. They were :

Paul Mascarene,

John Gorham, Benjamin Green,

John Salisbury, Hugh Davidson.

A general salute from the ships in the harbor announced the proceeding to the people, and the day was devoted to festivity and amusement.

Some progress was made by the settlers. Before 23 July, o.s., twelve acres of the site of the intended town had been cleared, and Cornwallis expected to begin to erect his own house in two days thence, having a small frame and planks ready. It is a tradition that this first governor's house in Halifax was a small building erected where the Province building now stands, and was defended by cannon mounted on casks or hogsheads, filled with gravel. The first impression led them to think Sandwich point, now well known as Point Pleasant, would be the best situation for their town. It was a spot easily defensible, and it had the advantage of Sandwich river, (the name then given to the North West Arm), which was navigable some distance up. Under this opinion they began to clear the ground at the point the first day that they worked on shore ; but, upon examination, the strongest objections against this site appeared. The shoal that runs off from the point would make it very convenient for a fort, but was extremely dangerous so near to a town. It was so shallow that at a cable's length from the shore small boats would strike upon the rocks, and it was evident besides, from the beach, that a prodigious sea must come in there, and as the great storms here come from the South-east, they would act directly on the point. The soil also was thought too stony and hard near the shore, and swampy behind. Cornwallis, after this, fixed on a place for the town on the West side of the harbor. It was on the side of a hill which commanded the whole of that peninsula, and sheltered the town from the North-west winds.

The distance from the shore to the top of the hill is about half a mile, the ascent very gentle and the soil good. (Citadel hill referred to rises about 250 feet above the level of the water.) There is convenient landing for boats (he says) all along the beach, and good anchorage for the largest ships within gun shot of the shore. (The ease with which the Great Eastern moved about in this harbor when she was here in the summer of 1860, fully justifies his opinion.) He proceeds to observe, that in Durell's plan, the two points (at the Narrows) that make the entrance to Bedford bay (now called Bedford basin), are marked as the places proper to fortify, which is likewise taken notice of by Mr. Knowles. Their view must have been to have the settlement within that bay, (that is on the Basin.) This, he thinks, would be too far up for the fishermen, being five leagues from the entrance of the harbor, (at the outer cape.) The beach of the harbor being excellent for curing fish, no one would think of going up above, and no ship would, by choice, go so far, "as no finer harbour can be than that" "of Chebucto, which reaches from these points" at the Narrows) "to Sandwich river," (mouth of the N. W. Arm;) so that notwithstanding of any forts upon these points, i. e. at the Narrows, an enemy's fleet might be secure, and block up all ships within the bay, (basin.) He goes on to say that the proper places to fortify for the defence of the harbor seem to be Sandwich point, (point Pleasant), and the bank opposite to it. (Q. McNab's island, or the hill above Ferguson's cove.) George's island, he says, lies likewise very convenient for a battery to defend both the harbor and the town. It contains about 10 or 12 acres. It was there he landed the settlers from on board the ships sent to Louisbourg. He had now a guard there, (23 July, 1749, o. s.,) and stores, and proposes to build a magazine upon it for powder. He says 'the situation I have' 'chosen has all the conveniences I could wish, except a' 'Fresh water river. Nothing is easier than to build wharfs.' 'One is already finished for ships of 200 tons. I have con-' 'stantly employed all the carpenters I could get from Anna-' 'polis or the ships here to build log houses for stores.' He also offered the French at Mines large wages to work at Hali-

fax, and they promised to send him 50 men in a few days, who would stay till October. In his letter to the board of trade of 24 July, he states the total number of settlers, men, women and children, at 1400, (more than 1000 below the official returns, so it is likely to be a miscopy instead of 2400.) He says also that of these but 100 soldiers and 200 seamen are able and willing to work, and he speaks in the harshest and coarsest terms of the rest.

On 14 July, o. s., a proclamation issued in both the French and English languages, signed by the governor, Cornwallis, and countersigned by the secretary, Mr. Davidson. It refers to the new settlement in progress—calls on the French inhabitants to countenance, assist and encourage the settlers—reminds them of the indulgence they had enjoyed in the free exercise of their religion, and the quiet and peaceable possession of their lands, and reminds them of their ungrateful conduct in return, in openly and covertly aiding his majesty's enemies, by furnishing them with quarters, provisions, and intelligence, and hiding their designs, so that more than once they appeared under the walls of Annapolis Royal before the garrison had any notice of their being in the province. It then goes on to say that notwithstanding all that had passed, the king will continue to protect them in the free exercise of their religion, (as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow the same), and the peaceable possession of their cultivated lands, provided they take the oaths of allegiance within three months—obey the rules and laws of the government, and give assistance to the new settlers. The proclamation also forbids any one taking possession of uncultivated land without a grant from the crown, under the province seal; and forbids corn, cattle or provisions being exported to any foreign settlement without special leave from the governor.—Another meeting of the governor and council took place on board the Beaufort, on monday, 17 July, 1749, o. s. On this occasion William Steele, esq'r., whom the governor had appointed to a seat in council, was sworn in. His Excellency read a proclamation by which all settlers were forbidden to leave the province without his permission, under pain of forfeiting all the allowances and pri-

vileges promised them ; and two days' absence from the settlement was to be accounted as leaving. Another, by which any one who should sell liquors without a license, should forfeit his stock of liquors, and be punished otherwise, as the council might direct. These were approved of by the council, and published in the camp. And a third, by which all masters of ships and vessels were required to wait on the governor at their arrival and before their departure, was issued of same date.—Governor Cornwallis, soon after his arrival, had received from colonel Hopson copies of letters from Shirley and Mascarene, giving an account of the French having begun a fort and settlement at the mouth of the river St. John. He sent the Albany, capt. Rous, with a small sloop to attend him, with orders to the officers in command at Annapolis to furnish him with soldiers, if requisite. Shirley had sent a vessel, the Boston, to Annapolis, on the same errand. It appears that the French had put in at port Mouton, on their way to St. John. He tells the duke of Bedford (24 July, o. s.,) in regard to the encroachment of the French at St. John's river, that he wishes he had been lucky enough to have reached Annapolis. (This was prevented by his desire not to be absent when the settlers and the garrison from Louisbourg should get to Chebucto.) He would have gone himself to St. John. A work at the commencement is easily crushed ; and he wishes colonel Mascarene, instead of sending to acquaint Mr. Shirley, had gone himself, or sent a force to have asserted H. M. right, and stopped it. Monsieur Ramsay, (de Ramezay), who, he hears, is the person employed, had passed *Merlegoch* but a few days before Cornwallis put in there ; and it was owing to a sloop with him, and some other French on board putting in at port Mouton, that a rumor prevailed of the French intending to make a settlement at that place.

At the first meeting of governor Cornwallis with the new council he had nominated, (14 July, o. s.,) the oath of allegiance which the French inhabitants had hitherto taken, was read by Mascarene, who informed them that the French pretended that when they took this oath it was upon condition understood that they should be exempted from bearing arms.

It was then moved to add this clause, "*et ce serment je prens*" "*sans reserve*," (and this oath I take without reservation); but this was not approved, as the oath was considered strong enough. It was suggested, however, that the French should be informed that in taking it they must do so without condition or reservation. This oath is the same to which the lords of trade objected long before. Three French deputies, who had come to wait on his excellency. viz., Jean Melançon, from Canard river, Claude le Blanc, from *le Grand Pré*, and Philippe Melançon, from Piziquid, were called in, and after reading 'his majesty's declaration' to them, and the oath, his Excellency assured them of all manner of protection and encouragement, but informed them he expected the inhabitants would take the oath of allegiance to his majesty in the same manner as all English subjects do. Being asked if they had anything to offer from their several departments, the deputies answered that they were only sent to pay their respects to his Excellency, and to know what was to be their condition henceforth, and particularly whether they should still be allowed their priests. His Excellency assured them that they should always have them, provided that no priest should officiate in the province without license first obtained of his Excellency. Copies of H. M. declaration, (of which I regret I have not found a copy), and of the oath, were given to them to issue to the inhabitants, and they were recommended to return within a fortnight, and to report the resolutions of their several departments. They were also ordered to send to the other French settlements, to let them know his Excellency desired to see their deputies as soon as possible.

Cornwallis says, (23 July, o. s.): "The Indians are hitherto" "very peaceable; many of them have been here with some" "chiefs." He made them small presents, and proposed that they should assemble their tribes and return authorized to enter into a treaty, assuring them of the friendship and protection of the king in that case, and of presents. He says he told the French deputies that the inhabitants must swear allegiance unconditionally. They pretended their sole difficulty arose from fear of the Indians in case of a French war. He

thinks it necessary to exhibit strength, and designs to send, as soon as possible, two companies to Minas, with orders to build a barrack, and stay there through the winter. He should also send an armed sloop into the bay of Minas, to prevent all correspondence with the French by sea. Another company to the head of the Bay, (Basin), where the road to Mines begins. He also proposed to have a block-house half way, for the convenience of travellers, and then to set all the men he could collect, both soldiers and inhabitants, to open the road to Minas. At this date, (23 July, o. s.,) the garrison of Louisbourg had not arrived, and he had only one company of Hopson's regiment, one of Warburton's, and sixty men of Gorham's Indians, (Rangers?) Cornwallis says that nothing is wanting but industry and assiduity to make this colony, in time, as it appears to him, "the most flourishing of all the Northern" "colonies." As to fishery, it most certainly has the advantage of them all, and, as far as he can perceive, is not inferior in other particulars. The soil is good; the climate esteemed healthy; the "harbour the finest perhaps in the world." It wants a proper civil government, "for as yet there has hardly" "been the appearance of one."

The governor and council assembled again on board the Beaufort, on the 18 July, o. s., the councillors attending being messrs. Mascarene, Green, Salisbury, Davidson and Steele.—The governor appointed John Brewse, Robert Ewer, John Collier and John Duport, esquires, justices of the peace for the *township of Halifax*, (a name given to the town in compliment to the earl of Halifax, then presiding in the board of trade), and these gentlemen were sworn in accordingly. 'Ordered a proclamation, that all the settlers should assemble to-morrow morning in separate companys, with their respective overseers, and each company chuse a constable.' Cornwallis says, (24 July), 'many come over of the better sort, who, tho' they' 'do not work themselves, are very useful in managing the' 'rest. I have appointed two or three of these overseers to' 'each ship's company.' At another council on board the Beaufort, Wednesday, 19 July, o. s., Erasmus Philipps, esquire, resigned his commission as king's advocate in the Vice Admi-

ralty court, which bore date London, 23 February, 1729.—Thursday, 27 July. At a council on board the Beaufort, Peregrine Thomas Hopson, esq'r., late governor in chief of Cape Breton, and colonel of a regiment of foot, was named by his Excellency a member of the council, and sworn in accordingly. (The garrison from Louisbourg had probably arrived at this time.) The next day, 28th, lieutenant colonels Robert Ellison and James Francis Mercer were added to the council and on monday, 31 July, o. s., lieutenant colonel John Horseman, and Charles Lawrence, major, were also sworn in as members of council. This meeting was on board the Beaufort, transport, as were all the meetings of council to the 1 October, inclusive. There were present, 31 July, governor Cornwallis, and in the order as minuted, messrs. Hopson, Mascarene, Ellison, Mercer, Goreham, Green, Salisbury, Davidson, Steele; also Horseman and Lawrence, then just sworn in. Mr. How appears to have been absent. The full number of twelve members was thus completed.

All the governor's despatches to England to 11 September, inclusive, are dated Chebucto; but in that of 17 October he begins to date Halifax. He seems to have only begun to lodge on shore in October, on the 14th of which month the council met in his 'apartment' at *Halifax*. As this date corresponds with the 25 October of our modern calendar, it was pretty far advanced autumn weather, when we find fires very comfortable. It may be inferred that the process of building small wooden houses to shelter the people, must have been slow at this time. Small frames of buildings, and plank, and shingles, were, to some extent, supplied from Massachusetts; but the tradition is, that many dwellings were put up of pickets—that is, small trees cleared of branches, and set up vertically in rows close together, and then fastened with strips of board nailed on, afterwards roofed and covered in, thus forming small wooden cottages. This has been confirmed in several instances, on the repair or pulling down houses where the pickets with the bark on have been found.

Halifax in the summer and autumn of 1749 must have presented a busy and singular scene. The ship of war, and her

strict discipline—the transports swarming with passengers, who had not yet got shelter on the land—the wide extent of wood in every direction, except a little spot hastily and partially cleared, on which men might be seen trying to make walls out of the spruce trees that grew on their house lots—the boats perpetually rowing to and from the shipping, and as the work advanced a little, the groups gathered around—the Englishman in the costume of the day, cocked hat, wig, knee breeches, shoes with large glittering buckles, his lady with her hoop and brocades—the soldiers and sailors of the late war, now in civilian dress, as settlers—the shrewd, keen, commercial Bostonian, tall, thin, wiry, supple in body, bold and persevering in mind, calculating on land grants, sawmills, shipments of lumber, fishing profits—the unlucky *habitant* from Grand Pré or Piziquid, in homespun garb, looking with dismay at the numbers, discipline and earnestness of the new settlers and their large military force,—large to him who had only known the little garrison of Annapolis—the half wild Indian, made wilder and more intractable by bad advisers, who professed to be his firmest friends—the men-of-war's men—the sailors of the transports, and perhaps some hardy fishermen, seeking supplies, or led thither by curiosity. Of such various elements was the bustling crowd composed, not to mention the different nationalities of the British isles themselves. How interesting to us of this province would now be a picture that could realize the appearance our city then must have presented.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

(I.)

[Advertisement from the London Gazette.]

Whitehall, March 7, 1748-9.

A proposal having been presented unto his Majesty, for establishing a civil government in the province of Nova Scotia, in North America, as also for the better peopling and settling the said Province, and extending and improving the fishery thereof, by granting lands within the same, and giving other encouragement to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed his Majesty's land and sea service, as shall be willing to settle in the said province; and his Majesty having signified his Royal approbation of the purport of the said proposals, the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, by his Majesty's command, give notice, that proper encouragement will be given to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed his Majesty's land and sea service, and to artificers necessary in building or husbandry, as are willing to accept of grants of land, and to settle with or without families in the province of Nova Scotia.

To the settlers qualified as above :

1. Will be granted passage, and subsistence during their passage, as also for the space of twelve months after their arrival.

2. Arms and ammunition, as far as will be judged necessary, for their defence, with proper utensils for husbandry, fishery, erecting habitations, and other necessary purposes.

3. A civil government to be established, with all the privileges of his Majesty's other colonies or governments in America, and proper measures will be taken for their security and protection.

The lands granted shall be in fee simple, free from the payment of any quit rents or taxes, for the term of ten years; at the expiration whereof, no person to pay more than one shilling sterling per annum for every fifty acres so granted. The lands are to be granted with the following qualifications and proportions :—

50 acres to every private soldier or seaman, and 10 acres over and above to every person (including women and children) of which his family shall consist, and further grants to be made to them as their families shall increase.

80 acres to every officer under the rank of an Ensign in the land service, and that of a Lieutenant in the sea service; and 15 acres to every person belonging to the family.

200 acres to every Ensign, 300 to a Lieutenant, 400 to a Captain, 600 to every officer above the rank of a captain, in the land service. In the sea service, 400 acres to a Lieutenant, 600 acres to a Captain; 30 acres to every person belonging to such families.

Reputed surgeons, whether they have been in his Majesty's service or not, shall be in the capacity of Ensigns.

All persons desirous to engage, are to enter their names in the month of April, 1749, at the trade and plantations office, or with the commissioners of the navy residing at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

[The foregoing is taken from Douglass' Summary. There is a copy, varying in several respects, but in substance similar, in Akins' Settlement of Halifax, p. 41.]

(2.)

LIST OF THE TRANSPORTS IN WHICH THE FIRST SETTLERS OF HALIFAX ARRIVED IN 1749.

Name of vessel.	Master's Name.	Tonnage.	Number of Passengers.
Charlton frigate,	Richard Ladd,	395	213
Winchelsea,	Thomas Cornish,	559	302
Wilmington,	Thomas Adams,	631	340
Merry Jacks,	—— Granger,	378	210
Alexander,	Sam. Harris,	320	172
Beaufort,	Elias Brennan,	541	270
Roehampton,	Sam'l. Williamson,	232	77
Cannon frigate,	Andrew Dewar.	342	190
Everly,	S. Dutchman,	351	184
London,	John Barker,	550	313
Brotherhood,			27
Baltimore,	Edward Cook,	411	224
Snow	Isaac Foster,		10
Fair Lady,			

 2532

(See Akins' Settlement of Halifax, p. 5 &s., published in 1847.)

There are said to have been some passengers in the Sphinx besides the governor and his suite. This may comport with a total of 2576 souls in all, stated anonymously in an old book of records.

Of the whole number, 1545 were males, 500 of whom had been seamen in the Royal navy.

(3.)

The names of the more remarkable persons who came in the expedition, as stated in a register of settlers, with their professions or designations:—

2 Majors in the Army :

Ezekiel Gilman, Leonard Lockman.

1 Fort Major and Commissary :

John Lemon.

6 Captains in the Army :

Otis Little, Edward Amhurst, Thomas Lewis, Benj. Ives, Frederick Albert Strasburger, Francis Bartelo.

19 Lieutenants in the Army :

David Lewis, George Berners, George Colly, Richard Partridge, Thomas Newton, John Collier, Robert Ewer, John Creighton, Thomas Vaughan, John Galland, Richard Reves, William Joice, Joseph Wakefield, Augustus Graham, Alexander Callendar David Haldane, Robert Campbell, William Bryan, T. Vaughan.

3 Ensigns in the Army :

James Warren, Thomas Reynolds, Henry Wendell.

3 Lieutenants in the Navy :

John Hamilton, Adam Cockburn, William Williams.

5 Lieutenants of Privateers :

John Steinfort, Dennis Clarke, William Neil, Gustavus Mugden, John Twinehoe.

23 Midshipmen of the Royal Navy :

Charles Mason, Robert Beattie, Charles Covy, Samuel Budd, John Ferguson, Nich's. Puxley, William Watson, Joseph Thornwell, Henry Chambers, Nicholas Todd, Roger Lowden, Joseph Gunn, John Thompson, Robert Young, Thomas Burnside, Timothy Pearce, Richard Drake, Newbegin Harris, William Vickers. Richard Cooper, Richard Mannering, Thomas Dumster, Richard Cockburn.

John Jenkins, cadet ; René Gillet, artificer.

5 Volunteers :

John Grant, John Henderson, Edward Gibson, William Hamilton, William Smith.

Lewis Hayes, purser ; John Bruce, engineer.

15 Surgeons :

William Grant, Robert White, Patrick Hay, Matthew Jones, Thomas Wilson, M. Rush, James Handeside, H. Pitt, Geo. Philip Bruscowitz, Cochran Dickson, Joshua Sacheveral, Thos. Inman, John Wildman, David Carnegie, John Willis. John Steele, lieutenant and surgeon.

10 Surgeons, mates and assistants :

William Lascelles, Augustus Cæsar Harbin, Arch'd. Campbell, John Wallis, John Grant, Daniel Brown, Timothy Griffith, Henry Martin, Robert Grant, Alexander Hay.

Robert Throckmorton, surgeon's pupil.

Mr. Anwell, clergyman.

Jean Baptiste Moreau, gentleman and schoolmaster.

William Jeffery, commissary.

William Steele, brewer and merchant.

Daniel Wood, attorney.

Thomas Cannon, esquire.

John Duport, } Gentlemen.

Lewis Piers, }

Archibald Hinshelwood, }

John Kerr, }

William Nisbett, }

Thomas Gray, }

Governor's clerks.

David Floyd, clerk of the stores.

Other names on this list, whose descendants exist in the Province, (Akins' Settlement of Halifax, p. 50) : Richard Wenman, Thos. Keys, John Edes, John Gosbee, Ralph Coulston, Edward Orpen, John Christopher Laurilliard, Philip Knaut, Peter Burgman, Otto Wm. Schwartz, John Jacob Preper, John Woodin, Andrew Wellner, Christopher Preper, Simon Thoroughgood.

(4.)

George Dunk Montagu, earl of Halifax, succeeded to his father's title in 1739. In 1745 he raised a regiment of foot for government on the Scotch rebellion breaking out. In 1748 he was made first lord of trade. He was subsequently lord lieutenant of Ireland—in 1762, a lord of admiralty—in 1763, secretary of State, but dismissed in 1765—again secretary of State in 1769. Lord North was his nephew. The earl died without issue male in 1772, and the earldom expired with him. (See 7 New York Colonial Documents, p. 745, Dr. O'Callaghan's note.)

(5.)

The honorable Edward Cornwallis, son of Charles the 3rd baron Cornwallis, was born in 1712—was colonel of 24th foot—appointed governor of Nova Scotia, with £1000 a year salary—was M. P. for Eye in 1749, and for Westminster in 1753—made a governor of the Bedchamber, and afterwards governor of Gibraltar. He married, but left no family. His twin brother, Frederick, was archbishop of Canterbury. (See Millan's Universal Register for 1759. Akins' Halifax, p. 45.)

(6.)

(From *Hayward's Autobiography of Mrs. Piozzi*, p. 168.)

"Lord Halifax was now, or soon after, head of the Board of Trade, and wished to immortalize his name—he had no sons—by colonizing Nova Scotia. Cornwallis and my father, whom he patronized, were sent out, the *first persons* in every sense of the word."

P. 165, she states that her mother, a miss Salusbury Cotton, had £10,000 fortune, and married for love her "rakish cousin, John Salusbury, of Bachygraig," (in Wales.) "He unchecked by care of a father, who died during the infancy of his sons; ran out the estate completely to nothing,—so completely that the £10,000 would scarcely pay debts and furnish them out a cottage in Caernarvonshire."

P. 170, she mentions her father's brother, "Doctor Thomas Salusbury, of the Commons." "My father had meanwhile, I fear, behaved perversely—quarrelling and fighting duels, and fretting his friends at home. My mother and my uncle, taking advantage of his last gloomy letter, begged him to return and share the gayeties of Offley place."

P. 172. "Lord Halifax was become lieutenant of Ireland, (Ld. Halifax was lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1761—October), and my father made one of his numerous escort, delighting to attend his patron through his own country, and shew him the wonders of Wales." Mamma and I remained at Offley, doing the honors.

P. 173. Mr. John Salusbury, died near Offley, in England, in December, 1762, leaving a widow and one daughter, Hester Salusbury, afterwards Mrs. Thrale, the friend of Dr. Johnson; and by a second marriage in 1784, Mrs. Piozzi.

Offley was the seat of Sir Thomas Salusbury, in Hertfordshire.

CHAPTER XII.

ON the 29th Juiy, o. s., (9 August, n. s.,) the following deputies from the French districts arrived at Halifax, viz't. :

Alexandre Hebert,	}	From Annapolis.
Joseph Dugas,		
Claude LeBlanc, from Grand Pré.		
Jean Melançon, from Rivière des Canards.		
Baptiste Gaillard,	}	From Piziquid.
Pierre Landry,		
Pierre Gotrot, from Cobequid.		
Pierre Doucet.	}	From Chignecto.
François Bourg,		
Alexandre Brossart, Chipodie.		

The council having taken a letter they offered into consideration, decided that the French inhabitants must take the oaths of allegiance unconditionally, and that their priests must have the governor's sanction before they officiated. On the 1st of August, (12 Aug't., n. s.,) at a council held on board the Beaufort, the '*declaration*' was read to the deputies, and they asked "Whether, if they had a mind to evacuate their land, they " "would have leave to sell their lands and effects?" His Excellency answered them : that by the treaty of Utrecht there was one year allowed them from the surrender of the province, wherein the French inhabitants might have sold their effects : but that at present, those that should chuse to retire, rather than be true subjects to the king, could not be allowed to sell or carry off anything. — The deputies then begged leave to return to their departments, and consult with the

inhabitants ; upon which they were warned, that whoever should not have taken the oath of allegiance before the 15-26 October, would forfeit all their possessions and rights in this province. They then asked leave to go to the French governors, and see what conditions might be offered to them. His Excellency's answer was, that whoever should leave this province without taking the oath of allegiance, should immediately forfeit all their rights.—The council proposed to his Excellency to order all the priests to come to Chebucto as soon as possible. Accordingly, the secretary was directed to write to messieurs d'Enclaves, (*Desenclaves*) Chevreuil, (*Chauvreaulx*) and Girard, to repair hither. On the 1-12 August, a proclamation was issued, requiring all the French inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance by the 15-26 October, which was issued in the French language.

Mr. John Bruce, (or Brewse), engineer, was employed by the governor to prepare a plan of the intended town of Halifax ; and this having been done,—on the 7 August, o. s., (18 Aug't., n. s.,) a proclamation was issued by Mr. Cornwallis, in the following terms : “Whereas 'tis proposed to give out the allot-”
 “ments of ground in the town of *Halifax* to-morrow morn-”
 “ing, being tewsday, the eight of August, all heads of familys”
 “that are settlers, are hereby required to assemble by seven”
 “in the morning, with their overseers ; and single men are”
 “desired to form themselves into familys,—four to a family ;”
 “and every family to chuse one to draw for them. And Mr.”
 “Brewse, the engineer, will be present, with assistance, to”
 “distribute the lots according to such directions as he has”
 “received from me.” Mr. Brewse's plan was sent to the duke of Bedford.

Licenses to sell liquors were issued by the government, on each of which a tax was paid of one guinea a month for the use of the poor. The number granted from July to December, inclusive, was eighteen.

13-24 August, Mr. Edward How was sworn in as a member of the council,—and the settlers were ordered to cast up a line of defence round the town, and the pay for their work to be 1s. 6d. a day.

The Albany, captain Rous, had been sent, 9-20 July, to look after the reported movement of the French to restore and occupy the old fortress at the mouth of the river St. John ; and Mr. How, whose intimacy and reputation among the French inhabitants and the Indians was very great, was sent with Rous to assist in negotiating. When they got to the harbor of St. John's they found no one at the old forts, and for some time saw no inhabitants at all, either French or Indians. At last a French schooner came there, laden with provisions. Capt. Rous took her, but offered to release her, provided the master would go up the river and bring down the French officers. Accordingly, the master went up stream in his canoe, and the next day a French officer, with 30 men and 150 St. John's Indians, with French colors flying, came directly opposite to the Albany, and planted their colors on the shore, within musket shot. Capt. Rous sent Mr. How to order them to strike their colors. The officer made great difficulties and many apologies. Capt. How answered, that he did not come to reason the matter, but to order it to be done—that he could not answer for the consequence if it was not done immediately. The officer begged him to propose to captain Rous, to allow him to march back with the colors flying, and he would return next day without them. Mr. How carried the message to captain Rous. Capt. Rous repeated the order that the colors should be struck that instant, which was accordingly done. The French officers were then invited on board the Albany, and Cornwallis's letter was delivered to them. To justify themselves, they shewed their instructions from the governor of Canada. There were two letters from *M. de la Galissonnière*. In the first, he ordered them to begin a settlement—in the second, he countermands this till further orders, but requires them to prevent the English from settling there. Capt. How, after this, held several interviews with the Indian chiefs, and proposed that they should send deputies to wait upon Cornwallis, and to renew their submission to the king of England. This, after deliberation, they unanimously agreed to, and thirteen Indians were appointed to go with him to Chebucto, to renew the treaties and make submission, viz't. : three deputies

from the St. John river tribes, the chief of the Chignecto Indians, and nine other Indians selected for the purpose. These were ordered to go thither entirely without arms, not even having a hatchet,—in token of their amity and full confidence in the English rulers; and having got to Chebucto with Mr. How, on Saturday, 12–23 August, on Monday following, the 14–25 August, they appeared before the governor and council on board the Beaufort.

The governor bid them welcome to Chebucto, and asked them what was their view in coming from St. John. *Indians*: Captain How told us your Excellency ordered us to come, and we came in obedience to your orders. *Governor*: I have instructions from his majesty to maintain amity and friendship with the Indians, and to grant to those in these provinces all manner of protection. *Indians*: We have seen the last treaty with France, and are glad of it. *Governor*: I am willing to enter into treaty with the Indian chiefs, and with those of the St. John's Indians in particular. Have you authority for that purpose? *Indians*: We reckon ourselves included in the peace made by the kings of Great Britain and France. *Governor*: I ask if you are impowered from your chiefs to make a particular treaty with me? *Indians*: Yes, we come on purpose. *Governor*: From what tribes and from what chiefs are you delegates? *Indians*: I from Octpagh, the chief François de Salle; ——— from Medoctig, the chief Noellobig; ——— from Passamaquoddy, chief Neptune Abbadouallete; ——— from the Chinecto tribe, Jean Pedousaghtigh, for himself and tribe. *Governor*: Do you remember the treaty made with your tribes in 1726? (1725.) *Indians*: Yes; some of us were present when it was made. *Governor*: Will you have it read to you? *Indians*: We have a copy of it ourselves, and we are come to renew it. *Governor*: Have you instructions from your tribes to renew the same treaty? *Indians*: Yes. *Governor*: Then 'tis necessary that the treaty be read. (Accordingly, it was read in French, and interpreted from French into their language by Martin, the Indian, and André, the interpreter from Minas.) Do you agree to renew every article of the treaty now read to you? *Indians*: Yes. *Governor*:

Then I shall order a parchment to be ready for you to sign. to-morrow, and captain How shall carry it to St. John's to be ratify'd. *Indians*: Agreed. *Governor*: Do you know what became of five of capt. Gorham's Indians, that were taken at Goat island? *Indians*: Marin carried them to Quebec. *Governor*: Do you know where Chesis is, capt. Sam's brother? *Indians*: At the *Trois rivières*, near Quebec. *Governor*: Do you know who killed captain Gorham's men at the river St. John's? *Indians*: Three of Passamaquaddy and one of the Penobscot Indians, who knew nothing of the cessation of arms. On the following day, tuesday, 15-26 August, the governor and all the council (except colonel Horseman) being met on board the Beaufort, the Indian delegates were also present, and the treaty being prepared, was read and signed, (see it in appendix;) and on the 20-31 August they returned by sea to St. John's, with Mr. How, who carried presents for the chiefs and the tribes, and was to bring back the treaty ratified.

An immense quantity of stores had been brought from Louisbourg when it was restored to the French. It became necessary to detain many of the vessels at Chebucto in consequence, until storehouses could be erected to receive them. Besides regimental stores, there was a vast quantity of provisions, and endless ship loads of ordnance stores. This *embarras des richesses* proved a positive hindrance to the work they had on hand. One ship, with ordnance stores, was sent to Annapolis. By the 20-31 August, the town was laid out, and every man knew where to build his house. Cornwallis wished the settlers to work a few days to throw up a line of defence round the town, but he could not persuade them to do it. They, no doubt, thought it more essential to have a roof to cover them from the severities they looked for in a Northern winter, than to spend their time in a period of peace to make warlike lines of defence. I cannot approve of their judgment in this, surrounded as they were by Indians who were then, as the Canadian governors said, irreconcilable enemies to the English; but the course they pursued was natural enough under their circumstances. Governor Cornwallis contracted for the frames and materials to erect wooden buildings for bar-

racks and officers' quarters, to be brought by sea from Boston. Boards, he says, he cannot procure under £4 per 1000 feet, the price being raised by a dry season, unfavorable to the work of saw mills. He was obliged to obtain a large quantity to help the people to get under cover. He had sent an officer to Boston, on purpose to get lumber at fair prices. 20-31 August. Many houses were begun, and huts, log houses, &c., already up for more than half a mile on each side of the town. (The original limits of the town extended South to Salter street, and North to Buckingham street, being about half a mile on the shore and about one quarter mile inland. This plan, however, was soon after extended both North and South.) A good many people from Louisbourg settled at Halifax at this time, and several from New England.

On 16 August, n. s., M. de Boishebert, who commanded the French party from Canada at St. John river, wrote to governor Cornwallis, disavowing any intention of fortifying or building at St. John, but stating that his orders from the marquis de la Galissonnière were not to allow any one else to build there, till the right of possession should be settled between the two crowns.

The first instance at Halifax of a regular trial for a capital offence, occurred this season. One Peter Cardeel had killed Abr. Goodside, the boatswain's mate of the Beaufort, by stabbing him, and had also wounded two other men. The governor and council sat as a general court to try him. 31 August, o. s., (11 Sept., n. s.,) a grand jury found the bill against him—a petit jury found him guilty of murder, and he was hanged under a warrant from the governor 2-13 Sept'r., 1749. There was a tradition that a large tree was used instead of a gallows in the earliest years of Halifax. This unhappy child of the forest stood near the market square.

Mr. Mascarene having spent about six weeks with the new governor at Chebucto, returned to his command of the garrison at Annapolis, where he arrived 24 Aug., o. s., (4 Sept., n. s.) He was instructed, on his arrival there, to detach one captain, three subalterns and one hundred men, to Grand Pré, where they were to be quartered in three or four of the most contig-

uous houses, to be rented for the purpose. The block-house at Annapolis was to be taken down and transported to Mines, and to be re-erected in the centre of the houses hired as barracks, and the whole to be enclosed with palissades. The position of this block-house at Annapolis was probably on that part of Dauphin street where it is widest.—Lieut. Joseph Gorham was sent in the Wren, with a party to Canso, to bring hay from that place, and to watch the French.

On the 6–17 September, deputies from the French districts appeared before the governor and council, and presented a letter or address from the French inhabitants, signed by 1000 persons. In this, after some polite phrases, they assert that governor Philipps engaged to give them all their privileges, &c., on taking the oath of allegiance, with an exemption from bearing arms; profess to think that if the king knew their conduct he would not propose an oath to them, which must put them in danger of their lives from the Indians.—If they were to swear unconditional allegiance, they would surely become victims to their *barbarous fury*. The most important part of this document is comprised in the following: “ Monseigneur, Les ”
 “ Habitans en general de toute l’étendue de ce pais sont enti- ”
 “ erement resous de ne point prendre le serment que V. E. ”
 “ exige de nous, mais si V. E. veut nous accorder notre ancien ”
 “ serment qui a ete donné dans le Mines à M. Richard Phi- ”
 “ lips, avec une exemption d’armes a nous et à nos hoirs, ”
 “ nous l’accepterons. Mais si V. E. n’est point dans la reso- ”
 “ lution de nous accorder ce que nous prenons la liberté de ”
 “ demander, nous sommes tous en general dans la resolution ”
 “ de nous retirer du pais. M. S. nous prenons la liberté tous ”
 “ en general de supplier V. E. de nous dire si S. M. a annullé ”
 “ notre serment que nous avons donné a Gen. Philips. Ce ”
 “ qui fait peine à tout le monde c’est d’apprendre que les ”
 “ Anglois veulent s’habituer parmi nous. Sentiment general ”
 “ de tous les Habitans sous signés.” “ My lord: The inha- ”
 “ bitants in general of the whole extent of this country are ”
 “ wholly resolved not to take the oath which your Excellency ”
 “ exacts of us; but if your Excellency will accord us our ”
 “ ancient oath, which was taken at Mines to Mr. Richard ”

" Philips, with an exemption of arms to us and our heirs, we " " will accept it. But if your Excellency is not disposed to " " accord us what we take the liberty to ask, we are all in gen- " " eral resolved to withdraw from the country. My lord, we " " all in general beg leave to pray your Excellency to tell us " " if his Majesty has annulled our oath which we took to gen- " " eral Philips. It gives everybody pain to learn that the " " English wish to settle among us. This is the general sen- " " timent of all the inhabitants undersigned." Cornwallis answered them (in French) in the following terms: " We have " " reason to be much astonished at your conduct. This is the " " third time you have come here from your districts, and you " " only repeat the same things without the least alteration. " " To-day you present us a letter, signed by a thousand persons, " " wherein you openly declare that you will not be subjects of " " his British majesty, but upon such and such conditions. " " Apparently, you think yourselves independant of all govern- " " ment, and you would wish to treat with the king upon that " " footing. But you ought to know, that since the end of the " " year stipulated in the treaty of Utrecht for the evacuation of " " the country, those who chose to remain in the province be- " " came at once subjects of the king of Great Britain. The " " treaty declares them to be so. The king of France declares " " in this treaty that all the French who should remain in these " " provinces should be subjects of his majesty. Indeed it would " " be contrary to common sense to suppose that one could " " dwell in a province, and possess houses and lands there, with- " " out being subjects of the Sovereign of the province. Thus, " " gentlemen, you deceive yourselves if you think you are at " " liberty to choose whether you would be the king's subjects or " " not." He went on with similar reasoning, shewing them that their allegiance was equally binding without the oath. That if general Philips granted them conditions, he was wrong in so doing. That he reasons with them from pity, and sees they are led astray by interested advisers. They had better shew their good will and loyalty by sending hands to assist in the public works, instead of holding consultations and sending messages to the French governors. Tells them he has sent

troops to Mines, and wishes them to give the soldiers assistance and provisions, for which they will be paid in ready money. Asks them to send fifty men here within ten days, "to help the poor in building their houses to shelter them" "from bad weather." They will be paid for their work in ready money, and receive the king's rations.

A commission was now determined on to settle the boundaries and extent of Nova Scotia. On the part of England, governor William Shirley, and William Mildmay, Esq'r., were named, and France appointed messieurs Etienne de Silhouette and the marquis de la Galissonière. (Silhouette was born at Limoges, 5 July, 1709—died 20 Jan'y., 1767.) On 11 Sept'r., 1749, Shirley embarked at Boston for Europe, to act in this commission. (Their conferences began in 1750, and broke off in 1753.) The claims of both sides were so conflicting, involving the title to a great territory, that there was no possible mode of reconciling them, and compromise was equally hopeless. It was not merely Nova Scotia that caused the difficulty, but the great and valuable regions now forming the Western states of the American republic were coveted by both nations, and France, by erecting forts in that wilderness, aimed at uniting Canada with Louisiana, and hemming in the English colonies, so as to leave them but narrow possessions on the Atlantic coast. The contest for power in India was also then earnest between the two crowns, who, in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748, had rather made a truce than a genuine peace.

At *Halifax*, the troops were employed in making a continuous barricade of logs and brush around the town. A square fort had been finished on the hill above. The soldiers also were clearing a space of thirty feet wide outside the line, and they threw up the trees they had removed to form the barricade. This work was intended to protect the town against the Indians. Cornwallis received information from all directions that the Indians of Acadie and those in the island of St. John, under the direction of de Loutre, were designing to molest the new settlement in the coming winter, and that the French were exciting them. The settlers of Halifax did not

seem at all alarmed on this account. The government, however, very prudently took all possible precautions for their safety. Those who built houses outside the bounds of the town, in most instances made them of logs, which are musket proof, and arms were given to them for their protection. The governor says, 11-22 Sept'r., that there were victualled last week 1574 settlers. He also armed such of the settlers in the town as he could trust with the weapons, and sent an order to Boston for lamps to light the streets in the winter nights. Captain Gorham was stationed, with his company, at the head of the bay, (Bedford Basin), there to remain all the winter. He carried with him materials of all kinds for barracks, and an armed sloop was ordered to assist him. The detachment ordered from Annapolis to Mines in August had not got there by the second week of September. Colonel Cornwallis, on this, felt aggrieved, and he, referring to general Philipps' regiment and government, calls his conduct scandalous and shameful. Says the regiment is no better prepared for service, than if raised yesterday: "*there never was such another in any ser-*" "*vice.*" Says Philipps allowed a reserve to the oath of allegiance—received money for public works without disbursing one penny, particularly for Canso—never allowed the men half their clothing. He is told not one of them ever had a knapsack or havresack.—It is but just to remind the reader that the assertion of the French of the reserve in the oath granted them by Philipps, does not appear to be well founded; although ensign Wroth and Mr. Armstrong made concessions that were not justifiable. The charge of receiving money from the crown for works at Canso, Philipps had openly and boldly denied as wholly untrue when it was first circulated. The want of clothes suffered by the soldiers of his regiment for many years, is a fact that cannot be gainsaid. It may have originated in his avarice, which is called an *old gentlemanly* vice, or at his great age he may have been incapable of looking after his duties, and subordinate agents have been the guilty parties. Cornwallis says that the lieutenant colonel (Mascarene) was in fault to suffer so many abuses that he himself complains of, but that he is worn out, "and has been"

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A
HISTORY
OF
NOVA SCOTIA

A CADEE.



By BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE. Q.C.

WE BLOOM

THE SNOWS

AMIDST

HALIFAX. N.S.

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GRANVILLE STREET.

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PROVINCE OF NOVA-SCOTIA:

Be it remembered, That on this Thirteenth day of March, 1865, BEAMISH MURDOCH, of the City of Halifax, Esquire, has deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the Copyright of which he claims in the words following:—
“A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA OR ACADIE, BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE, Q. C.

JAS. H. THORNE,
Deputy Secretary.

“himself abused by every officer in the fort, from the captain” “to the ensign.” The garrison of Annapolis seems to have been very unfortunate. In 1715, before Philipps being there, governor Caulfield complains of their not getting pay or provisions, and having had to live a considerable time upon half allowance. In the year 1716 Caulfield says : “The garrison,” “in my opinion, deserves better treatment than it has hitherto” “met with, and I am very uneasy to find that no bedding nor” “cloathing is forwarded for the troops, whose miserable condition are objects of pity, notwithstanding my frequent” “repetitions of their necessities.” It is certainly sad to find the conquerors of Port Royal living in destitution there, as it is to observe those of Louisbourg perishing by thousands in discomfort so soon after their great achievement. But these reflections belong rather to the moralist than to the writer of annals.

August 19-30. The Indians took twenty Englishmen prisoners at Canso. Five of them were settlers, who went there to procure hay ; the others belonged to vessels from Boston. They also seized one of the English vessels. The Indians alleged that they did so, because one Ellingwood, a New England man, who had ransomed his craft from them for £100, and left his son as hostage for the payment, did not fulfil his promises, although colonel Hopson had advanced him the money. When Cornwallis heard of this, he sent two armed cruisers, with soldiers on board, in order to recover the prisoners. However, they had been in the meanwhile carried to cape Breton, and the French governor, Desherbiers, sent sixteen of them to governor Cornwallis at Chebucto, and placed the remaining four on board of their own vessel, then at Louisbourg. Cornwallis, at this time, says not one Indian has appeared in this bay (Chebucto) for weeks past.

On 30 August, o. s., (10 Sept., n. s.,) a ship arrived from Liverpool, (G. B.,) with 116 settlers. She had a passage of nine weeks ; all were in good health. Two streets were immediately added to the plan for their accommodation. Cornwallis now praises the settlers for their good behavior of late. He gives his opinion, that if the Indians begin war again, there

should be no peace ever again made with them, as by an addition to the forces by sea and land, it would be practicable to *root them out* entirely.

In September, information was sent by capt. Handfield and lieutenant Glazier, stationed at Mines, to the governor, to the effect that two merchantmen, belonging to messrs. Donnel and Winniett, had been attacked by the Indians at Chinecto, (Chignecto), and that three Englishmen were killed and seven Indians killed or desperately wounded. Eight had gone on board one of the English vessels, under pretence of traffic in furs, and endeavored to destroy the crew by surprise. As de Loutre was at this time among the Indians, the governor and council believed he was exciting them to war, and resolved that a letter should be sent to Desherbiers, the French governor at Louisbourg, requiring him to recall de Loutre, and notifying him that if any French subjects enter this province without permission and join the Indians, it must be looked upon as a breach of faith and friendship, of which his Britannic Majesty should be informed.

On saturday, 30 Sept'r., o. s., (10 Oct'r., n. s.,) the Indians committed acts of hostility at a sawmill that had been erected in Chebucto bay. (Six men, without arms, were sent out by major Gilman, to cut wood for the mill. Of these six, four were killed and one made prisoner by a party of Indians who had lain in ambush. The sixth man made good his escape from them. The saw mill was near Dartmouth cove.)—Next day, sunday, the governor and council met on board the Beaufort,, (1-12 Oct'r.,) messrs. Horseman, Lawrence, How, Gorham, Green and Salusbury, attending. They decided not to declare war against the Indians, as that would be "in some sort to own them a free people"—that they ought to be looked upon as rebels to H. M. government, or as *banditti ruffians*.—War, however, was to be made on them—a reward offered for prisoners and for scalps,—major Gilman to raise another independant company of 100 men, and captain Wm. Clapham a company of volunteers, to scour all the country round the bay.—A further present of 1000 bushels of corn was voted to the St. John Indians.—On the monday, October

2-13, a proclamation issued, reciting the Indian hostilities recently committed at Canso, Chinecto and Chebucto, and ordering all officers, civil and military, and all H. M. subjects, to take and destroy the Micmacs, and offering *ten guineas* for each Indian, living or dead, "or his *scalp*, as is the custom of "America." Oct'r. 4-15. Major Gilman was now instructed to raise his company, and to get them hatchets, haversacks and snow shoes. (The snow shoe, called by the French *raquette*, resembles the racket used by ball players. It is used to get over the deep snow without sinking.)—The Indian custom of taking off the scalp of a slain foe, does not seem to have had its origin in any desire to mutilate the corpse, but was used to preserve evidence of a warrior's merit, to be judged of by the number of scalps he could hang up in his wigwam, or wear at his belt, or as fringes to his war dress. How far the European settlers, French or English, were justifiable in offering to buy scalps, is a different question. That this practice was long pursued both in Canada and New England, is beyond doubt. Within three days after he was authorized, capt. Clapham raised 70 volunteers, out of whom he selected 50, and began to scour the woods around Halifax; and Gorham sent out detachments all round the bay. Major Gilman went to Piscataqua to enlist his company of 100 men, engaging to return with them before December.

By the 17-28 October, about 300 houses were covered in in the town, two forts finished, and the barricade around it completed. About thirty French inhabitants had come there at the governor's request, and were employed in the works in progress. Some of them likewise cut a road from the head of the bay (Basin) to the town.

Desherbiers' letter to Cornwallis of 15 October disavows, on behalf of the king of France and of himself, any connection with the abbé de Loutre's actions against the English rule. De Loutre was sent by the French government as missionary to the Indians, and came to Louisbourg on his way. As governor of cape Breton, Desherbiers has no power to recall him, as the mission is not in cape Breton. Denies sending any French into Nova Scotia to cause trouble, begs Cornwallis to

arrest any such person, and if he should belong to Desherbiers' government, promises to punish him. Expresses horror and indignation at the cruelties and treacheries of the Indians, who, he states, preserve their original ferocity, in spite of the attempts to inspire them with principles of religion. Disavows all connection with the hostile conduct of the Indians, and professes every desire to keep up union and good understanding between the French and English nations.—The French inhabitants repulsed by Cornwallis in their demands to modify the oath of allegiance, which they had supported by 1000 signatures, prepared a petition to the king of France, in which they specify their grievances and beg his intervention. This was said to be written by de Loutre.—It appears by the letter book of the Annapolis government that in lieutenant governor Doucett's time (in 1717) the French inhabitants, when called on to swear allegiance, pretended fear of the Indians killing them if they did so ; but offered to take an oath, leaving them free from taking up arms. Doucett attributes their disloyalty to the teachings of the priests, who led them to believe the pretender would soon rule in England.—Cornwallis, who often used strong expressions, calls de Loutre "a good for nothing" "scoundrel as ever lived."

October 22, o. s., sunday, at a council held in the governor's apartment, the French deputies were admitted to make return of the election of new deputies, and next day the governor, at their desire, gave a written approval of the abbé Maillard as a curé in this province.

Monday, Nov'r. 6-17, in council. Cutting down or barking trees within the forts or barricades was prohibited, in order to keep those that remain as ornament and shelter to the town. By proclamation of next day, £1 penalty and 48 hours imprisonment were to be inflicted for each tree so destroyed, but this was not to hinder any one from cutting down trees on his own lot.

In September or October of this year, 1749, M. la Corne, an experienced French officer, was sent at the head of about 70 regular troops and a party of Canadian irregulars, to take post on the isthmus of Chignecto. La Jonquière, the gover-

nor general of Canada, wrote a long letter to Cornwallis, dated Quebec, 25 Oct'r., 1749, acknowledging his letter of 15 Aug't., complimenting him personally, and speaking of the mutual friendship to be expected between the two nations since the peace was concluded. He approves of what *de la Galissionère* has done, and blames Mascarene. Speaks of his own liberality in exchange of prisoners. He proceeds thus: "As to the" "river St. John, M. the marquis de la Galissionère did perfectly right in sending a good detachment thither. You" "should not be ignorant that I have sent one to the settlements of Delkekoudiack, Memerancougs, and Chipudy." "The officers who command these posts are ordered to keep" "them, and not to allow of your forming any settlement there" "until the true limits of Accadie and New France shall be" "regulated by the two crowns." He declines interfering with the bishop. — Henri Marie de Creil de Pontbriand, the bishop of Quebec, wrote 28 Oct'r. to Mr. Cornwallis, claiming the right to send priests into the province, as religious freedom had been promised the Acadians. He shews that the distinction of allegiance to different powers does not conflict with the religious jurisdiction. He intimates a desire to visit the province. Governor Cornwallis replies to the bishop, (1 Dec., o. s.,) and says he would be happy to see him here, but his majesty's orders would not allow the exercise of his episcopal functions here. He does not refuse the Acadians to have their priests;—at their request he has just issued a passport for the abbé Maillard from Isle Royale. "Could you have" "sent de Loutre as missionary to the Micmacs? Is it for their" "good that this priest excites these wretches to exercise their" "cruelties against those who have shewn them all sorts of" "friendship? Is it for their interest that he hinders them" "from unison with a civilized and Christian people, and from" "enjoying all the advantages of a mild government? If you" "have given him this mission, I am certain you have not" "ordered him to lead his Indians to their own ruin and against" "the allies of their king." He tells him he has issued an ordonnance, forbidding any priest performing his functions without his, the governor's license, under pain of legal trial

and punishment. Cornwallis replies, 1-12 Nov'r., to la Jonquière. He expresses his surprise at his sending troops to seize territory, the right to which is to be otherwise settled. States the rule that no change should be made under such circumstances. Father Germain writes to Cornwallis 18 Nov. He says the Indians of St. John river intend to help their brothers, the Micmacs, and that the latter have sent deputies to Canada to request assistance from the Canibas and Hurons.

At a council held at the governor's, 20 Nov'r., o. s., it was resolved that the general court should be held twice in every year, viz. : on the last tuesday of April and the last tuesday of October. 22 Nov'r., o. s. Richard Bulkely is mentioned as the governor's aide de camp. 6 Dec'r., o. s. In order to form the settlers into a militia, the council resolved, that a proclamation be issued, ordering all settlers from 16 to 60 years of age to assemble upon the parade on sunday after divine service, and to draw up in the order following : Those of the quarters of Ewer and Collier, to face the harbor ; those of the quarters of Galland and Foreman, to face the citadel ; those of Mr. Callender's division, at one end of the parade. 6-17 Dec. Capt. John Gorham was ordered to march his company to Pesiquid, to clear the road of any Indians who might be there to interrupt the communication. Governor Cornwallis writes 7-18 Dec'r. to the duke of Bedford, complaining of French encroachments, and asking for additional forces. He says this country would be of more value to the French than the mines of Peru or Mexico. Wishes a fort erected at Chignecto. The French inhabitants have cleared a road 18 feet wide all the way from Mines to Halifax.

On 27 Nov'r., o. s., (8 Dec'r., n. s.,) the Micmacs and St. John's Indians united, about 300 in number—surprized lieutenant Hamilton and 18 men, who had been detached by capt. Handfield from his fort in Mines, and made the whole party prisoners ; and after several attempts on the fort, they retired towards Chignecto 4-15 Dec'r. Cornwallis writes to the duke of Bedford 18-29 Dec'r. : " As for the Indians, I am positive, " my lord, they can do us no great harm, and I am fully convinced that if the French had not set them upon it, and "

"supported them, they never would have thought of doing"
"anything. I cannot think the French will openly send"
"troops or Canadians against any of the outforts, far less to"
"attack this settlement; but in all probability they will send"
"officers with the Indians, and mix some Frenchmen disguised."
All the Indians together cannot take one of these forts "by themselves." On the 13-24 December, information on oath was given to the government at Halifax, that certain persons named were with the Indians when they attacked the fort at Mines, commanded by captain Handfield; that they bore arms on the occasion, and assisted the Indians. The individuals charged were: Joseph Clement, Charles Hebert, François le Prince, Claude le Prince, Misquess le Gerne, Charles le Gerne, Petit Jean le Gerne, Renauchon Aucoin, Joseph Vincent, François le Vache, and Charles le Gerne, junior, eleven in number, all inhabitants of the river de Gembert, at Piziquid. On this, captain John Gorham, member of H. M. council, was ordered to march to Piziquid with his company—arrest these parties—search their houses for arms, and bring them to Halifax; and as there was no officer at capt. Handfield's fort at Mines acquainted with the French language, captain Strasburger was sent there. Gorham got there too late to do anything. The Indians had dispersed, carrying their prisoners with them. Although they had continued firing at Handfield's fort for seven days without intermission, they did not effect the least damage. From this fort above 2000 shot were fired, but it does not appear that one Indian was killed.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII.

(I.)

I, Joannes Pedousaghtigh, chief of the tribe of Chignecto Indians, for myself & in behalf of my tribe, my heirs and their heirs, and their heirs for ever; and we, François Aurodowish, Simon Sactawino, & Jean Battiste Maddouanhook, deputies from the Chiefs of the St. Johns Indians, & invested by them with full powers for that purpose, do, in the most solemn manner, renew the above articles of agreement and submission, and every article thereof, with His Excellency Edward Cornwallis, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his

Majesty's province of Nova Scotia or Accadie, Vice Admiral of the same, colonel in his Majesty's service, and one of his Bedchamber. In witness whereof, I, the said Joannes Pedousaghtigh, have subscribed this treaty, (and affixed my seal—copy of 1760) ; and we, François Aurodowish, Simon Sactawino, and Jean Battiste Maddouanhook, in behalf of the Chiefs of the Indian tribes we represent, have subscribed and affixed our seals to the same, and engage that the said Chiefs shall ratify this treaty at St. Johns.

Done in Chibucto Harbor, the fifteenth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine. In the twenty-third year of his Majesty's Reign.

In presence of :

P. Hopson,
P. Mascarene,
Rob. Ellison,
James F. Mercer,
Cha. Laurence,
Edw'd. How,
John Gorham,
Ben. Green,
John Salusbury,
Hugh Davidson,
Wm. Steele,

Members of the Council
for Nova Scotia.

JOANNES PEDOUSAGHTIGH. *

FRANCOIS AURODOWISH. *

SIMON SACTAIVINO. *

JEAN BATTISTE MADDOUNHOOK. *

N. B.—A copy of the Indian treaty, made at Boston in 1725, was prefixed to the above.

1749. THE RATIFICATION OF THE ABOVE ARTICLES OR TREATY.

The articles of peace on the other side, concluded at Chibucto the 15 August, 1749, with his Excellency Edw'd. Cornwallis, esq., captain general and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's province of Nova Scotia or Accadie, and signed by our deputies, having been communicated to us by Edward How, esq., one of his Majesty's Council for said province, and faithfully interpreted to us by madame de Bellisle, inhabitant of this river, nominated by us for that purpose, We, the chiefs and captains of the river St. John's and places adjacent, do, for ourselves and our different tribes, confirm and ratify the same to all intents and purposes.

Given under our hands, at the river St. John's, the fourth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine. (Copy of 1760.)

In presence of the undersigned witnesses :

Edw'd. How, one of his Majesty's council,
Nathan Donnell, John Wenn,
John Beare, Rob't. McKoun,
Matt. Winnet,
Mich'l. † Narrasoni, (Narrajoni), chief,
François † de Xavier, Archibaco Marguille,
Pierre † Alexander de Margille,
Augustin † Meyawet, native chief river St. Jean,
François † M.

(2.)

Extract of a letter from Nova Scotia, dated at Halifax, August 21, 1749, taken from a London Magazine. [N. S. Gazette, May 27, 1758.]

“As to this town, there is not its fellow in the world, for a man may catch as much fish in two hours as will serve 6 or 7 people for a whole week, such as cod, hallibut, turbot, salmon, skait, haddock, herrings, mackerel, smelts and lobsters, and they lye as thick as stones in Cheapside, so that Billingsgate is but a fish stall in comparison of it : and as to fruit, we have plenty of limes, peaches, apricots, rasberries and strawberries, all wild. We have got good rum at 3s. per gallon, and red and white port at a shilling a bottle ; but there is one thing wanting, which is a pot of good London porter or purl.”

(3.)

Lords of Trade to Gov'r. Cornwallis.

Whitehall, 16 October, 1749.

They acknowledge rec't. of his letters of 22 June, 24 July, 20 Aug't. & 11 Sept, Approve of his putting into Chebucto—his sending to Boston for transports—his detention of the transports, and most of his measures which they recapitulate in detail. They will endeavor to send out Foreign Protestants, as he suggests, They attribute the acts of the Indians at Canceaux, and the refusal of the French to take the oaths, to “the indirect practices and influence of the French of “Canada ; and we cannot but look on such measures, and especially the sending “presents to the Indians within H. M. territories, as very unjustifiable, and calculated to disturb the peace of H. M. subjects and Government.”—“Your conduct, however, in this as well as in all other points, gives us the greatest satisfaction.”—“The measures you have taken to secure the settlement from the “Indians, and your caution to our own people not to be aggressors, are much to “be commended ; but if the Indians should strike the first blow, it will certainly “be proper that they should severely feel your resentment. As to your opinion, “however, of never hereafter making peace with them, and of totally extirpating “them, we cannot but think that, as the prosecution of such design must be attended with acts of great severity, it may prove of dangerous consequences to the “safety of H. M. other colonies upon the continent, by filling the minds of the “bordering Indians with ideas of our cruelty, and instigating them to a dangerous spirit of resentment.”

This letter is signed :

DUNK HALIFAX.
FRAN. FANE.
J. PITT.
DUPPLIN.
J. GRENVILLE.

(4.)

Halifax, October 29th, 1749.

Sir. You are to march early to-morrow morning from the Fort with your company to Pisiquid. Observe as you go along in what manner the French carry on the road, and what progress they make. In case you find that they want a force to protect them from the Micmacs, or that they think such a force is wanted, you

will post your companys in several strong detachments on the road. If they do not desire a guard, or think it unnecessary, you will continue the march so far as the French settlements, and if you hear of any Micmacs thereabouts, you will goe against them,—if not, you will return by the common road to your post at the head of the Bay, and give me an acc't. of your proceedings.

E. C.

To Capt'n. John Gorham.

To Lieut. Petishal.

Halifax, Decem'r. 8th, 1749.

Sir.

Having ordered Capt'n. Gorham two days agoe to march, which he has not complied with, if he does not march within 24 hours after you receive this, it is my orders that you put him forthwith in arrest, and order the Ensign to march with 50 men to Pesiquid, to clear that road of any Indians that may be that way.

I am, sir, yours, &c.,

E. C.

9 Dec'r. Capt. Clapham is ordered to send his lieutenant, with 25 men, to the fort at the head of the bay, to-morrow morning, at break of day, to join Lieut. Pattishal.

(5.)

At a Council, held at the Governour's, on Saturday afternoon, the 16 Dec'r., 1749.

Present :

	H. E. the Governor.	
Capt. Jo. Rous.	John Horsman,	John Salusbury,
	Charles Laurence,	Hugh Davidson,
	Ben. Green,	Will'm. Steele.

"His Excellency read to the Council a letter from Lieut. Governor Phipps, and one enclosed from major J. K. Lydius, at Albany, giving intelligence of the Governor of Canada's having sent two vessels to Baye Verte, with 600 men, under the command of Ms. Le Corne & Lemmerie, with ammunition and stores of all kinds proper for a winter's expedition. That it was believed they were designed against Halifax. That they were likewise assembling as many Canada Indians as possible."

It was decided the settlers should fell the trees outside the town lines as far as they could, and that they should be assembled to-morrow on the parade, after divine service.

(6.)

Dec'r. 16. John Salusbury. Esq'r., the Register, is directed to register lot No. 25, north side of the town, 2d row of lots, to Capt'n. Alex. Murray, of Warburton's regiment.

(7.)

Dec'r- 27, (o. s.) All housekeepers were ordered to notify deaths within 24 hours to one of the clergymen, under pain of fine and imprisonment. Persons refusing to attend a corpse to the grave, when ordered by a justice of the peace, to be sent to prison. Vernon, the carpenter, was ordered 'to mark the initial' letters of the deceased upon his coffin.'

CHAPTER XIII.

1750. We have seen a singular assemblage of gentlemen and merchants—officers and men of the army and navy, who had been employed in the last war—a few Swiss emigrants—a number of persons from Louisbourg, who had been trading there for the previous four years, since the conquest, together with such New England people as came to take part in the settlement. In a climate, to which most of them were strangers, they no doubt had much to suffer. During the summer and autumn, many either remained on board the transports which had brought them from England, or obtained shelter under canvas or tarpaulin tents on shore, in some instances the trunks, bales and boxes, containing their goods and baggage, serving as a temporary floor to protect them from the dampness of the ground. Such persons as could find means to purchase the frames and lumber from the New England traders, contrived to erect small framed wooden houses, probably in no case exceeding one story in height. Cornwallis's house, at that time, is, by tradition, stated as one of but small dimensions. Provisions, however, were in plenty, and a brave and social spirit existed; and it appears that however the cautious feeling of the governors of the place was excited, the people felt little apprehension. We may therefore justly conclude, that during this, the first winter of the new settlement, cheerful and convivial sentiments were generally prevalent. However that may have been, the governor and his official advisers felt their position required the exercise of vigilance and caution. Capt. Gorham had made three young men

prisoners at Piziquid, and it was ascertained that some of the Indians from Penobscot had been with the party that attacked captain Handfield in his fort at Mines. On the 7-18 January, 1750, being sunday, a council assembled at the governors;—messrs. Lawrence, Green, Salusbury, Davidson and Steele, councillors, attended, and so did captain John Rous. Some inhabitants had petitioned that martial law should be put in execution, but the council did not consider the danger so great or imminent as to make it necessary. However, they desired his Excellency to appoint officers of the militia, and to order guards. Anxiety was expressed as to a store ship, called the ‘Duke of Bedford,’ then lying in Dartmouth cove, particularly if she should get frozen in. 10 January, o. s., the governor ordered all settlers between 16 and 60 to be formed into companies of militia, of 60 or 70 men each, in every quarter of the town. He appointed a captain and two lieutenants to each company. A militia guard of one officer and 30 men were to assemble every evening “at sunset, upon the gun” “firing,” with arms, &c., and keep guard until sunrise. Every company was to exercise for one hour on sunday mornings before divine service.

13 January, o. s. Cornwallis hired the sloop York, Sylvanus Cobb, master, into his majesty’s service, at £22 10s. od. per month, and agreed to insure £350 stg. on the vessel. Cobb was to go to Boston, and deliver Cornwallis’s letter there to lieutenant governor Phips, and with his countenance to arm and victual the sloop, taking 40 or 50 men on board there, not to exceed 100 men in all in his crew, and to obtain one or more whaleboats. He was then to proceed to Chignecto, and apprehend de Loutre, if possible, for whose capture capt. Cobb should receive £50, and the crew of his sloop £50 more. Deloutre is called “the author and adviser of all the disturbances the Indians have made in this province, and that” “he, as their chief, excites, directs and instructs them, and” “provides them from Canada with arms, ammunition, &c.” As the inhabitants of Chignecto have, at his instigation, assisted the Indians, Cobb is to seize as many of them as he can, or if they abscond, to take their wives and children as hosta-

ges. He is also to search for arms everywhere in the vicinity. For every Indian scalp £10 stg. will be paid as prize money. The schooner *Dove*, Wm. Orne, master, was also ordered to take directions of lieut. governor Phips, at Boston.

2-13 Feb'y., the captain of the port reported that the Duke of Bedford, store ship, and the armed sloop lying at the cove by the saw mill, (Dartmouth cove) "were perfectly safe," "and that the ice was cut all around them every night."

A regulation was adopted by the governor and council for one year, prohibiting any suit being prosecuted here against any settler for debts contracted previously to his coming, in England or in the colonies.

Oliver Noyes, master of the *Neptune*, bound hence to Carolina, old England, was refused leave to ship five settlers as part of his crew.

13-24 Feb'y. The French workmen stated that 30 Indians had been all winter at Cobequid, and the government courier had not returned in more than a month. A party, consisting of captain Francis Bartelo, lieutenant Shaw, ensigns Murray and Cummins, and one hundred men, with 12 days' provisions and French guides, were ordered to take the direct road to Cobequid through the woods. They were to endeavor to surprise the party of Indians. They were also to apprehend Gerard, the priest of Cobequid, and the deputy of that district. Gerard and the deputy had been all along privy to and aiding in the motions and designs of the Indians, and had caused a courier, sent there by the governor with letters, to be stopped. They are, therefore, to be made prisoners, and their houses be searched for papers, arms and ammunition. Bartelo is to return to Halifax by what road he shall judge best. Gorham declared it impracticable to march to Cobequid in winter, whereupon Cornwallis says that Gorham is no officer at all. On the 23 Feb'y., o. s., a petition was received in council from the deputies of Canard, Grand Pré and Pisiquid, in favor of three young men, prisoners in Cornwallis fort at Halifax, but it was resolved to do nothing in the matter until the return of capt. Bartelo; but Cornwallis released them in March on account of their youth, and because their fathers were at Halifax work-

ing for government at the time. Serjeant Tate, of the militia, was sentenced to receive 20 lashes, for violence and insult to his captain, Mr. Callendar, proved by the captain and by the lieutenant, Mason. The next day it was agreed to grant permission to merchants to build wharves, reserving the right to remove them if the project of building a quay along the shore in front of the town should be adopted by the crown, Mr. Brewse, the engineer, and captain Morris, surveyor, having been consulted. In March, Gerard, the priest of Cobequid, (now Truro), and the four deputies of that district, viz't., Jean Hebert, Jean Bourg, Joseph Robichaux, and Pierre Gautrot, were examined by the governor and council, as to the stopping of the courier Pierre au Coin, who carried the governor's letters—as to de Loutre's having been there that winter, and the non-attendance of the deputies at Halifax, on which Bourg was liberated, but the rest detained.

Some of the disaffected at Pisiquid, with help from the Indians, about this time carried off three Englishmen as prisoners. Governor Cornwallis, in consequence, issued an order 12-23 March to captain John Gorham, to proceed with his company to Pisiquid, (now Windsor), and establish himself to the best advantage there until he could erect a block-house. He was to seize the property of traitors who had absconded, and to investigate the affair of the capture of the three Englishmen. Proclamations and letters in French were sent to the deputies of Mines and Pisiquid on the subject. Monday, 18 March, o. s.. Gorham marched. He arrived at the first houses of the district at noon, on Wednesday, 20 March, o. s., on this side (nearest Halifax) of the river St. Croix, and found the dwellings deserted. His advanced party going to cross the river, saw an Indian canoe, and soon after observed a body of Indians lying on the other side of the river among the bushes. The party advanced to the water side, and gave them a full fire. The Indians ran up the river side to prevent their getting to some houses, but in doing so came opposite to Gorham, who gave them another fire. Gorham took possession of a saw mill and two houses on the Halifax side of the river, and then remained on the defensive. He was himself

wounded in the thigh. Two also of his men were wounded, but none were killed. On the 23 March, o. s., (3 April, n. s.,) the English and Indian parties remained within sight of each other. Cornwallis sent reinforcements. The first messenger from Gorham reached the head of the bay in eight hours. Captain Wm. Clapham was ordered 22 March, o. s., to join Gorham, at Piziquid. Cornwallis also sent a company of regulars, under captain St. Loe, and two wall pieces—left the management to the judgment of Gorham and the other officers, stating the necessity of passing the river and driving away the enemy, and expressing his satisfaction with the conduct of Gorham and his party. The gov'r. Cornwallis, writes 24 March to capt. John Gorham: "Your remaining where you are, on St. Croix river, would by no means answer. You could not possibly keep the inhabitants in subjection. You could not be supplied with provisions but at their pleasure. The Indians might return to the same station and harrass you, and, being on the other side of the river, they would command provisions and stop your communication with Handfield; whereas when you are well posted at Piziquid, the Indians will not choose to come on this side of you, as there will be a difficulty to obtain provisions, and a risk of being cut off from hence. You have, with captains St. Loe and Clapham, force sufficient to hunt and attack the Indians wherever you hear of them. I would, therefore, have you to march directly to Piziquid, and post yourself at the Mass house, which you mentioned as the most proper place. You will keep captains St. Loe and Clapham till you are fixed. You are to scour all the country round, and shew them we are masters. Capt. Handfield's situation will be no small advantage to you. One of the schooners will be sent round in a day or two." The lords of trade write to Cornwallis 16 Feb'y., o. s., and say that gentler methods and offers of peace have more frequently prevailed with the Indians than the sword; and that any forcible measures that may induce the French inhabitants to leave their settlements, ought, for the present at least be waived, as the Canadians had made their settlements in the province to draw them over to them. They promise foreign Protestant settlers. Urge econ-

omy, as the grant of parliament has been exceeded. Suggest a reduction in the number of paid surgeons and apothecaries, and the dismissal of officer at saw mill. Call £2750 for rum and molasses a heavy item,

Parliament voted 16 March, 1750 :

For expenses of the war in America—intended expedition against Canada, and succour of Nova Scotia,	£122,246 16 4
For transport and support of settlers in Nova Scotia,	36,476 3 10
For support of colony of Nova Scotia for 1750,	59,778 19 2

19 March, o. s. Cornwallis tells the lords of trade, that the deputies from Cobequid are confined in the forts. "The" "priest Gerard I keep in my house, not only to shew a regard" "to the character, but likewise to pick out some further intel-" "ligence from him. I told him in council he must remain" "here till the courier returns." He states that the peninsula of Halifax contains not more than 3000 acres, and that the town and suburbs stand on 800 acres. He suggests a settlement on the opposite (Eastern) side of the harbor as desirable, and he thinks the principal fishery will be at Chebucto. The winter had been mild and favorable, and the navigation never stopped. The earth had been covered with snow since the middle of January—about three feet deep in the woods. They had fine warm days and thaw, and the fishing schooners began about the 8 or 10 March, o. s., (19–21 March, n. s.,) to go upon the banks. Governor Cornwallis had got a frame put up for an hospital. He says the sick in the hospital ship had never exceeded twenty-five at one time. He was erecting a school house for orphan children, who should be cared for until they were fit to be apprenticed to fishermen. He had employed a number of French inhabitants to square timber for block-houses. (Several of the block-houses remained till within the 20th year of this century, and there is one still at Windsor, on Fort Edward hill.) He says: "I expect the" "frame of the church will be here next month from New"

"England. The plan is the same with that of Marybone" "chapel," (Marylebone.) During the winter of 1749-1750, the chief employment of the people was to secure the place from any attack of Indians and Canadians. The settlers were armed, and formed into a militia, consisting of ten companies, of 70 men each, besides the artificers. Labourers were constantly employed to raise the barricades and continue them to the water side, and block-houses were erected between the forts. (The block-house was made of squared logs, closely set together, roofed in, and the upper portion larger and over-hanging. Loopholes were left for musketry.) A captain and fifty men mounted guard every night near the parade, and a lieutenant and twenty men in each division of the town. The artificers formed one company by themselves. The whole militia amounted to 840 men. The communication between the new settlement of Halifax with Chignecto, and even with Cobequid, was shut off, and no one who went from Annapolis or Mines to Chignecto returned.

As we have already seen, governor Cornwallis sent captain Cobb (whom he calls a settler, who is thoroughly acquainted with every harbor and creek in the Bay (of Fundy), and who knows every house in Chignecto) to Boston, to lieut. governor Phipps, at Boston. Phipps called the council together, and had Apthorp and Hancock (merchants) before them, and the whole affair, which Cornwallis intended to be secret, was then made public. An advertisement was placarded in Boston, dated 30 Jan'y., signed by Cobb, referring to raising 100 men for the York, for Nova Scotia, to go against the enemy, stating prize money, &c. &c. The affair being thus made known publicly, would reach the French and Indians, and Cornwallis judged it prudent to order Cobb to proceed no further in it.

On Friday, 30 March, (10 April), 1750, Cornwallis communicated to his council his intention to erect a fort at Chignecto, as the French had done already in that vicinity, and that he could spare a detachment of 400 men for this object. The council unanimously approved of this movement. April 4-15, 1750, major Charles Lawrence was detached for this purpose. He was to go to Piziquid and Mines to strengthen his force—

to establish his troops in Chignecto, and, if he could, to destroy the Forts the French had erected there. In April, the French deputies, viz't. : Jacques Teriot, of Grand Pré, François Granger, of rivière de Canard, Baptiste Galerne and Jean André, of Piziquid, petitioned, on behalf of the French inhabitants, for leave to evacuate the province, and to carry off their effects. This the governor refused them, and told them to sow their fields as usual, and that no one could hold land while refusing the oath of allegiance, and no one deserting the country could carry away his effects, which in such cases were confiscated to the king. The French deputies openly avowed that this application arose from coercion : that La Corne and Le Loutre had threatened them with a general massacre if they remained in the province. The French now took possession of all that part of Nova Scotia which lay on the N. W. side of the bay of Fundy, extending from Chignecto river to the river St. John. They burned the houses in Beaubassin to ashes, and carried all the inhabitants and their effects across the Missiguash, and there armed and formed them into companies.

The party under major Lawrence consisted of 165 regulars, and above 200 rangers—in all, 400 men. Captain Bartelo had command of the rangers. Almost all the officers on half pay at Halifax went as volunteers, and they rendezvoused at Mines. Captain Rous in the Albany, sloop of war, went round to meet them there, and another sloop came there from Annapolis. These vessels were to transport the troops, and had on board the necessary provisions and stores. One of them had timber for a small block-house. Rous got to Mines 18–29 April, and the expedition reached Chignecto 20 April, o. s., (1 May, n. s.) On their approach to the town, which consisted of about 140 houses and 2 churches, the Indians, acting, as was supposed, under the influence of the French commandant, reduced the whole place to ashes in a few hours, and the inhabitants, crossing the river, threw themselves under the protection of the French officers. The reason assigned for this destruction was that the town stood on what they chose to call English ground. The combined forces of Canadians, Indians, and revolted Acadians, amounted, it was said, to about 1500 armed men. These

having hoisted a French flag, major Lawrence sent them a flag of truce, and afterwards held an interview with M. La Corne, the commander. La Corne declared his determination to defend the right bank of the river as French territory until the boundary was settled between the two crowns. After this the English seem for a time to have retired to Mines, altho' they subsequently built a fort on or near the ruins of Beau-bassin, which was afterwards called Fort Lawrence, while the French constructed fort Beauséjour on what is now the New Brunswick side of the Missiguash about the same time the fort at Mines was strengthened.

15-26 May, the governor and council exercised their powers as a court of divorce, by granting leave to the husband, in a case of the wife's adultery, to marry again.

Friday, 25 May, o. s., (5 June, n. s.) A petition from the inhabitants of Annapolis was offered by Jacques Michel and Charles Prejean, for leave to retire from the province, in which, they said, that they never considered themselves as subjects of the king of New England. Petitions from Mines also were received: one for leave to retire—another to have M. Gerard as priest, to assist M. Chauvreulx. Gerard took the oath of allegiance, and gave his word of honor not to leave the province without permission of the governor, on which he was allowed to officiate. A full and particular answer was given by the governor to the deputies, in French, refusing them permission to go until the country was more peaceable, telling them they could not remove their effects, and suggesting that the election of deputies had ceased to be of use. It also contained many remonstrances on the subject of the kind and fair treatment they had met, and the discontent and disaffection they displayed. Governor Cornwallis, 30 April, o. s., assures the lords of trade of his frugality, but tells them that without money they could have had no town, no settlement, and indeed no settlers—that the public money cleared the ground, built the town, secured it, kept both soldiers and settlers from starving with cold or deserting, and had brought down almost 1000 settlers from the colonies. Lots in Halifax are now worth 50 guineas. If there was no public money cir-

culating, lots would be given for a gallon of rum. The money is laid out in building forts, barracks, storehouses, hospitals, church, wharf, public works—all that seem absolutely necessary. The saw mill was a failure—he had never got a board from it. Thirty men had been constantly kept there ever since the affair with the Indians. He bought lumber and put it in the king's yard this spring. The price had been as high, per thousand, as £5 and £6; lately he had got it at £3 10s., £3, and £2 15s. Boards were no longer given to settlers. May. A company of 100 rangers were ordered to be formed of volunteers, to serve under captain Bartelo.

Six deserters from Philipps' regiment were sentenced to death at Grand Pré. Cornwallis ordered two of them to be shot, and the rest reprieved; and three others of same corps were condemned to death for desertion and other crimes, and Cornwallis directed them to be hung, and their bodies hung in chains. Gov'r. Cornwallis, at this time, sent his secretary, Mr. Davidson, to Boston, to see lieut. governor Phipps, and to represent, *viva voce*, the dangerous state of this colony—ascertain the views of the legislature, and negociate for money and stores. He was also to ask for the Indian girl taken by Gorham, in order to have her exchanged. The nine deserters re-captured and tried had each informed major Lawrence of the encouragement and assistance they had received from the French inhabitants, and that money had been advanced to every one of them. Joseph le Blanc, Labrador, J. P. Pitre, and Pierre Rembour, who were implicated in this, were ordered to be kept for trial before the general court in August next.

In June, the governor and council ordered a market place in Halifax, to be appropriated for sale of black cattle and sheep. 2 July, the proprietors of lots were ordered to clear the street in front of their lots, to the middle.

A proclamation, dated 21 June, offered the reward of £50 sterling for every Indian prisoner brought in, and the same for the head or scalp of an Indian. This was countersigned by Archibald Hinshelwood, in the absence of the secretary, Davidson. In June, a soldier of Warburton's regiment was found guilty of desertion, and ordered to be shot. Charges

were preferred at the Plantation office against secretary Davidson, of trading and monopoly—misuse of his official powers, and fraudulent conduct in applying public money to his private speculations. Messrs. Green, Salusbury and Steel, were appointed a committee to enquire into the facts. The lords of trade inform the governor that new settlers are about to sail for Halifax. They direct him to fortify and settle Chignecto as soon as a regiment ordered from Ireland shall arrive. They disapprove of his making a settlement on the other side of Bedford Bay, at the public expense. (I think he intended one at Dartmouth.) In July, major Lawrence was made lieutenant colonel of governor Cornwallis' regiment, and lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal. It now appears that the charges of this colony for 1749 amounted to £76,476 3s. 10d. sterling, which had been covered by the first vote of £40,000, and a further vote of £36,000 to meet the excess, while £40,000 more was voted for 1750. Cornwallis, in July, tells the lords of trade it will be impossible to confine the expences within this last sum, as all public works must in that case be abandoned. He had begun to clear George's island, and proposed to have some block-houses and a good battery there. The church which was then setting up, (St. Paul's), would cost £1000 by the estimate sent from Boston. The barricade made in the past winter had been only a 'temporary thing,' there not being time in the fall to run the palissades. This had been removed, and the palissade round the town was being erected. It would prove a better defence than the other, which, being composed of logs and brushwood, was subject to take fire, and had once endangered the town. The saw mill was let to Mr. Clapham. It could not meet the demand for boards and planks, and no one had begun to make clapboards and shingles. In the winter, quantities of lumber were made away with, in spite of all precaution, (probably used as fuel.) 30,000 bricks had been made, and proved good; but limestone had not been discovered in the bay or harbor. The daily expenditure of lime was six hogsheads, which cost 25s. per hhd. It was intended by the government at Halifax to erect a meeting

house for dissenters, a court house, a prison, and a gunpowder magazine.

Meanwhile, French agency was at work to encourage desertion. Fifteen of Cornwallis' regiment went off within a few days, "9 of which," he says, "were taken, 3 were hanged," "two shot. The chief agent employed in this affair was" "taken. He is to be tried, with two spies from Chignecto," "and a rogue from Cobequid, in the beginning of August," "before the general court. Several hundred pistoles were" "offered by the priest for the ransom of the agent." This agent was Joseph le Blanc. Governor Cornwallis had, in May, prepared a warrant to major Lawrence to hang him, but the council resolved he should be first tried. The French neighboring governments were endeavoring at this time to induce the Acadians to withdraw from under the British power. The governor says: "Hitherto few of the better sort have gone" "off. Some that went to St. John's island have made some" "overtures for liberty to return. Those of Mines seem inclined to remain, and behave well." The Hound, capt. Dove, the Trial, capt. Le Cras, are mentioned, and two sloops of war expected. Capt. Rous had ordered the Hound to visit St. John river, as a brigantine, with about 100 French soldiers on board, had been lately spoken with off La Heve. Lord Colvill had called in (with H. M. S. Success) on his return from Louisbourg. "I am extremely sorry," says Cornwallis, "to hear that M. Desherbiers goes back to France this summer. He has behaved with great honor and sincerity." The causes of heavy expenditure of public money in this settlement were various. One was the detention of transport vessels. The Beaufort was costing 9s. 6d. per ton (monthly?) the Sarah, of 24 guns, £150 per month, and the Baltimore £155 per month. In July, 1750, Halifax was increasing in the number of houses and of settlers every day. The fishery was promising, and 10,000 quintals were ready for exportation. As to the land, no improvement beyond small gardens were yet attempted. Major Lawrence was engaged now in erecting a block-house and small fort upon Piziquid river, (since called Fort Edward, at Windsor.) Cornwallis says that the New

England provinces were so circumstanced that he could expect no assistance from them. He had ordered two companies of his own regiment hither from Newfoundland; and when he had these, and the regiment from Ireland, and the two sloops of war promised, he should lose no time in erecting a fort and making a settlement on the isthmus of Chinecto, where, he says, "the settlers will sit down upon as good land as in the" "world, and reap even this year without having sown." The Indians had given up to the French, at Tintamar river, the prisoners they had taken at Mines in the winter—those taken at the saw mill, and five taken lately near Chebucto harbor. (Tintamarre, a thundering noise, hubbub. *French*.) The French insisted that a *papoose* (Indian child) must be returned, and money, alleged to have been paid as ransom for the English prisoners by de Loutre, be refunded.

Captain Silvanus Cobb, in the provincial sloop York, under an order from captain Dove, of H. M. S. Hound, to join him at St. John's river, arrived there from Piziquid on 31 July, o. s. He saw a brigantine lying near the shore at the head of the harbor, which fired a gun on sight of the York. On this, Cobb fired another to leeward, and came to anchor under Partridge island, in the harbor. His men, whom he sent up in a whale-boat, were fired on by the French and Indians. He afterwards landed, being invited on shore, but on some misunderstanding was detained awhile, but managed admirably to get away with five Frenchmen and one Irishman, the crew of the brigantine, as prisoners. He was not able to get the brigantine away, but he took his own vessel up the harbor. Captain Dove did not get to St. John until 7 August, o. s., after Cobb had left. He did not enter the harbor, but sent his lieutenant in a whale-boat to reconnoitre. The lieutenant was induced to land, and kept until Dove wrote a menacing letter. The French stated their force at 56 soldiers and 200 Indians. They claimed the place as French territory, and their orders were to defend it. Four of Dove's crew had been captured near Annapolis by the Indians, 24 July, o. s., before he went to St. John, and were sent to Chignecto. Cobb, while at St. John, carried his vessel up the harbor, and discovered a small fortification by a little

hill, where the French were assembled, and had their colors hoisted. Boishebert, the commandant, was angry at this, and demanded to know what business the English had in that harbor. Fifty or sixty French inhabitants afterwards came in, upon order of Boishebert. The five Frenchmen Cobb had taken were sent by Cornwallis, without delay, to Louisbourg; the Irishman took service in the Albany, with captain Rous. The French officers told Dove that they had lent these six men to Cobb, but the men themselves confirmed Cobb's account of their capture.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

(1.)

(New York Documents, vol. 10, p. 43—Note)

Spencer Phipps was son of Dr. David Burnett, of Rowley, Mass. His mother's name was Spencer, and she was from Saco, Maine. On being adopted by his uncle, (great uncle?) Sir William Phipps, he took, by statute, the latter name. He was elected a councillor in 1722, and afterwards re-elected nine times. Next lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, from 1732 to his death, which occurred on 4 April, 1757. He administered the government from Sept'r., 1749, to 1753, and in 1756 and part of 1757.

(2.)

Whitehall, 29th May, 1750.

Sir. I am directed by my lords commissioners for trade and plantations to inform you that the Bearer of this, John Spurrier, master of the *Ann*, from Rotterdam, has on board his vessel 280 Foreign Protestants, or thereabouts, procured by Mr. Dick, merchant at Rotterdam. These, their lordships desire you will receive, and dispose of in the best manner you are able, as a means of encouraging others of their countrymen to follow, and that you will dismiss the vessel as soon as conveniently you can.

I have, &c.,

THOS. HILL.

To the Hon'ble. Edward Cornwallis,
Governor of Nova Scotia.

The board of trade, in their letter to gov'r. Cornwallis, of 26 June, say the *Ann* had sailed from Helveltsluys, with 312 foreign protestants on board, and they recommend a gentleman, John Eberhard Klages, a man of fortune, who had paid the passage of 16 men and one boy.

(3.)

(London Magazine for 1750, p. 196, 197.)

Extract of a letter from Halifax, in Nova Scotia, dated March 20, 1749, 1750 :—

“ We are all happily arrived in this country, after a voyage of two months and three days. At our first landing, we were obliged to live in tents, like soldiers in the field, having no other habitations ; but were soon after ordered by our Governor to cut down a great number of trees, (all the country being a wood, quite wild and overgrown), to clear a large piece of ground, which we actually did, and finished this work, as we were ordered, in the space of six weeks, after which the country was divided among the new inhabitants by lots, 60 feet in length and 40 in breadth, being given to each settler to build their houses. There was no such thing as a carpenter or bricklayer, every one being obliged to be his own architect, and perform the work with his own hands—not so much as a workman was to be had, all having enough to do for themselves. The Government assisted us with boards & nails, which were brought from Boston, in New England, and every day we see some sloops arrive from thence with boards and shingles.

“ Many of the English built very poor houses, and many of them none at all, being incapable of such business, and therefore were obliged to shelter themselves all the winter in their tents. The country is all a wilderness, as you may easily imagine, having never, from the beginning of the world been inhabited by any rational creature ; for the natives are as wild as beasts : every thing growing and rotting of itself, without the least cultivation.

“ The earth is good clay, and stony ground, and for what appears by that part which is cleared and the town built upon, there is good hope that any seed or plants will do exceedingly well, the soil above being a good black earth.

“ Every thing necessary, as victuals and clothing, is to be had here : for ships are daily arriving. Meat is to be bought at a tolerable price. Beef, mutton and pork, from 4d. to 1½d. a pound. Coffee and chocolate for 6d. a pound. Bohea tea 7s. the pound. Green tea is indeed scarce, and at a very high price, and likewise fine sugar : what you buy in London for 7 pence is sold here for 16 ; and brown sugar bought at London for 3d. you must pay here 8d. for. Fowls, geese, ducks and wine, are at a tolerable price ; and rum costs but half the money it costs in England. All that belongs to cloathing is extremely dear.

“ Fish we have here in great abundance in summer time. There are lobsters, mackerels, cod, herrings, eels, rock fish, mussels, flat fish, and others, for which I have no name. This is a good provision, and to be had sometimes for nothing. Our fishery is daily more and more improved.

“ When we first came here, the Indians, in a friendly manner, brought us lobsters and other fish in plenty, being satisfied for them by a bit of bread and some meat ; but now they come no more, but are turned our adversaries ; and when they get one of our people in their power, they will carry him along with them, and put him to death in a barbarous manner. They don't live in a certain place, but are here and there, running up and down the country. They are a very wild people ; their clothes generally black and ragged ; their hair black and long, like hogs' bristles, over their heads and faces. They live like beasts. Our soldiers take great pains to drive them away, and clear the country of them. We have

also some strong forts built for the security of the town. And now there are twice as many new inhabitants as arrived at first from England, a great many from Cape Breton and New England having settled here likewise ; and we are assured that above 2000 more will arrive this summer from England.

“ P. S.—If you know of any who intend to come over, let them bring no money, but tapes, thread, stockings, linen, &c., for they will double the value.”

(4.)

(London Magazine for 1750, p. 141.)

Lieutenant general Richard Philipps made colonel of H. M. regiment of foot, late Dalzell's, (38 Regt.,) 30 March, 1750.

Honorable Edward Cornwallis, esquire, made colonel of H. M. regiment of foot, (40th), late Philipps.

CHAPTER XIV.

LASCELLES' regiment having arrived from Ireland, and two companies of Cornwallis's from Newfoundland, the governor lost no time in fitting out another expedition to Chignecto, and on the 19-30 August, (sunday), Lawrence, now lieutenant colonel, marched for Mines, with the regiment of Lascelles and three hundred men of Warburton's. Cornwallis says he never saw a detachment of better men. Captain Rous had, on tuesday, 14th August, sailed with six sloops and schooners for Annapolis Royal. The Fair Lady, a ship from England, sailed on thursday, 16th. They were to take in necessary stores at Annapolis, and thence proceed to Mines basin, where the Hound, captain Dove, and three small vessels there, were to join them. The troops were to embark at Mines for Chinecto, and carry with them three large frames for barracks, two block-houses, and all necessary materials. The Fair Lady was to carry officers' stores, the sick men, and women. Provisions, stores, tents and ammunition, were fully supplied.—When colonel Lawrence got to Chignecto, the landing of his force was opposed by a number of Indians and French inhabitants. His opponents were strongly entrenched. They had made use of the dykes for this purpose, and had made a *banquette* to fire over, and the dykes were cannon proof. It was supposed that this could not have been effected without the aid of the French party. Notwithstanding this opposition, the gallant and intrepid behavior of the English beat them out, although the defenders are said to have outnumbered them six fold. A schooner that led in was near being destroyed,

which Lawrence perceiving, did not wait for the entire landing of his troops, but put himself at the head of one hundred and eleven, who had got on shore—marched up boldly to the entrenchment, and received their fire, not a man of his offering to discharge his piece in return, until they were at the foot of the entrenchment, when his men poured in their fire, and the foe took to flight. On the English side there were six killed and twelve wounded. The loss of the enemy is said to have been considerable. We are told in a work called ‘Memoirs’ and letters of an impartial Frenchman,’ p. 269, that the chevalier de la Corne, who commanded the French detachment, espied, on the 12 September, 1750, (1 Sept’r., o. s.,) in Fundi bay, seventeen sail of different sizes, which came to anchor the next day at Westkak, and the 15th some of them parted from the rest and arrived in Fundi bay. After landing, colonel Lawrence commenced to establish himself at Beaubassin. La Corne held his post on the other side of a small river, (the Missiguash.) La Corne sent to Lawrence to desire he would meet him in the middle of this small river, in a boat. Lawrence replied, that he had no business to be where he was, and that he had nothing to say to him. If La Corne wished to speak to him, he must come to him. Cornwallis recommends that colonel Lawrence should be made lieutenant governor of the province. He says the senior councillor, Mascarene, has sold out, and is worn out, and Mr. How not being a military man, is unfit. He describes Lawrence as a man of good sense and ability,—of great honor and veracity. (The governor of Annapolis received 10s. a day at that period.)

Captain Le Cras, of the *Trial*, captured a French sloop, the *London*, of 70 tons, in bay Verte, which had been employed to carry stores of all kinds, arms and ammunition, from Quebec to Le Loutre and his Indians. M. Bigot, the intendant of Canada’s instructions to the master to follow the orders of Le Loutre or La Corne, the bills of lading endorsed by Le Loutre, and other papers and letters, were found on board of her, with four deserters from Cornwallis’ regiment, and a family of Acadians. The prize and her papers were sent to Halifax, where, about the same time, the *Alderney* arrived from Europe

with 353 settlers. Their coming so late in the season, the governor says, distresses him much. This occurred in the latter part of August, o. s. Cornwallis, 21 August, o. s., sent lieut. Alexander Callender to Boston, to obtain 130 recruits to fill up the independant companies of captains Bartelo and Gorham. All provisions for settlers of 1749 were discontinued 13 Sept'r., 1750. 25 Sept., Benjamin Green acts as secretary. In council, 23 August, it was proposed to place the settlers who came in the Alderney on the Eastern side of the harbour, opposite George's island.

At a council held at the governor's, the 29th August, 1750. Present : His Excellency the Governor, John Horseman, Benj. Green, John Salusbury, Hugh Davidson, William Steel. His Excellency administered the oath of allegiance, &c., to the Hon'ble. Sir Danvers Osborne, baronet, (Sir Danvers Osborne, was member of parliament for Bedfordshire in 1747 — made governor of New York in June, 1753, and died a few days after his arrival in that province, in the same year. *See Lond. Mag.*, 1747 & 1753, p. 291 & 579), and nominated him one of H. M. council for this province, and he accordingly took his seat at the council board. (He had arrived at Halifax about 23 Aug't., 1750, in the Saltash, sloop.) On the 2 Sept'r. the council met, including Sir D. Osborne. His Excellency acquainted them with the arrival of 300 Germans, in the ship Anne. There were then 250 laborers employed, at 2s. a day, besides rum and beer. The Germans were ordered to be retained at 2s. per day for artificers, and 12d. for laborers, till their freights be paid. 23 Sept'r., the council resolved that labourers' pay in the works should be 18d. a day, besides provisions. 29 Sept'r., the council resolved that all settlers then here, or who should come before 1 Dec'r., should be entitled to one year's provisions from the time of their names being entered on the victualler's book.

In Oct'r., orders issued for supplying the settlers with stores and provisions, and lieut. col. Lawrence was empowered to pay ransom for English prisoners, and the sloop New Casco, capt. John Taggart, was manned and victualled to go to Chinecto. Nov'r 15, o. s., Benjamin Green was sworn into office as clerk

or secretary of H. M. council. At this time messrs. Bulkeley and Gates acted as *aides de camp* to colonel Cornwallis, without salary. Bulkeley was afterwards secretary of the province, and Gates became a general officer, on the American side, in the revolution of 1775.

In September, 1750, governor Cornwallis sent Mr. Davidson, his secretary, to England, to answer the charges made against him. He says it is inconvenient to him, but he would rather submit to it than anybody should have it to say that he protected him ; for if what is contained in the charges made against him should be proved, it would have the appearance of protecting one of the greatest rascals living. He says he is no way attached to him, nor desires him to stay one hour in his employ, if he cannot clearly satisfy their lordships as to his behavior. He adds : " I must say there is not a person I " " know, more capable of executing the office he is in ; and " " when I see the accusations against him, most of which I " " know to be false, I have reason to hope all will prove so. " " There is one thing more : his haughty behavior to the peo- " " ple. Since I have been here, there is not a person, from " " the highest to the lowest, that has not had free access to " " me, at all times. Wonderful, that not one in all this time " " should have complained to me of his insolence." He states that captain Gilman has been dismissed some time, and capt. Clapham manages the saw mill. " The command of the " " Rangers is given to capt. Bartelo, a good officer, and one I " " can confide in. He has both prudence, activity and cou- " " rage. Gorham has my leave to go home, as he represents " " to me great sums are due him for raising and keeping up " " that company before I came here. He has the king's com- " " mission. Though I think him no officer, I can " (not) " dis- " " miss him." In September, Cornwallis asks leave to go home. He says he will not use it unless he finds the province is on a good footing, and Lawrence made lieutenant governor. He says : " Captain Bloss, a half-pay captain of a man-of-war, is " " come here. He has brought with him sixteen negroes— " " has built a very good house at his own expense, and is a " " sensible, worthy man. He is going home to pass some "

“accounts that is necessary, being abroad many years.” When he returns, he begs their lordships to appoint him one of the council. We find no subsequent traces of this gentleman, except in the name of Bloss island, given to the island in Halifax harbor now called Lawlor’s island. Cornwallis says of M. Desherbiers, the governor of Louisbourg, that his conduct had been very different from that of M. La Jonquière.—In the London Magazine for this year, p. 477, we find : “ 15 Oct’r,” “ 1750. Died, general Philips, lieutenant general of Horse,” “aged near 100.” This was possibly the late governor of Nova Scotia.

During this autumn, capt. Rous, in H. M. S. Albany, coming from the bay of Fundy, met with a French brigantine, the St. Francis, commanded by Vergor, and a schooner off cape Sable, laden with provisions, ammunition and warlike stores, bound to the river St. John, from Quebec. Rous fired a gun to bring her to. She kept on, and he fired another, and a third. On this, the brigantine prepared for action, and as the Albany ran up alongside of her, she poured a broadside, accompanied with small arms, into her, upon which an action began, and lasted four glasses before she struck. One midshipman and two sailors of the Albany were killed, and five men of the brigantine. The schooner got off to St. John. The brigantine was brought into Halifax harbor, and tried and condemned in the Admiralty court, (V. A.) Governor Cornwallis says this was the second vessel taken sent by the governor of Canada into a British port with arms, &c., for the Indian enemy. The French had this year, at cape Breton, a ship of 70 guns, two of 64, and two frigates ; while there were but three sloops of war on the Nova Scotia station.

Colonel Lawrence had many things to overcome in establishing his post at Chignecto. The season was advancing ; there were difficulties of navigation ; while all materials and provisions had to be sea borne, the cattle having been driven off, and fuel had to be obtained and brought in by armed parties. Mr. Edward How, who possessed a knowledge of the country and an intimate acquaintance with both the French Acadians and the Indians, was selected and employed to accompany

Lawrence, and assist him in all he had to execute. By their united and indefatigable labor, they accomplished the objects of the expedition. The fort was completed, the barracks erected, and every preparation made for the safety and supply of the garrisons for the ensuing winter, as during four months governor Cornwallis thought they could expect nothing from Halifax, and that all communication would be cut off by the season, the wilderness and the roving parties of hostile Indians. It, however, proved that the winter was mild, and they at Halifax heard frequently from Chignecto. Lawrence conceived a favorable opinion of the place, situated in a fertile country, and believed it would make a noble settlement. How was desirous to obtain a peace with the Indians, and to procure the release of the English whom they held as prisoners. With these views, he held frequent conferences with Le Loutre, La Corne, and other French, under flags of truce. One day, (stated to be 4 Oct'r., o. s., London magazine for 1750, p. 370), La Corne sent a flag of truce by a French officer to the water side, on a small river that parted the French and English troops, (the Missiguash.) *Captain* How, as Cornwallis calls him, and the officer, held a parley for some time across the river. How had no sooner taken leave of the officer, than a party that lay perdue fired a volley at him, and shot him through the heart. Cornwallis calls it "an instance of" "treachery and barbarity not to be paralleled in history, and" "a violation of a flag of truce which has ever been held" "sacred, and without which all faith is at an end, and all" "transactions with an enemy." Such is the account of this sad affair, given by governor Cornwallis, in his despatch of 25 November to the lords of trade. There are two other versions of it from French authorities, which deserve some notice. The first says: "The intendant of Canada, not" "being able to send to the posts of this country the great" "quantity of provisions that were there required, while wait-" "ing till they should receive from France those he had asked" "for, and which were to be sent direct to bay Verte, wrote" "to the commissary of Louisbourg to treat with some Eng-" "lish for a certain supply of pease, Indian corn, &c. This"

“ commissary applied to Mr. How, an officer, who agreed to ”
“ supply the posts of the river St. John. He wrote on the ”
“ subject to the general and the intendant, in order that they ”
“ should furnish Mr. How with all the securities he required. ”
“ As soon as Le Loutre was informed of this, it is said that ”
“ his interests being injured by it, he sought to get rid of it, ”
“ and having been directed to confer with this officer, he pro- ”
“ cured a rendezvous to be appointed at the little river which ”
“ divides the territory of the two crowns. How went there ”
“ with confidence, and alone. Le Loutre was accompanied ”
“ by some disguised Indians, who, hiding behind the dyke, ”
“ fired their muskets, and killed this officer on the spot. Le ”
“ Loutre disavowed the firing, which seemed likely to bring ”
“ us into trouble, and attributed it to the Indians alone, of ”
“ whose designs, he said, he had been ignorant. This officer ”
“ was equally beloved by his own nation and by the French, ”
“ and was esteemed a very honest man. So Le Loutre was ”
“ held in execration by both.” [*Mémoires sur le Canada, depuis*
1749, *jusqu'à*, 1760. *Quebec*, 1838, p. 14.] The other account
of this murder says: “ It was very wrongfully and with the ”
“ greatest injustice that the English accused the French of ”
“ having a hand in the horrors committed daily by Le Loutre ”
“ with his Indians. What is not a wicked priest capable of ”
“ doing? He cloathed in an officer's regimentals an Indian ”
“ named Cope, (whom I saw some years after at Miramichy, ”
“ in Accadia;) his hair curled, powdered, and in a bag; and ”
“ laying an ambuscade of Indians near to the fort, he sent ”
“ Cope to it, waving a white handkerchief in his hand, which ”
“ was the usual sign for the admittance of the French into ”
“ the English fort, having affairs with the commander of the ”
“ post. The major of the fort, a worthy man, and greatly ”
“ beloved by the French officers, taking Cope for a French ”
“ officer, came out with his usual politeness to receive him; ”
“ but he no sooner appeared, than the Indians in ambush ”
“ fired at him and killed him. All the French had the great- ”
“ est horror and indignation at Loutre's barbarous actions. ”
[*From a ms. by a person who served at Louisbourg from 1750 to*
1758.] Mr. How left a widow, Mary Magdalen How, and

several children. The esteem he won while living—the general usefulness of his conduct as an early founder of our colony, and the cruel circumstances of his death, commend his memory to us who enjoy a happy, peaceful, and prosperous home ; for the security and comfort of which, we are bound to be grateful to those who pioneered the way in the earlier periods under many and serious disadvantages.

In this year, Cornwallis fortified George's island, in Halifax harbor. He had seven 32-pounders mounted there, and began a palissade around it. He says the German settlers he had received were very sickly. He employed them in the public works, by which they were to pay for their passages. The Swiss emigrants he praises highly. From the establishment the French made at Chignecto, no Indians had appeared near Chebucto. The demands they had made were, that the English should abandon Chignecto, give them half the country, and cease to hold any intercourse with them. The governor believed that these preposterous demands were dictated by the missionaries. He says the French must have been at great expense in "keeping those wretches together and supporting the inhabitants gone to them. They have sent no" "less than eight or ten vessels this year to bay Verte and" "St. John's river, with provisions and warlike stores." The trade from New England to Louisbourg was so profitable, that the merchants preferred it to coming to Chebucto. They carried dollars there, and brought back rum and molasses, and besides supplied Louisbourg with all necessaries. Cornwallis complains bitterly of Apthorp and Hancock, the two richest merchants in Boston, who had made their fortunes out of government contracts. He says that they, "because they have" "not the supplying of everything, have done all the mischief" "they could." He says that they "distress and domineer,"—"and now wanton in their insolent demands."—"I wish to" "God some person you confide in was sent out to transact" "the affairs of the country, relating to money matters." He appointed Mr. Green, treasurer, and commends his method and propriety. He says Green is the only person he has for business, "which is a misfortune, as I know little of it myself."—

"I have applied myself as closely as possible to each branch,"
"but indeed, my lords, it is too much for any one person."
"The distresses I meet with—the variety I have to go"
"through, Sir Danvers Osborn can testify. The fear I am"
"under of not acting satisfactory to your lordships, gives me"
"great uneasiness."

The fishery this year had produced 25000 quintals, and people from the West of England were expected to extend it. The close of this year, 1750, exhibits a great change in the condition of the province. From the conquest of 1710, hitherto, the fort at Annapolis, as far as its guns could range, was the only real possession of the British in this region, and this even was dependant on aid from Boston to prevent its recapture. The post at Canso could hardly be deemed secure at any time. As to the Indians and Acadians, they were, as a general rule, much more the subjects of the governor and bishop of Quebec than of England. The building of a town at Chebucto, and the presence of several regiments of regulars—the establishment of fortified forts at Grand Pré, Piziquid and Chignecto, gave the English an absolute possession and control, if not of the whole of Acadie, yet of the peninsula, and in the event this dominion extended itself step by step until the whole continent became exclusively British.

The winter of 1750-1751, was a very open one, so that the governor was enabled to supply Chignecto with everything necessary, which was fortunate, as the French endeavored all in their power to distress that post, and the English woodparties had several skirmishes with the Indians, the French being at hand to support and subsist their allies, and a party of Canadian Indians were sent to join the St. John Indians and Micmacs. The Indians sent an order to the Acadian French, forbidding them from acting as couriers for the English, or assisting them in any way, on pain of death.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV.

(I.)

The invoice of goods sent in the London, by M. Bigot, intendant at Quebec, to M. Loutre, as presents to his Indians, contained :

9 bales of clothing, 2 hhds. clothing. Among the goods were swanskin, mamaget, or mazamet, cadis table cloths, white linen shirts, cloaks with gold or silver lace, ribbons, &c.

1 hhd., contents : 12 laced cloaks, for men ; 3000 sewing needles, 200 awls, 200 gun screws, 200 *battefeux*, 30 lbs. vermillion, 200 butchers' knives, 12 childrens' cloaks, 18 mens' cloaks.

100 guns, 60 lbs. tow, 150 triggers, staples, &c.

A bbl. containing 3000 gun flints.

20 quintals of leaden shot.

30 quintals of ball.

2000 lbs. powder.

100 copper kettles.

85 green seal skins.

1 hhd. molasses, 2 hhds. wine, 60 quintals bacon, salt.

12 quintals bacon, 418 lbs. hogs' lard.

16 *vettes* brandy, 471 quintals flour.

(2.)

(*Extracts from letters taken in the sloop London.*)

[From Augustin Doucet, dated *Port la Joie*, (Charlotte town), 5 August, 1750, to madame Languedor, at Quebec.]

" I was settled in Acadie. I have four little children. I was living contented " on my land. But this did not last long, for we have been obliged to leave all " our goods. and to fly from under the dominion of the English. The king " obliges himself to transport and maintain us until news is received from " France. If Acadie does not return to the French, I hope to take my little " family with me to Canada. I assure you we are in a poor situation, for we " are like Indians in the woods."

(*From de Goutin to M. Bigot.*)

Port la Joie, 6 August, 1750.

" Sir. In the oppression we are threatened with, by the great quantity of Acadians who come here daily, and the limited amount of provisions that have come " from Louisbourg, our only hope is in you for the relief of the poor families of " Acadie continually arriving here ; and I have the honor to tell you, sir, that we " have more than 700 persons receiving the king's rations.

There was a letter to the same effect from Denys de Bonaventure to Bigot. He makes the number to be fed near 800, of whom 200 had come there in 1749, and 600 since 27 April, 1750. They require 3600 quintals of flour, and have only 1600. Louisbourg is not able to supply them.

In a letter from de Loutre to Bigot, dated *a la baye Verte*, 15 August, 1750, he says :—

“ We have here plenty of people to maintain, and in the autumn we shall have “ an increase of 60 families from Beaubassin and the rivers which are beyond the “ boundary we claim, who have not sowed their crops, to retire on our territory. “ The people of Cobequit should decide what part to take as soon as they have “ news from France,” (i. e. as to the boundaries.) “ They will make the num- “ ber of 100 families. Perhaps we shall have some from Mines, if they can “ escape.”—“ The Canibas, who were on the Chebucto road, captured the let- “ ters the English wrote to Mines and Port Royal. They will be sent to you by “ the first courier.”—“ If our Indians were Frenchmen we should not be embar- “ rassed, but the wretches grow weary, and will quit us perhaps in our greatest “ necessity.” They are tired of waiting for news from France.”—“ Our gentle- “ men” (military) “ expect to be relieved. If it be so, it is time that arrange- “ ments should be made for the magazines at Echedack, (Shediac), or Gasparos “ river, in bay Verte, and for the houses and lodgings of the soldiers and militia “ men.”—“ We are only waiting news from France to take our part. As M. de “ la Corne is in want of tobacco, and I find the article on board of captain Jallair, “ I have taken it. I am going to have it weighed, and by the receipt I have “ given him you will see the quantity.”

The chevalier du Chambon writes from ‘Memramcoup,’ 15 August, 1750, to M. Gorgaudière. Quebec :—

“ The Indians captured the letters the governor of Chebucto was sending by “ a courier, and carried them to the priest. They” (the English) “ count on “ doing great things in their enterprizes, and I can assure you that if we have “ no news from France, we shall be much embarrassed in our mission, which “ seems to me to embarrass much the poor inhabitants for being the *dupes* of all “ that.”

N. B.—This seems to be the Sr. du Chambon de Vergor, who commanded the brigantine taken by Rous in the autumn, 1750, and who afterwards was commandant of fort Beauséjour.

(3.)

26 Nov’r., 1750. Governor Cornwallis’ order to the deputies of Mines :—

‘ You are ordered, under pain of military execution, to furnish Mr. Floyer, captain commanding the Fort *au Vieux Logis*, as much as he shall need, and, as far ‘ as it is possible for you, wood, flour and other kinds of provisions which he ‘ shall think fit to demand from you.’ Countersigned by

WM. COTTERELL, secretary.

(4.)

Order dated 31 Dec’r., 1750 :—

Whereas it has been represented to His Ex’y, that several persons who have lots in Dartm°. do reside on this side of the water, and whereas a watch is absolutely necessary for the safety of the place, notice is hereby given to such persons that if they do not pay one shilling for each guard as it comes to their turn, they shall forfeit their lots in Dartmouth.

Halifax, Decem’r. 31st, 1750.

By his Excellency’s command,

(Signed)

WM. COTTERELL.

CHAPTER XV.

1751. The governor and council, who were vested with powers of legislation, until an elective assembly should be established, began to pass now some ordinances of importance. January 14, 1751, o. s., they made a series of regulations to govern the proceedings of the general court and of the county court, and they ordered them to be published "by the Provost marshal, by reading the same, after beat of drum," "throughout the settlement, and on the first day of the next" "general and county courts." Many rules of practice in civil actions in the county court were prescribed. Actions on specialties, and those in which a member of the general court was concerned, were excepted from their jurisdiction.—Goods attached were to be sold by auction.—Real estate to be redeemable for two years—No person was to be ejected from real estate until three months after execution levied upon it.—Sellers of liquor having licenses could not recover in any suit under 5s., and other persons could not sue for liquors sold in quantities under 3 gallons.—A single justice of peace was empowered to try civil causes not exceeding 20s., and two justices any causes not exceeding £3. In case of the fraudulent taking of property off the streets, wharves or enclosures, the offender was to incur four-fold damages, or whipping.—After quoting Molloy *de Jure maritimo et Navali*, (see 3rd edition, London, 1682, p. 432), in which the colonial law of Virginia, act of 1663, c. 10, is explained and supported, which protects settlers from suits and executions for debts incurred before they came into the colony, they renew and modify the

law to prevent suits for debts contracted by the settlers before they come here.—Until the limits of the county of Halifax are determined, all officers of justice shall have jurisdiction in any part of the province where they may occasionally be.—That the town and suburbs of Halifax be divided into 8 wards, and the inhabitants be empowered annually to choose the following officers, for managing such prudential affairs of the town as shall be committed to their care by the governor and council, viz't.: 8 town overseers, 1 town clerk, 16 constables, 8 scavengers. 24 Jan'y. Richard Mainwaring was fined £100 for celebrating a marriage. He called himself a clergyman, and said he had lost his credentials, and was committed till the fine should be paid. This was done under an English statute of 7 & 8 W. 3, c. 35. The institution of deputies, and their being paid by the districts, appears to have been kept in force, by an order in Feb'y., requiring the inhabitants of river Canard to pay, under pain of *military execution*. Two armed sloops were employed in the service of the province government—the Ulysses, captain Jeremiah Rogers, and the New Casco, captain John Taggart. The Ulysses was sent to Boston in February. In this month, the governor ordered Mr. Thos. Saul, who was agent for messrs. Baker, army contractors, to lay in provisions for three months, for 1500 men at Halifax, and 600 at Chignecto, from which we may infer that the garrisons amounted to those numbers. Dartmouth had been settled, but there were complaints that the people there had not been duly victualled, and Otis Little, esq., commissary of stores and provisions, was ordered to proceed to the place—enquire and report on the subject. 23 Feb'y., o. s. Cornwallis ordered that a serjeant and ten or twelve men of the military of Dartmouth should mount guard at nights in the block-house, and be visited from time to time by the lieutenant. 24 Feb'y. Gorham was sent by land with his company and a detachment of Cornwallis' regiment, to relieve the garrison at *Vieux Logis*, Mines, and to deliver necessaries to captain St. Loe, at Fort Edward, Pisiquid. 20 March. A table of fees was established by the governor in council for courts officers, juries, &c. The grand jurors were to have each 2s. a day, and

their foreman 2s. 6d. The petit jurors the same fees in the general court, but when in county court 10d. each, and the foreman 1s. The only lawyer's fee was 6s. in county court. The gaoler 1s. 6d. on receiving or discharging a prisoner, and 3s. a week for dieting him. (28 March, 1751. Mr. Thomas Coram, the celebrated projector and founder of the Foundling hospital, died. The settlement of Chebucto was one of his proposals.) On the memorial of merchants, the governor and council resolved, 29 April, to grant a bounty of six pence per quintal on fish salted and dried within the province, fit for exportation; and to obtain a fund for this purpose, they imposed a duty of six pence a gallon on rum and other spirits sold by retail, (under three gallons.) License holders were to account for their sales on oath. At the same time they ordered stealing fish from flakes to be punished by paying four-fold value and costs, and being whipped round the flakes; and stealing effects from the beach, or streets, or lots of ground, to be punished by four-fold restitution, costs, and a public whipping. May 27. An order of council fixed the price of fresh fish at Halifax not to exceed sixpence for a fish thirty inches long, and others in proportion, under ten shillings penalty.

On the 2-13 March, the governor's order issued for additional 9 months' provisions for 600 men, to be laid in at Chignecto.

On the 14-25 May, a general court martial was ordered, "to enquire into the conduct of the different commanding" "officers, both commissioned and uncommissioned, who have" "suffered the village of Dartmouth to be plundered, and" "many of the inhabitants to be put to death, when there was" "a detachment of regulars and irregulars posted there for" "their protection, to the amount of upwards of sixty men, and" "make report thereof to me." Governor Cornwallis, in his letter to the lords of trade, dated 24 June, 1751, says: "A" "large party came down to a small village opposite Halifax," "where I was obliged to put some settlers that arrived last" "year, in the night attacked it, and did some mischief, by" "killing some of the inhabitants, I think four, and took six" "soldiers who were not upon guard that night. Our people"

“killed six of the Indians, and had they done their duty well,” “must have killed many more.” A private letter from Halifax, dated June 25, states that they had skirmishes with the Indians, in which several of the English had been killed and scalped. Some days ago about 60 of them attacked the town of Dartmouth, whose fence is only a small brush, and killed about eight of the inhabitants, and after that exercised their cruelties by pulling down some houses and destroying all they found, not sparing men, women and children. A serjeant, who was in his bed, came to the inhabitants’ assistance, whom they pursued and killed, and not being content with his life, cut his left arm off, and afterwards scalped him. In returning from the town, they carried off about fourteen prisoners in triumph. The company of rangers posted there gave no assistance. (But one Indian scalp had been brought in under the offer of £50 reward, made some four months before. This is attributed to the care of the Indians in carrying off their dead.) [*London Magazine*, 1751, p. 341.] A letter from Halifax, of 30 June, says that a few days since the Indians in the French interest perpetrated a most horrible massacre at Dartmouth, on the opposite shore, where they killed, scalped, and frightfully mangled several of the soldiery and inhabitants. They spared not even women and children. A little baby was found lying by its father and mother—all three scalped. The whole town was a scene of butchery: some having their hands cut off—some their bellies ripped open, and others their brains dashed out, [*London Magazine*, 1751, p. 419.]

Four sloops belonging to Boston were seized at Louisbourg by order of the governor of Canada, in reprisal for the brigantine taken by the Albany. The French began to erect a fort at St. John, and another at Beauséjour. It was also reported that they were building one on the bay Verte. Cornwallis avers “that the governor of Canada, through his emissary” “Le Loutre. gives a premium for every prisoner, head” “or scalp of an Englishman.” The French sent a ship of thirty-six guns and three hundred men to the bay of Fundy. Cornwallis says that at first setting out it was said—“What has he to contend with? Three or four hundred”

"Indians only. It is peace and no other enemy to fear." He then asserts that the French had not only set on the Indians, but had acted in conjunction with them. That they entered and took possession of part of the province—drove off the inhabitants—forced them to swear allegiance to the French king, and acted with as much vigor and did as much harm to the English as they could have done in open war. He alleges this to justify the heavy expenses incurred in protecting the settlement. Though surrounded with wood, it cost from 14 to 16 shillings a cord. Limestone could not be obtained near Halifax. The land round Halifax was now laid out into five acre lots, and the settlers had begun to clear them, though it was not safe to do so, owing to the Indian enemy. At this time there were 16 pieces of cannon upon George's island, from 32 to 24 pounders. 29 May, o. s. Capt. Sutherland was sent with a detachment of Warburton's regiment to the fort at Piziquid. Three men were sentenced to death for felonies, and ordered to be hanged on 18 June, o. s. Two of them were reprieved. 1 July, o. s. The New Casco sloop, capt. Taggart, was sent to Annapolis, to land provisions there, designed for Chignecto, and to take colonel Mascarene thence to New England. On sworn information that certain Irish catholic servants in Halifax had entered into a combination to go over to the Indians or the French, a resolution passed, requiring masters of vessels to report passengers, who were not to land without the governor's permission, (vessels from the colonies exempted.) German palatine settlers, arrived 10-21 July, were directed to be employed at Dartmouth in picketting in the back of the town. 31 July. The governor and council imposed a duty of 3d. a gallon on all rum and spirits imported after 14 August, 1751, except the product or manufacture of Great Britain or the British West Indies,—the duty to go to bounty on the fisheries. 10s. per ton bounty to be allowed to vessels and boats built within the province.——The arrival of 200 more Germans was reported, and they were ordered to be placed at the head of the North West arm and mouth of Bedford bay, (basin), and those who owe work for passage to picket in the same. Eight French men-of-war were on these coasts, and no

English ship of war had, as yet, arrived. One of the French, of 56 guns, cruized off the harbor's mouth and coast for a fortnight, with a schooner in company. A pass was given to Pierre Aucoin and Joseph Granger, of the river Canard, to go to Cobequid, and, if necessary, to Louisbourg, to procure a priest for their district. Three sloops were sent up the bay of Fundy in September—the Ulysses, New Casco, and Lawrence. They carried 130 barrels of beef and 68 barrels pork for Chignecto. The provisions reported necessary for victualing the settlers during the coming winter, were 329,139 3-4 pounds of bread and flour, 90,608 1-2 lbs. beef, 36,887 lbs. pork, 903 bushels pease, 3050 gals. vinegar, 621 1-4 gals. rum, 485 1-4 gals. molasses. Cornwallis had authorized colonel Mascarene to act on behalf of this province at a conference that was to be held with the Indians at St. George's. He had now some glimmering of hope that they would make peace. The French Acadians at Mines and Piziquid had altered their behavior, cultivated their land well, and had a surplus of corn to dispose of. He could not send the Germans far into the country until peace was made with the Indians. Farmers, he says, can't live within forts, and must go in security about their business to make it turn to any account. Two ships only had arrived with Germans. He says the French fort is not much further than cannon shot from the English one at Chignecto. He asks leave to resign the government 4-15 Sept'r., 1751. The forts he has erected at Chignecto, Mines and Piziquid, are only picketed forts, as a security against Indians.

The count *de Raymond*, sent as successor to Desherbiers, governor of Louisbourg, wrote 18 Aug't. to Cornwallis, complaining that the New England fishermen dried their codfish on the islands of Canceaux. Cornwallis replies that he has to complain of Frenchmen fishing at the isles of Canceaux, and even at Whitehead, on this side of Canceaux, both undoubtedly in the territory of the king of England; also of a French man-of-war cruising on this coast, and even in view of the harbor, for ten or twelve days in succession. These letters were couched in terms of great courtesy. Sept'r. 11. The

lords of trade and plantations ordered five ships to be got ready to sail for Nova Scotia, with two companies of colonel Lee's regiment of foot, besides guns, muskets, swords, bayonets, powder, &c., for that colony. [*London Magazine* for 1751, p. 427.] Lieutenant John Hamilton had negotiated for the ransom of himself and other English persons who had been taken prisoners by the Indians within this province at several times during the two years last past. There were upwards of 60 prisoners, officers, soldiers and settlers. The sum required for payment of their ransom and maintenance was 17,651 livres and 2d., (which is about £882, Halifax currency.) Lieutenant Hamilton drew on governor Cornwallis for this amount, and wrote him from Quebec, Aug't. 24, that their release depended upon the draft being paid. Tuesday, Oct. 15-26, the council, present col. Horseman, col. Lawrence, Benj. Green and Wm. Steele, advised the governor to pay the amount. In October, instructions were issued to captain Thomas Collier, then commanding officer at Chignecto. He was to give every facility to trade, except that in spirituous liquors, which he was to keep within due limits,—to prevent correspondence with the French, except between himself and the French commandant when requisite,—see that the duties were collected—economy fuel, &c. Major Lutterell had previously commanded there. At this time, captain Benjamin Ives, whose name we find in the list of Pepperell's officers at the siege of Louisbourg in 1745, and again in the list of settlers of Halifax in 1749, appears to have held an office called 'captain of the' 'Port,' as there is on date 22 October, 1751, for delivering to him six men's provisions for one month. In 1754 Charles Hay, esq'r., was captain of the port. It seems probable that he executed the same duties, which were afterwards performed by an officer called the Portwarden during the Revolutionary war, 1775-1783, viz't., to visit and report on all vessels and boats entering the harbor, and grant passes to those leaving. The rations ordered must have been for his boat's crew. It appears from a copy of a bill of exchange, drawn by governor Cornwallis in favor of Wm. Baker, for £2250 sterling, that Mr. Thomas Saul, Baker's resident agent here, had supplied

224,000 lbs. bread for the use of settlers, at 22s. 6d. stg. per cwt. We notice the name of lieut. George Cottnam, of Cornwallis' regiment, obtaining leave of absence, as we shall find him a resident long after. Count Raymond, the governor of Louisbourg, wrote a second letter to Cornwallis, claiming the islands of Canso as French territory. Cornwallis complained of the ship's of war coming here late in the season, and leaving shortly after, (names the Gosport and Torrington), so that their visits were of little use in the defence of the settlement. 18 Nov'r. He thanks the king for the leave of absence granted him, but will not then make use of it, as his majesty thinks his remaining necessary at this juncture. Ships may come here in April or May, and can winter here as well as in any port in the world. He informs the lords of trade, (Nov'r. 3,) that the Indians have been quiet, and the French inhabitants behaving better, and he has real hopes they may become good subjects. "Certain I am it would be so, if a method could be found to" "prevent French missionaries being among them. How that" "may be attained I can't say, but priests of some kind they" "must have." The French fort at Beauséjour is picquetted, like the English one at Chignecto. That at St. John is said not to be near the entrance, where the old one was, but above the falls. The French failed to obtain a supply of flour at Louisbourg, Quebec or France, but received 12,000 barrels shipped them from New York, contracted for by their friends in Boston, whose four vessels they had seized in the spring: and Cornwallis says 150 vessels from New England and New York have been trading at Louisbourg this year, and adds that this trade was chiefly from Boston and Rhode island, who barter their goods with the French there for rum and molasses, and run the returns into the colonies, and not one-tenth of them pay a shilling duty. A law question arose about a Mr. Hoffman, a German, who had been made justice of peace, it being alleged that not having resided seven years, he was not naturalized by the act 13, G. 2. Gov'r. Cornwallis points out that the objection might also extend to inheriting or obtaining land, and suggests that this should be remedied by enactment.

We find about this time that the chevalier La Corne was relieved in his command at Beauséjour by *le sieur de Vassan*, captain. The latter received instructions to hasten, as much as he could, the construction of the fort at Beauséjour—to pay great respect to the abbe de la Loutre, and especially to consult him on all matters regarding the Acadians—to treat these people with much mildness—give them provisions, and relieve them—to receive humanely all those who should come to take refuge with him, and in such cases to converse with the abbé de la Loutre, and enter into his views, and finally, to avoid all subjects of discussion with the English. On his arrival in Acadie, M. de Vassan sought to fulfil the views of government. This officer was proud, brave and haughty. He possessed intelligence and capacity for the details of business, and he acquitted himself better than any other officer could have done, and with more dignity, of what had been prescribed to him by his instructions. He left or rather abandoned to the abbe de la Loutre, the details of all things that concerned the Acadians. The abbé used his power tyrannically. He distributed the provisions with a marked inequality, and he reduced the Acadians to supplicate of him, and to consider as a favor, especially proceeding from himself, the clothing and provisions which the king had entrusted him to distribute among them. Le Vassan had often lively altercations with him, and had need of all his intelligence and all his superiority to resist him, or to reconcile the disputes and discontents which his conduct gave rise to among the Acadians. [*Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749, jusqu'à 1760. Quebec, 1838, pp. 12-13.*]

About the end of this year governor Cornwallis had an angry dispute with Joshua Mauger. Mauger was a merchant, distiller, &c. He had removed with a stock of goods from Louisbourg when it was restored to the French in 1749, and settled in Halifax, where he conducted an extensive business. He afterwards went to England, where he acted as Provincial agent for Nova Scotia, and held a seat in Parliament. His daughter was married to captain d'Auvergne, of the English R. navy, a scion of the princely house of de Bouillon, in France. Mauger's beach, in the entrance of Halifax harbor,

belonged to him, and still retains his name. In 1751 he was agent victualler to the navy at Halifax. Cornwallis says that he received information that a sloop had landed contraband goods from Louisbourg—that they had been openly carried upon trucks, and lodged in different parts of the town. “Upon which” (he says) “I issued my warrant to the judge” “of Admiralty court to seize the vessel and search the suspected parts of the house for these goods, several of which” “were found so dispersed. The officer had suspicion of Mr.” “Mauger’s storehouse, being an offender by public report,” “and demanded the keys of his storehouse. He absolutely” “denied his searching the house, though he shewed him the” “warrant.” Cornwallis sent his secretary with a message, the sum of which was, if he would not deliver the keys, the doors would be forced open. Mauger wrote a note to the governor, which the latter calls impertinent. Eventually the civil officer opened the doors of the store, in presence of a clerk of Mauger’s, and found only some casks of French molasses, which, as Mauger alleged, was part of his stock imported at the evacuation of Louisbourg in 1749, by Cornwallis’s permission.—Mauger treated this proceeding as violent, arbitrary and illegal, and menaced a prosecution in England. A point arose as to whether it was before or after sunset at the time, and Cornwallis says it was 5 P. M. on 13 Nov’r., (o. s.) which, he thinks, was before sunset, but by the almanacks we use he was wrong, as the sunset at Halifax 13 Nov’r., o. s., was at 4h. 24m., P. M., and 13, n. s., 4h. 34m. P. M. He says to the lords of trade: “I hope Mr. Mauger will no longer be employed by the victualling Board or in H. M. employ.”—“I have great reason to think that two of the vessels seized at Louisbourg, by way of reprisal, he was concerned in; and one certain proof of his correspondence and good harmony with those at Louisbourg, his getting his kinsman sent home who was taken prisoner by the Indians, when it was not in my power to get one of the others.” He refers to 143 article of his general instructions, and 23 article of his instructions relating to trade and navigation. [*From a letter of governor Cornwallis to the lords of trade, (without date), rec’d. in England 6 January, 1752.*]

CHAPTER XVI.

1752. The year 1752 was a very uneventful one in this country. The most remarkable occurrences were the change of governor, colonel Cornwallis retiring and colonel Hopson taking the command, and a treaty made with the Indian chief of the Eastern coast named Cope. Many matters of minor importance deserve, however, some notice.

In writing to the secretary of state, the earl of Holdernessee, 16 Feb'y., governor Cornwallis says: "Though the winter" "has been as severe as has been known, this harbor has" "never been frozen over, which, by accounts, all the harbors" "quite to Virginia have been."

John Collier and capt. George Fotheringham were appointed to the council. Charles Morris, James Monk, John Dupont, Robert Ewer, and Joseph Scott, were named as judges of the Inferior court of Common Pleas for the county of Halifax; and John William Hoffman, esq'r., and Leonard Christopher, esq'r., were made justices of peace for the same county. In February and March, 1752, Mr. Cornwallis was made colonel of the regiment of foot, late the earl of Ancram's, and Peregrine Thomas Hopson was made colonel of the 40th regiment, previously Cornwallis's. (*See London Magazine, 1752, p. 93.*)

April 8. Bounties were granted, viz., 20s. an acre on cleared land, 2s. per cwt. for hay, 2s. per bushel for wheat, barley or rye, 1s. for oats, 3d. per lb. for hemp.—Several divorce causes were tried by the governor and council.

June 12. The governor and council adopted a scheme of a lottery for building a light house near cape Sambrough, to raise £450—1000 tickets, £3 each.

In July, captain Ephraim Cooke insulted the judges of the inferior court, and particularly Mr. Steele. He was imprisoned by order of the governor and council, and shortly afterwards apologised fully, and was discharged.—17 July. A proclamation issued, stating that the Indians, for some time past, had not committed hostile acts, but on the contrary had made overtures tending to peace, and thereupon forbidding acts of aggression against them. It then stated that some persons in a vessel from New England had seized and killed treacherously, near cape Sable, two Indian girls and an Indian lad, who had gone on board ‘under given truce and assurances of friend-ship,’ and offered £50 reward for discovery of the wrong doers.

The government mills at Dartmouth were sold at auction in June, and bought by major Ezekiel Gilman, for £310. 13 July, Winckworth Tonge, gentleman, was ordered to Chignecto, to take upon himself the direction of the fortifications, repairs of buildings, and such other works as are to be carried on there.

On Monday, 3 August, governor Cornwallis and the council, consisting of messrs. Green, Salusbury, Steele, Collier and Fotheringham, met at the court house in Halifax. Colonel Peregrine Thomas Hopson, who had arrived here on 26th July, was also present, and the king’s commission to Hopson, as captain general and governor in chief of Nova Scotia, was read; also a commission appointing him vice admiral. The usual oaths were then administered to him, and he took the chair. Under the new commission, messrs. Lawrence, Green, Salusbury, Steele, Collier and Fotheringham, were sworn in as councillors, and the usual proclamation ordered for officers to continue. Aug. 6. The king had directed that the foreign settlers should take the oath of allegiance. Two councillors were deputed to administer it to those employed on George’s island, which they did to 119 men and lads.—4 Aug’t. Two schooners, one the *Friendship*, belonging to Joseph Gerrish, of Halifax, the other the *Dolphin*, owned in New England, while engaged in fishing near Canso, were surprized and taken by Indians, who carried the vessels and crews to St. Peter’s, in cape Breton. The Indians did not kill any of the men, or even detain them

as prisoners. The owners got their vessels back by paying a large ransom. There was a canoe taken also. The crews were, in all, 21 persons. The schooner *Halifax* was taken by Indians at Petit degrat, in cape Breton.

26 Aug't. At a council, at which the late governor attended, the German passengers in the *Pearl*, from Rotterdam, were ordered to be landed at the isthmus between Bedford bay and Sandwich river, where the others were seated.—In discussing the provision contracts, the numbers to be provided for by the government are thus stated : 1000 Germans arrived this year, and expected ; 955 Germans arrived in the last two years, and 455 others requiring support, including artificers, laborers, inmates of orphan house and hospital,—in all 2400 persons.

31 August. An advertisement was ordered for the alteration of the style.

In this month, ensign Tonge, who acted as engineer at Fort Lawrence, (Chignecto), was ordered to repair the fort 'in such a manner as to bring its profile up to the first' 'design.' Palissades and posts were to be sent him from Annapolis ; the other materials and implements to be sent round as soon as possible. Mr. Morris, the surveyor, went to what then was called Musquodoboit, (now Lawrencetown and Chezetcook), escorted by capt. lieut. Lewis and twenty rangers, as a defence against Indians. Mr. Morris, in his report to the governor, describes, under the name of the Inner harbor of Musquodoboit, the present Cole harbor, 5 miles from Dartmouth. He mentions a small point of land opposite Cornwallis (now McNab's) island, as the only spot that had been cleared by the French or Indians in that direction. He then mentions the ruins of a French settlement, which was in what is now Lawrencetown, and another at Chillincook, (now called Chezetcook.) At the first he says "there is at present the stones of two chimnies lying on the ground" "where the houses were burnt down, two barns built of logs," "and thatched ; a spring of good water near." At Chillincook, he says, the settlement is on a peninsula ; mentions a church, which he calls a Mass house, and several dwellings, cleared land, &c. The distance between the two settlements

was 7 miles. The French had been long there, but both places were now deserted.

There seems to have been no protestant clergyman at this time at Annapolis, as we find, 15 August, a license granted by the governor to John Handfield, esquire, a justice of peace for the province, to join together in holy wedlock captain John Hamilton, widower, and Miss Mary Handfield, spinster, 'provided neither the chaplain of the garrison or any other lawful minister be present.' Capt. Handfield, the father of the bride, to whom the authority is given, was then commanding officer at Annapolis.

The hon. lieut. colonel Robert Monckton, (afterwards distinguished at the siege of Quebec), was now sent to command at Fort Lawrence, and a relief to the garrison there went in the *New Casco*, the *York*, and the *Ulysses*. The orders are dated 15 and 17 August.

25 August. William Nisbet, a clerk in the secretary's office, was dismissed by the governor. He was afterwards attorney general and speaker of the Assembly. On the dismissal of Mr. Little, he was employed as attorney general. (The house he lived in still remains but slightly altered, in Grafton street.)

14 Sept'r., 1752, (thursday.) The present and late governors met with the council at the governor's house. Messrs. Lawrence, Green, Salusbury, Steele, Collier and Fotheringham, councillors. An Indian chief, Micmac, appeared before them, named Jean Baptiste Cope, who called himself major. A *golden* belt (gold lace?) a laced hat for himself and another for his son were given him, with written promises of presents and provisions, and he signed an engagement on the 16th to bring his tribe in to sign and ratify the peace.—Two persons from Halifax were relieved at this time from captivity in Canada. Thomas Stannard and Honora Hancock—the ransom of the latter, 66 dollars, (milled), and 5 dollars her passage money from New York, were repaid by the Halifax government. Money transactions seem to have been transacted usually in the Spanish silver milled dollar or piece of eight reals, although accounts were kept in pounds currency or sterling.—The priest at St. John's wrote to the commandant at Annapolis for leave

to buy provisions there for the people of the river, but the governor and council forbade it, as French troops occupied the place, and the Indians there were hostile. A circular letter, signed by Paul Dorion, an inhabitant of the island of St. John, was sent among the French inhabitants of this province, but had little effect in inducing them to repair thither.

Governor Hopson, writing to the lords of trade, 16 October, says he found Cornwallis extremely distressed by having on his hands in and about this place, all the foreign settlers who arrived in 1750 and 1751. 300 more arrived in 1752. All Hopson could do was to build boarded barracks for them, it being impossible to send them to a distance for want of provisions. They would require two years' provisions in settling them, as most of them were very poor. He refers to governor Cornwallis for the state of the province. Cornwallis goes home with the despatches in the Torrington. These foreign settlers had sold everything they had, even to their bedding, by advice, before they embarked. Many were sick, or aged. He describes their condition as presenting "a scene of misery." Says many of them became discontented, and went off to the island of St. John, and begs that no more may be sent out. If any of them were sent to settle among the French inhabitants he is sure the latter would immediately leave the province. About 60 French had deserted from their fort at Beauséjour since Hopson arrived, and he sent them to Boston, as he had heard lord Halifax disapprove of sending such deserters to England. The Rangers he considers to have been of great utility in protecting out-settlers, and marching on service when regulars could not be spared. They were reduced by Cornwallis, and now were only 100 in all, under captain Joseph Gorham and six subalterns.—Alienation of land at this time required the governor's license, and the purchaser had to take the usual oaths. "Upon no account" was it permitted to alienate to "Roman Catholics." All the town lots and five acre lots were duly registered.—Oct'r. 23. Governor Hopson appointed William Cotterell, esq'r., a member of H. M. council, and John Duport, esq'r., secretary of the council. The council

were of opinion that the secretary of council should receive £100 stg. a year, which was accordingly adopted.

The new governor of Canada, marquis Duquesne Menneville, a navy captain, arrived in that province in July, 1752. He kept up the same correspondence with the abbé de Loutre that his predecessors had done. He issued fresh instructions to M. de Vassan, and directed him to gain over the missionaries settled among the Acadians, in order to gain information as to the designs of the English, and to keep him instructed as to their movements. He sent an officer of artillery, M. de Jacan de Piedmont, to Beauséjour, to fortify the place; and as the close vicinity of Fort Lawrence and fort Beauséjour led to frequent desertions of the soldiery, he agreed on a cartel with governor Hopson for the mutual surrender of deserters, it being stipulated that their lives should in such cases be spared. [*Mem. sur Canada. Quebec, 1838, p. 29.*] 14 Nov'r, A proclamation was issued by the governor and council, forbidding persons from 'assembling and carrying about effigies on the' 'anniversary of the holy day, commonly called Gunpowder' 'Treason, being the 16th November, according to the present' 'alteration of the style.' 22 November, a treaty was signed with the Micmacs of the Eastern coast. Jean Baptiste Cope, chief, and Andrew Hadley Martin, Gabriel Martin and Francis Jeremiah, delegates, acted for the tribe, which was estimated to consist of ninety persons. It was based on the Boston treaty of 1725. 29. Cut money (pistareens and other silver) was ordered to go at 4s. 6d. an ounce.

It seems that the officers in command of fort Edward, at Piziquid, had made a practice of taking whatever sheep, poultry, &c., they required, from the French inhabitants, setting their own price thereon, sending for them on frivolous pretences, and imprisoning them in the block-house. They at length petitioned for redress, and the conduct of the commandant was condemned by the governor and council 12 Dec., 1752, and a full restitution and satisfaction ordered to be made. Hopson views the quietness of the French and Indians at this time as a treacherous calm, to be soon succeeded by outbreaks of hostility. Many regulations and ordinances were proposed and adopted this

year, respecting matters of police, bridewell, fencing and clearing lots, weights and measures, terms, &c. of courts, fees, taverns, &c. &c.

The condition of the French Acadians at this period, especially of that portion of them which was collected at Beauséjour and elsewhere under the French flag, is very precisely indicated in the "*Memoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à*" "1760." *Quebec*, 1838 : p. 31 &c. ; of which the following is a translation. "The Acadians became impatient at the length" "of the conferences," (of the commission on the boundaries.) "In vain they were annually told the limits would be settled," "and their fate thereby ameliorated. The mildness with" "which the French commandant treated them was empoison-" "ed by the hauteur and harshness of the abbé de la Loutre," (de Loutre.) "This priest could not resist the ambitious" "desire he felt to receive in person the applause which he" "thought he deserved from the court. He went to France" "under different pretexts, and obtained a sum of 50,000 livres" (£2500 H. currency) "to construct an ABOITEAU. (This" "word has been used by the Acadians, and signifies a dyke" "made in a creek, with a sluice gate, which, when closed," "keeps out the tide, while a causeway or *levée* is made be-" "tween the low lands and the tide.) Le Loutre also obtain-" "ed in France letters in his favor. He returned more vain" "than ever ; and to complete his glory, the bishop of Quebec" "named him as his Grand vicar in this country. He no" "longer kept within bounds, but spoke and would act as" "master. He frequently opposed M. de Vassan, and the" "latter needed to remember the orders he had received from" "the governor general, and all the caution of policy, to hinder" "his making an open quarrel with the abbé, and restraining" "his proceedings." "The commandant" (de Vassan) "treat-" "ed the English who had built" (a fort) at Beaubassin," (Fort Lawrence), "with civility, and conducted himself with much" "prudence and discretion in their intercourse, but he was" "nevertheless apprized of their force and of what they were" "doing. He endeavored to gain over the missionaries who" "were among the Acadians. Some he persuaded, but others "

“declined interference, altho’ the Grand vicar had promised”
“to liberate them from the oath they had taken to the Eng-”
“lish, on the faith of which they had been allowed to officiate”
“among a disaffected population. It was thus that the abbé”
“de la Loutre sported with religion, and every thing most”
“sacred. M. des Enclaves, curé of Port Royal, engaged to”
“give information, to be couched in phrases preconcerted, but”
“M. de Chauvreulx. who was at Mines, refused to meddle with”
“this business ; nevertheless, not to bring mischief on him-”
“self, he neither approved nor hindered the course of any of”
“his parishioners who chose to withdraw and go under the”
“French flag.” “Thus M. de Vassan was in a position to”
“know what was going on, and he sent to M. du Quesne a”
“circumstantial account of the English forces in this country,”
“amounting to 1425 men of the regular army, 145 bombar-”
“diers, and a company of rangers of 60 men. They were”
“stationed, part at Halifax, others at Port Royal, Mines,”
“Pichequit, Fort Sackville, Placentia, in Newfoundland, and”
“fort George, towards the river St. John,—exclusive of 150”
“men who garrisoned fort Lawrence. Meanwhile the Aca-”
“dians, enticed” (*debauchés*) “by the abbé de la Loutre,”
“were thronging” (round Beauséjour), “places were given”
“them to build on, while awaiting the decision of the boun-”
“dary question. They were made to believe that they would”
“go back to their properties, and that the English would be”
“confined to the territory of Port Royal ; but at the court a”
“different language was used, and it was stated that these”
“were to be settled on the boundaries as a people who had”
“become irreconcilable foes to the English, and from whom”
“nothing was to be feared. The English, hinted, on the”
“contrary, that they were made dupes in the step they took,”
“and should have awaited peaceably on their lands for the”
“decision of the boundaries ; that their flight was premature,”
“and against their own interests, and the day would come”
“when they wish too late to go back to their farms. These”
“contradictory discourses made the Acadians undecided as”
“to what they should do, and undetermined whether to”
“return to the fields they had abandoned, or to settle under”

“protection of the French flag. Religion caused them to”
“incline to the latter course. Swayed by the exhortations”
“of Le Loutre, who, fearing their attachment to their pro-”
“perties would, in the end, prevail with them, he caused”
“them to be dispersed in the island” (St. John) “and on the”
“St. John river. They refused to go there, but eventually”
“he constrained them to do so, by the threats he caused to”
“be held out of their properties being devastated, and their”
“wives and children carried off and even massacred in their”
“sight by the Indians. He, notwithstanding, retained around”
“him such of them as were most mild and submissive to his”
“will. It was then that he began to trifle with their misery,”
“and to command them imperiously, and they began to mur-”
“mur. They felt the whole weight of their calamity, and”
“their inability to retract.”

“They were mild, humane and sincere, but attached to”
“their religion to the extent of superstition, from which their”
“missionaries had not taken pains to free them. As they”
“could not make up their minds to work” (for the French),
“they resolved to try whether the English would receive”
“them back and restore them their farms, in case they should”
“determine to abandon the French forts. De Loutre and”
“M. de Vassan were informed of this resolution. The first”
“could not restrain his fury. He mounted his pulpit, and”
“spoke with less of religion than of fire and passion. He”
“threatened the thunderbolts of the church, and publicly ill-”
“treated some of those who, to know, had been the first to”
“express their opinions. — De Vassan was wise. He con-”
“tented himself with reminding them calmly of what the”
“king daily did in their favor—gave them hopes of soon”
“being in a happier position, and if he was stern towards any”
“of them, it was with discretion, and to recal them to reason.”
Such opinions entertained of de Loutre by his own countrymen and contemporaries, go far to confirm the unfavorable judgment of his character which Mascarene expressed years before, and which were universal with the English in this country. There is a strong resemblance in his conduct to

that of Gaulin, the difference being chiefly that de Loutre did more extensive mischief.

1753. The settlement at Halifax seems to have been free from attacks of external foes in the early part of 1753, but discord appeared among the people of the place. David Lloyd, who had been clerk to the justices of the peace for three years, stated in a letter to the Bench, that he had only received £25 for this service, and his paper was couched in language which the justices considered insulting. They accordingly complained of him to the governor and council, treating his remonstrance as a libel. At the same time a memorial was sent to the governor and council, charging the justices of the Inferior court with partiality in the proceedings, and praying for a public inquiry. This was signed by Joshua Mauger, Joseph Rundell, Isaac Knott, John Grant, Francis Martin, Edmund Crawley, Richard Catherwood, Robert Campbell, Wm. Nesbit, John Webb, Wm. Magee, S. Zouberbuhler, Samuel Sellon and Isaac Deschamps. Mr. Ephraim Cooke also petitioned against the justices. The judges complained of, were Charles Morris, James Monk, John Duport, Robert Ewer and William Bourn, esquires. They were justices of peace, and also judges of the Inferior court of common pleas for the town and county. They were charged by a second petition, more numerously signed—1. With introducing Massachusetts law and practice. 2. With refusing an appeal in the case of *Martin v. Fairbanks*. 3. In the case of *King v. James Brennock* and others, for refusing leave to examine the crown witnesses,—refusing to hear the prisoners' witnesses,—and improper and impartial charge of first justice. 4, 5, 6, 7. Charges refer to captain Ephraim Cooke's case. 8. Misreading their commission. 9. Continuing courts to accommodate Mr. Little, the king's attorney. January 9, (tuesday), a counter memorial of several persons in favor of the justices, was received. Lloyd was examined. The council investigated the charges, examining witnesses, &c., on the 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31 January and 1 February, carefully examining the quotations and authorities in law cited by both parties. On the 6 Feb'y.

they ordered the justices to proceed with the business of the Inferior court and Quarter sessions on Saturday, 10th instant. The council resumed the inquiry on the 19th and 20th February; and 1 March, (thursday), the governor and council pronounced their opinion, by which the justices were exculpated on all the charges.

Almost from the beginning of the settlement, jealousy and animosity prevailed between the settlers sent from England and those who came here from different parts of the continent of America. This created parties among the people, and governor Hopson thought it was probably the cause of the discontent against the judges of the Inferior court. Great stress was laid in these proceedings on the case of captain Ephraim Cooke. This gentleman had commanded one of the transports that brought out the emigrants in 1749, and became himself a settler. (His name is erroneously called Edward Cooke in the official list of the transports.) At that time justices of peace were appointed by a separate commission to each individual, and among others such a commission was given to Cooke. Subsequently a general commission issued, in which Cooke was included with the rest. He was placed in the commissions of the Common Pleas and Inferior courts also. Under these appointments he sat on the bench, until Cornwallis, being dissatisfied with his conduct, dismissed him, issuing new commissions, in which Cooke's name was left out. Cooke, supposing he was not legally superseded, but was still a magistrate under his first commission, exercised the power by granting a warrant, under which a man was arrested. For this he was sued, and damages obtained against him. He insulted the court—was committed for contempt, but favored by a release on bail for his good behavior. Still persisting in his claim to act as a magistrate, he was indicted for that offence, but acquitted by the jury, and became popular.

David Lloyd, the clerk of the peace, was suspended by governor Hopson for his impertinence to the justices, but after a time, on making submission, he was restored to his office.

Hopson, to prevent any suspicion of partiality in the Bench in future, added four to their number, two of whom had been

signers of the complaint. He expresses a hope they may answer that end, "as they now consist of people from almost" "all the different parts of his majesty's dominions." He thinks nothing is more requisite here than proper persons to manage and advise in law affairs, and recommends the sending over a chief justice and an attorney general, to give weight and authority to the courts.

On the 20 Feb'y., 1753, parliament voted

£47,448	5	10	for charges of the colony of Nova Scotia	
				for 1752 ;
and 47,167	6	6	do. do.	for 1753.
<hr/>				
£94,615	12	4		

The town of Halifax at this time contained 35 blocks, each block having 16 lots of ground of 40 feet wide, 60 feet deep. The width of the streets was 55 feet. [*London Mag.*, 1753, p. 268.]

Agreeably to orders from the king, a militia was established. All settlers and their servants, (the foreign settlers excepted), males between 16 and 60, were to be provided with musket, flints, powder, and ball, and appear at the rendezvous to be notified on or after 22 May. The punishment of *riding the wooden horse* was enacted by the militia law.

Two English soldiers of the garrison of Fort Lawrence were found scalped in the woods. The Micmacs of that neighborhood disavowed the proceeding. They were, at this time, seemingly quiet, and some other tribes wrote to Hopson to say they would come to Chebucto and make peace in the spring. In April, one Claude Gisigash, an Indian, who stiled himself governor of Lahéve, appeared before the governor and council to make peace, and signed a document to that effect. Two men belonging to Halifax, named Connor and Grace, arrived there, with *six Indian scalps*. It appeared by their statement when brought before the council, that they left Halifax with two other men named Hagarty and Poor, in the schooner Dunk, on 6 February, and went from place to place on the Eastern shore until the 21st, when they got to a situation

between Country harbor and Torbay, where, being wind-bound, they were boarded and captured by Indians. After their surrender, the Indians took them on shore, and set them to cut wood. The Indians murdered and scalped Hagarty and Poor, and carried Connor and Grace as prisoners. Until the 8 April, (Sunday), they so continued. Several of the Indians having gone off, Connor and Grace were left with four Indian men, one woman, and a boy. The four Indian men went to the vessel, leaving their arms behind. Connor and Grace, having been nearly starved, and also threatened with death, took advantage of this occasion. They first killed the woman and the boy, and secured the arms and ammunition, and when the four men came on shore, rushed on them and killed them with guns and axes. Taking, then, some food from the schooner, they got into an Indian canoe, and made their way to Halifax, where they arrived on 15 April. The order of council on this inquiry was, that Connor and Grace should give security to answer any charges the Indians might possibly prefer.

Vessels (men-of-war excepted) were not to fire guns or beat drums on board after sunset. A petition to be relieved from arrears of quit rent, received from Cobequid, was referred to the lords of trade. They stated that the Indians having constantly robbed the receiver there, governor Mascarene had, some years ago, ordered him to receive no more, and they pleaded distress and inability to pay. 16 May. Joseph Cope, son of major Cope, and two other Indians, came before the council, with tales of peace, and begged the use of a small vessel to bring their provisions from Jedore to Halifax for safety, as they said some had been stolen, and their request was acceded to.

Early in this spring it had been decided on to remove the German settlers to Merliguësh, which was now called Lunenburg. Block-houses, materials and frames for magazines, storehouses, and habitations for the people, were to be collected, and transports engaged at Boston for removing persons, their effects, and every thing required there. Provisions were expected from Europe, and tools were to be be-spoken. Some of the foreign settlers had grown uneasy, and went over to the

French. The Indians remaining quiet at this time, favored the plan of settlements. On the 26 May, Patrick Sutherland, Sebastian Zouberbouhler and John Creighton, were appointed justices of the peace for Lunenburg. Fourteen transports, varying in tonnage from 60 to 98 tons, and the sloop York, capt. Sylvanus Cobb, were employed to transport the Germans to Lunenburg ; and 92 regulars, as well as 66 rangers, were sent there. Colonel Lawrence was instructed to take command of the troops and settlers. The town had been already laid out, and he was directed to lay out the adjacent cleared land among the settlers by lot, in the same manner ; to reserve the beach to the crown. He was empowered to distribute building materials, not to exceed 700 feet of boards, 500 bricks, and nails proportionate, to each family building a house. In his absence, captain Patrick Sutherland was to command. At this time rumors of an Indian party of 300 men, collected to oppose the settlement of *Merligash*, were spread ; but the first embarkation for Lunenburg, consisting of 450 persons, armed and fit for service, soldiers and settlers, were ready on the 29th May, to sail as soon as the wind was fair, and the rest were to follow as soon as these had got a safe footing. The Albany, capt. Rouse, was to act as convoy. It is probable that this first expedition arrived at Lunenburg early in June.

The militia of Halifax were assembled by a proclamation, to meet at 7, A. M., on Wednesday, 6th June, with arms and ammunition ; those of the South suburbs "within the pick-ets opposite the end of Barrington street, near Horseman's fort ;" those of the North suburbs "between the Grenadier's fort and Luttrell's fort," and those of the town "on the esplanade on the citadel hill." In July and August, 57 officers of militia took the oaths to government.—On the 6 August. Sir William Shirley returned to New England. On the 18 August, his Excellency communicated to the council a letter, dated from Paris, 30 March, 1753, signed by the abbé de l'Isle Dieu, who styles himself Vicar General of the French colonies in Canada, recommending the bearer, M. Daudin, a priest, to be established among the French inhabitants

in this province, and the governor gave him a licence to officiate for six months. 21 August. The laws made here since the arrival of governor Cornwallis, were ordered to be collected and printed. 28 Aug. The hon. Robert Monckton, esq'r., was appointed a member of H. M. council, and took the oaths and his seat. On the 16 May, 1753, at the request of Joseph Cope, the son of J. B. Cope, the Indian who called himself major, a small sloop was sent by the government to convey them home, and to remove the provisions given them from Jedore. In this vessel were Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Samuel Cleveland, one Anthony Casteel, and four bargemen. They sailed accordingly at once, and arrived at Isidore (*Fedore*) the next day. There they were civilly treated by the Indians, major Cope telling them he would write to his brother, the governor. When they had near finished the business they were sent upon, Mr. Bannerman, with four hands, went ashore in his boat, and was surprized and taken prisoner with his people. Immediately afterwards the Indians came on board the sloop, after firing several shots at them. They then seized Mr. Cleveland and Casteel. They decided to spare Casteel, who called himself a Frenchman. The others they killed with their hatchets and took off their scalps. Cope boasting of his being a good soldier, in conducting this enterprise and distressing the English. Casteel was carried by the Indians by the river Shubenacadie to Cobequid, thence to Tatamagouche and Remsek ; thence they were carried to bay Verte, at a French fort there called Gasparo. He was examined as to the state of the English settlements at Halifax and Lunenburg. Casteel was after this ransomed for 300 livres, from the Indians, by Jacques Morris, a French inhabitant, and sent to Louisbourg, where he arrived 16 June. There he was closely examined by the governor, count Raymond, and after that subjected to interrogatories by M. Loutre, who treated him with very abusive language, and inveighed bitterly against Mr. Cornwallis, and said that if the English governor wanted a peace, he ought to write to him, and not treat with the tail of Indians,—that the English might build forts, but he would torment them with his Indians. Casteel got a pass from the governor, and was

allowed to return to Halifax. The vessel in which Bannerman, Cleveland and others, were sent to Jedore, was destroyed by the Indians. This vessel had belonged to one Henry Ferguson and Cleveland. The council gave £25 to Ferguson, and the same sum to the widow, Sarah Cleveland, for their interests in the vessel. They also voted £30 to the widow Cleveland and her children, as a gratuity, and £30 to the two sisters of Mr. James Bannerman, who was murdered at the same time, and £30 to Anthony Casteel, who went in the vessel by the governor's orders. Governor Hopson's health was bad, and he suffered from weakness in his eyes. He therefore obtained a year's leave of absence, dated 28 June. In September, the petition of the people of Mines for permitting Daudin to officiate as priest, was considered. He refused to take the oath of allegiance. The council were of opinion that the French design was to delude the people to leave the province, and in order to defeat this scheme they waived the oath. M. de Vassan being removed from Beauséjour, M. de la Martinière was sent there as commandant. The latter, who was a quiet and religious man, interfered little with the Acadian refugees. The French inhabitants there united in a petition to governor Hopson. They state that their reason for deserting their lands and going there, was, that governor Cornwallis demanded from them what they called a new oath, breaking and revoking the one granted them 11 Oct., 1727, by Mr. Robert Wroth, ensign, &c., and Laurence Armstrong, esq'r., governor of the province. They offer to swear fidelity to the king, on conditions—1. Not to be obliged to take up arms against the English, the French, the Indians, or any other nation, and to be exempted from going as pilots or guides, &c. 2. They and their offspring, at any time, to sell or remove their effects, and go elsewhere, and the moment they have got beyond the British territory, to be considered free from their oaths of allegiance. 3. To have free exercise of their religion, and their priests not to be obliged to take the oath of allegiance. 4. Full restoration to their landed property. These terms to be granted and ratified in England. This petition was presented and read before the governor and council, thursday,

27 Sept'r., 1753, at the governor's house in Halifax, by two Frenchmen, who produced also a paper signed by about 80 of the inhabitants, authorizing them to act as their deputies. The decision of the council was, that an oath of allegiance should be tendered to them, and such of them as took it on or before the 20 November next, before George Scott, esq'r., J. P. and commandant of Chignecto, should be restored to their lands at Chignecto—have free exercise of their religion and priests as the other French inhabitants, &c., nothing being said about the neutral rights demanded. The demand of a privilege that they and their desoendants should always have a right reserved to emigrate and retire free from their allegiance whenever it suited them, was one of the most preposterous and absurd proposals that can well be conceived. Much ill humor and altercation arose between de Loutre and the signers of this petition, each party charging the other with deception and want of good faith. Early in December, president Lawrence learned that the French of Chignecto had not accepted the oath, or returned to their lands at Beaubassin, as they wished the exemption from bearing arms, without which they would not swear allegiance. The soldiers and settlers at Merligash (Lunenburg) are stated (1 Oct'r) to amount to 650 men, well armed. Hopson says they might fall into the same kind of neutrality claimed by the Acadians, unless care be taken. He approves of the idea suggested by the lords of trade of giving them hogs and live stock, and thinks £2000 would be well laid out on that purpose. Some of them he has employed as overseers, besides English in the same capacity. The justices Zouberbouhler and Creighton were also paid for their services. The people of Lunenburg began to be uneasy at having neither church nor clergyman, except the Swiss, who have a French minister, Mr. Moreau. The church was put in the estimate for 1754. The people there were very industrious.—At this time the town of Dartmouth was picketed in, and had a detachment of troops to protect it, but not above five families residing there, as there was no trade or fishery to maintain them, and they were afraid to cultivate land outside their pickets on account of the Indians. The

French garrison at Beauséjour in the autumn of 1752 was computed at 140, regulars and Canadian militia. It was now supposed to have been reduced by desertions and other causes, and not to exceed 60 men. In the baie Verte they had a fort on the river Gasparo, but defended by only twelve or fourteen men. The inhabitants under the French flag there, living within a space of six or seven miles, mustered on festivals about 300. These all had arms and ammunition, and were ordered to repair to the fort upon any alarm. The original inhabitants on that side were pretty well settled, having good houses, gardens, and other ground, which those who had been enticed from the English side had not, but were kept in hopes from time to time of being settled elsewhere. Early in the spring of 1753 they began to repair the fort at Beauséjour ; one curtain they faced with timber, and set about sodding the works which before were supported by fascines. The Indians at this time were encouraged, fed, and protected from pursuit by the French, while warring on the English, and it was asserted and generally believed that the French often were mixed among them in their hostile expeditions.

On the 1st November, governor Hopson sailed for England in the Torrington, and the command of the province thereby devolved upon the honorable Charles Lawrence, esq'r. This was notified next day by Mr. Hinshelwood, the acting secretary, to the several commandants ; captain George Scott, Fort Lawrence ; captain Handfield, Annapolis ; captain Hale, Piziquid ; captain Cox, Vieux logis, and Erasmus James Philipps, commissary at Annapolis ; and captain Floyer was authorized to relieve captain Hale, at Piziquid. The York, capt. Cobb, and the Ulysses, capt. Rogers, were still in the employment of the government, carrying stores, officers, &c., to the bay of Fundy and elsewhere.

In November, two Indians, one a chief, came as deputies of the cape Sable tribe to profess friendship, averring that they had not joined with the others in any hostility, and on that account had received no aid from the French. They also stated that they were in extreme want and distress. Their tribe were 60 in number. The council voted them 2000 lb.

bread, 3 barrels of pork, 20 blankets, 30 lb. powder, 60 lb. shot, 50 lb. tobacco, 1 gross pipes, 2 hats, gold laced for the chiefs, one hat, silver laced for the deputy, and £10 to the master of the schooner for their passages from Lunenburg and back. A question existed as to the lands deserted by those who had gone over to the French, their next heirs thinking they became entitled to them, as they would in case of their death. The priest Daudin had written on this point to Mr. Cotterell, the secretary, but the latter conceived the lands were forfeited to the king. At this time the French Acadians had one church, and an officiating priest, M. des Enclaves, at Annapolis; a church at Cobequid, but no priest there; two churches at Piziquid, one at Mines, and one at river Canard, with three priests among them, one of whom was too aged to officiate,—in all 6 churches and 4 priests—Desenclaves, Chauvreulx, Daudin and Maillard.

The fort at Mines basin called *Vieux logis*, was erected late in the first season of Mr. Cornwallis's government, to prevent the French inhabitants driving off their cattle, as they proposed to do, and to curb them. As it was too late in the year to build barracks, they enclosed three French houses in a triangular picketting, with half bastions. They were situated upon a low, flat ground, commanded by a hill, and so exposed to the weather that in deep snows it has been often possible to walk over the palissades. This place was now so out of repair that it would soon become useless, unless large sums were spent upon it. President Lawrence recommended that it should be abandoned, and its garrison sent to Piziquid to strengthen that post. Fort Edward, built in 1750, by Mr. Lawrence, then major, had sufficient barrack accommodation for both garrisons; and when they should be thus united, detachments might, on occasion, be sent out, which was not now prudent from either. With the aid of boats in Mines bason, he thought Fort Edward, thus reinforced, would answer all purposes that could be expected from both in their existing condition. If the French of Mines should again become troublesome, there was a place near the present fort where a little redoubt might be built at a trifling expense, that would be as useful as a larger one at the actual site.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE German settlers had, at an early period after their arrival at Halifax, given marks of dissatisfaction, and some of them had gone off to the French colonies. When removed to Lunenburg, they exhibited a spirit which Lawrence, who commanded there at the time, calls mutinous and violent, but this, he states in his letter of 5 Dec'r. to the board of trade, had somewhat subsided. From the general industry and uprightness they have always evinced, we may fairly conclude that they had just causes of complaint, although their conduct may have been rash. Unacquainted as most of them were with the language of our nation or its laws, there should be allowance made for the errors some of them have been led into. However this may be, Mr. Lawrence, now the president administering the government, was roused from fancied peace and security.

On Saturday, the 15 December, at 9, A. M., lieutenant colonel Patrick Sutherland, who had the command of the troops and the settlers at Lunenburg, was informed that a large number of the inhabitants were assembling at the block-house erected there for the militia to mount guard in, and that they had confined one John Petriquin, under a pretence that he had concealed a letter which he said he had received from England, enumerating a number of articles sent over for them, that they had not received. Lieut. colonel Sutherland and Mr. Zoubertbuhler, J. P., went to the block-house, where they found Petriquin confined in the *black hole*. They could not ascertain who had confined him, on which they released him. They had not got very far, when a mob took Petriquin out of their

hands and imprisoned him again. Sutherland having, without success, attempted to reason with the populace, ordered the proclamation (under the riot act) to be read, after which he called on a constable who was there to arrest one of the ringleaders. The constable refused to do so. On this, Mr. Sutherland retired, and about three hours after sent three constables with a warrant to bring Petriquin before him, and to require his accusers to appear. The people refused to allow this warrant to be executed, but promised to send the prisoner to be examined after dinner. As this promise was not fulfilled, Sutherland and Zouerbuhler went to the block-house in the evening. Sutherland addressed them in vain for near an hour, but failed to induce them to give up the prisoner. The inhabitants put Petriquin to torture, under the pressure of which he stated that the alleged letter was in the hands of Zouerbuhler, who had given him ten guineas to say nothing about it. At all other times the prisoner denied that he ever had such a letter. The mob threatened to pull Zouerbuhler limb from limb, and he retired to the fort for protection. On the 16 December, (sunday), the populace in the morning came to the fort, and threatened to burst in the gate. They demanded Zouerbuhler, dead or alive. Sutherland refusing to give him up, they proposed he should give them a bond not to send Zouerbuhler to Halifax. This, of course, he declined, and they menaced Sutherland that they would seize himself, and declared openly that they would no longer submit to any government whatever. Their arms were all lodged in the militia block-house, and they summoned everybody to join them, under the pain of death. In the evening they went armed to the West log house, where a corporal's guard of the troops was kept, and demanded its surrender. This being refused them, they fired upon the guard. The fire was returned, and two of them were wounded. Lieut. colonel Sutherland sent lieutenant Adams to Halifax with a letter to president Lawrence, to inform him of his situation. Adams arrived here on the evening of monday, the 17th. Lawrence applied at once to Mr. Henry Baker, commander of H. M. sloop Wasp, for twenty of his seamen, as he intended to send the two sloops belonging to the govern-

ment to Lunenburg immediately, and on tuesday he collected the council at his house, messrs. Green, Steele, Collier, Cotterel and Monckton, being present ; and the letter being read, and lieut. Adams examined, it was decided to send two hundred regular troops to Lunenburg, whom colonel Monckton volunteered to command. The council advised that the inhabitants there should be disarmed. Four vessels were at once sent to Lunenburg with Monckton's detachment. The vessels were got ready in a few hours, and sailed as soon as the wind would permit. The garrison of Halifax was thus reduced to three hundred men, and Lawrence had two militia guards mounted every night in addition. The soldiers arrived in safety, and the militia block-house was abandoned to them on Monckton's demand. In two or three days he succeeded in disarming the people peaceably. Monckton stated that he observed a strong disposition in them to throw off all subjection to any government, and to affect the same kind of independancy that the French inhabitants have done. They had always insisted that the Indians would distinguish them from the English, and never interrupt them, which notion he believed had been privately propagated among them by French emissaries. There was no proof, however, that the French had instigated them in this mutiny. Monckton advised that, as the people there were so generally implicated, the better course would be to grant a general forgiveness, Lawrence, however, desired to punish the ringleaders, and it will be seen hereafter that one prominent actor was tried and sentenced. On the deposition of Petriquin against Mr. John William Hoffman, who had been a justice of peace at Halifax, the latter was sent up a prisoner on the charge of having been a chief actor in this mutiny, and Lawrence immediately committed him to prison, with strict orders that he should not be allowed to converse with, nor write to anybody, nor even have the use of pen, ink or paper.

1754. By the 15 January, 1754, the disturbances at Lunenburg had subsided, and Monckton, leaving one officer and forty men there to take charge of the block-house, returned to Halifax with the rest of his detachment, leaving the people perfectly

quiet. Hoffman was tried some months afterwards at the general court. He was first indicted for high treason, but as two witnesses to each overt act were legally necessary, and there was but one witness to the principal fact, the grand jury rejected the bill. He was then indicted for high crimes and misdemeanors, and found guilty of part only of the charges. One of the witnesses against him had varied much in his tale on different occasions. The sentence of the court, (governor and council), was a "fine of — hundred pounds and two" "years imprisonment." Lawrence says "He has petitioned" "frequently to be pardoned, but as I know him to be so mis-" "chievous a fellow, and that the immediate consequences of" "his liberty would be the destruction of that harmony and" "industry that now prevails at Lunenburg, I should be very" "cautious of letting him out. I heartily wish the colony was" "well rid of him."

In the spring of this year, 1754, colonel Lawrence says the Indians were quiet. This he attributed to the French being very busy in strengthening themselves at *baie Verte* and Beauséjour, between which places they had lately made a fine road, and thus having their hands full, had been remiss in stirring up mischief among their allies. Thinking this a favorable opportunity to form out-settlements, he encouraged their progress by a grant of the township of Lawrencetown to twenty applicants in Halifax, each receiving one thousand acres. Their grant extended from Chezetcook to Cole harbor, and they engaged to settle twenty families on it. He sent in May two hundred regulars and some rangers there to protect the people engaged in the work. [See vol. 1, p. 199, grant of Mascoudaboutet, in 1690, to des Goutin, same place.] The soldiers cut a road from Dartmouth to the new town, which was to be on a small peninsula, the isthmus of which was picketted in, and a block-house erected within the palissading. This was about ten miles from Dartmouth.

About the same time, capt. Ephraim Cooke, who had spent some thousands in improving his lots at Halifax, proposed to form a settlement at Mahone bay. He built a block-house, which he took down there. He intended to put up a saw mill

—set to work to build two vessels and import cattle from New England—clear land, &c. &c. A government sloop was ordered to assist his operation, and a party of rangers sent there for protection, and he was indulged by the selection at his desire, of captain Lewis to command them, who was his old shipmate and acquaintance. Colonel Sutherland, who commanded at Lunenburg, was directed to give him any aid he wanted, and to reserve any land that Cooke might prefer to be granted to him.

Lawrence also had the sources of the Shubenacadie river (which he calls Chibenacadie) explored. It was by the course of this water and the lakes in that vicinity that the Indians came and went on their hostile visits to Dartmouth. The president recommends a fort to be built at the mouth of the river, as a check on the Acadians carrying cattle to the French posts. If this were erected, he thought the river would soon be settled. A good deal of land was already cleared on its banks, and the finest oak and elm timber was to be found there, while the streams abounded with fish. The frost of the past winter had not been so hard nor of so long continuance as usual, and on this account the party of officers who had been exploring were not enabled to survey the country as fully as they expected.—At Lunenburg everything went well. The inhabitants displayed remarkable industry in clearing and cultivating their town and garden lots, and made some progress with their farming also. Before the end of May they had in the ground barley, oats, turnips, potatoes and flax, and had cut large quantities of timber, staves and hoops, and built many boats and canoes. The price of labor among them was not over a shilling a day; and they were enabled to supply the New England vessels that called there for it, returning from Halifax or Louisbourg, with firewood at two shillings per cord. In many things the English inhabitants of 1754 were under difficulties and disadvantages unknown to their descendants in 1865. The houses in which they had shelter could be almost packed by the dozen in some of our modern stores in Granville street, or mansions in the South end of the city. What they called roads must have been often mere tracks or

rough paths, from which a tree had been here and there cut down, leaving its stump above ground ; and possibly what is now known in our wood lands as a corduroy, closely resembles the better description of roads then in use. Down to a much later date, the roads, in order to shorten the distance, ascended hill tops and crossed low streams or marshy spots. The bushes and young growth made the woods difficult to penetrate in summer, while in winter the deep snow made them impassable without the aid of the *raquette*. Unless you had guides acquainted with the way, it was easy to get lost in the woods, and to get lost there was nearly always fatal. In the town were many conveniences, but, at any distance from it, every letter required an express messenger to carry it—every article of food or clothing wanted, must, in most cases, await the chance of being brought by water. The little garrisons at Chignecto, Annapolis and Fort Edward, for their supplies in many respects, depended on the arrival of caps. Cobb, Rogers or Taggart, in one of the government sloops. These vessels took the annual or semi-annual relief to their destination. They carried the officers and their families to and fro, as required. The baggage, specie, and much of the provisions, had to be sent by this circuit into all points in the bay of Fundy. The communication also with Europe was but casual, and the Boston traders found it more profitable to supply Louisbourg than Halifax, thirty of their craft together being sometimes lying at the former haven.

Again, the terrors of Indian warfare beset the resident, with rare intervals of quiescence. The shrill screams of the victims of the Dartmouth slaughter were not easily forgotten, and few would venture to a distance from fort or block-house. To compensate many such disadvantages, there was, to those who had left the regions of old civilization, a sense of freedom, arising not only from the aspect of wild natural scenery, but in the removal of a thousand conventional shackles that tie down the human mind, and leave it little scope for spontaneous action, and which define sharply and within narrow limits the pursuits, labors and enjoyments of man. Relieved from moving for life in the beaten track—the narrow groove

which society permits—they were placed in a situation where every kind of ability, mental or physical, has the utmost value. In the common brotherhood and sympathy awakened in those who have cast their lot together in forming a new community in the wilderness, and who have in the new climate, the Indian foe, and the labors to be undergone with the axe and spade, causes of mutual help and adherence, men feel but little of the repulsion of castes and ranks. Indeed the healthy and industrious laborer or mechanic is, in some sense, already a rich man. The demand for labor places him in a better position to maintain and provide for a family, than is he who has a small capital without the physical strength and habits of work, which are incessantly required in a new colony. The heart of humanity is aroused—its affections called into active play, and self-respect produced in those whose life would be but a dull vegetation in the cities of the old world. The abundance of fish in the waters, the profusion of game in the forests, and the plenty of birds everywhere, all which were to be had free from the claims of proprietors or the penalties of game laws, were obvious advantages, although not so readily enjoyed until after peace with the aborigines was established. The fertility of the soil in many places was remarkable, and cheering to the hopes of the adventurer, tho' he might only now embrace with safety the commerce in furs or the fishery. Fuel was abundant and cheap, and by the winter fires, where the wood was piled high on the hearths of their merry homes, how many a tale of adventure must have been told by the veterans of land and sea service of the perils past. Some of the settlers could tell of the rebellion of 1745, and prince Charles. There were those who had conquered at Louisbourg but a few years before, and those who had been at Mines with Noble after that. The destruction of d'Anville's expedition—the death of the two chiefs and so many of their people on this very spot—the finding of the bodies of French soldiers, reclined against trees with their muskets, man and weapon alike undergoing decomposition or decay. These, and like narratives, no doubt often whiled away the long hours in circles of families and friends. If division of senti-

ment, from whatever cause, gave rise to anger, the breach was soon made up, and kindness resumed her reign. The civil officers of the colony received fair allowances out of the parliamentary grant for their services. The military were, as they have usually been, well cared for by the crown. The merchants seemed to thrive, and the laborious classes could only be idle when it was their own wish. Lawrence and Monckton stood high as officers, and attained still higher distinction as occasion brought out their talent. Bulkely, Gates, Tonge, and many of the other officials, were men of decided talent. With the freedom ensured by British institutions, a settlement begun by the energetic Cornwallis, and carried on after his departure by men of uprightness and information, could hardly fail of success. Much of the social and festive spirit that animated Poutrincourt and his associates at Port Royal long before, is said to have reigned in Halifax among its first founders ; and while we are much advanced in the commodiousness of our dwellings and their furniture—in the means of easy and rapid locomotion, and in many other things which science and art have since that time improved,—have a cultivated country—intercourse with all the world, and the fullest protection and tranquillity at home, it may yet be a question whether we enjoy ourselves better than did the first settlers of our city in forest life and unpretentious surroundings.

In this year we find, perhaps, the earliest notice extant of a newspaper published in Nova Scotia. In a letter of secretary Cotterell to captain Floyer, at Piziquid, speaking of the priest, M. Daudin, he says : “ If he chuses to play the *Bel esprit* in ” “ the Halifax Gazette, he may communicate his matter to the ” “ printer as soon as he pleases, as he will not print it without ” “ shewing it to me.”

M. de la Martinière, who had been made both commandant and commissary at Beauséjour in 1753, was now removed, and M. du Chambon de Vergor, son of Duchambon, who surrendered Louisbourg in 1745, and the same person whom Rous had captured in the brigantine St. Francis, was sent in his place. Vergor is said to have had a great number of relations in Acadie. (Louis du Pont du Chambon, lieutenant, &c., was

married at Port Royal in 1709 to Jean Mius d'Entremont du Poubomcou, the daughter of Jacques Mius and Anne de la Tour. M. du Chambon Vergor, commandant of Beauséjour, was his son, promoted to this post by favor of M. Bigot, who had been intendant at Louisbourg under his father.) Bigot, who procured him the appointment, is said to have written to him in these terms : " Profit, my dear Vergor, by your place ; " " cut, clip,—you have every power,—in order that you may " " soon come and join me in France, and buy an estate in my " " neighborhood." Our old friend Mascarene was this summer employed to attend governor Shirley, at conferences with the Eastern Indians. Captain Hamilton, who had been captured at Mines, and afterwards ransomed from Canada, while a prisoner became acquainted with de Loutre, and retained a sense of obligation to him for his civilities. De Loutre seems to have thought it expedient to endeavor to open some negotiations with the English on behalf of his Micmac followers, and he availed himself of Hamilton's gratitude and good opinion to make him the channel of intercourse. Hamilton accordingly wrote to governor Lawrence on the subject. We have the letter of the secretary, capt. Cotterell, addressed to capt. Hamilton, then at Annapolis, dated 3 June, 1754, in which he says, after thanking him in Cornwallis's name for the trouble he has taken, that the governor cannot help differing from him (Hamilton) much, in his opinion of le Loutre's sincerity and good intentions, having so often experienced his proneness to all manner of mischief and iniquity. Cotterell proceeds thus : " And I can for my own part assure you, that he made " " the very same proposal, almost *verbatim*, that you have now " " transmitted, to captain How and me at Chignecto, about " " three days before he caused that horrible treachery to be " " perpetrated against poor How, who was drawn into it under " " a pretence of conferring with le Loutre upon this very sub- " " ject." Hamilton is to say in reply that the English are not the aggressors, but on the contrary ready to make peace, and the Indians well know where and how to apply for it. A short time after the governor authorized Hamilton to meet le Loutre, not to assume authority to negotiate, but if anything

material is said, to report it to his commanding officer, (then capt. George Scott.) In July, captain Hussey had relieved Scott in the command at Chignecto, and on 30th the secretary wrote him that the council had resolved to treat with the Indians for peace, if le Loutre was sincere in proposing it. To send any one there to negotiate would be impracticable, and to treat by correspondence very dilatory. Hussey was therefore to notify le Loutre that the Indian chiefs, himself, or any other person on their behalf, might venture with great security to come to Halifax with a pass from him, Hussey, where they would be perfectly disposed to negotiate a peace, and that they should preserve tranquillity during the discussion of terms, as le Loutre had suggested. Captain Hussey, in consequence, entered into conference and correspondence with the French commandant of Beauséjour, and with le Loutre. Eventually le Loutre wrote a long letter to governor Lawrence, date 27 August, proposing, on behalf of his Indian friends and followers, that all the territory in the Eastern part of the province, which is now comprised in the counties of Cumberland, Colchester, Pictou, Antigonish and Guysborough, great part of Hants, and all that part of Halifax county East of the river Musquodoboit, should be ceded in perpetuity to the Micmacs. Fort Lawrence to be given up as part of it, and no fort, English or French, to be permitted within their bounds. The demand runs thus in his letter, alleged as the claim of the Indians themselves: "4th. That this space of" "land shall be from the South of bay Verte, including Fort" "Lawrence, and the lands dependant thereon, as far as the en-" "trance of the bay of Mines; thence running into Cobequid," "and including Chigabenacady," (Shubenacadie); "leaving" "this last place, formerly my mission, remounting and des-" "cending as far as the river Mouskedaboueck, and from that" "place, which is about eight leagues East of Halifax, passing" "by the bay of Islands, St. Mary's bay, and Moukodome," (Country harbor), "as far as Cançeau, and from Cançeau by" "the passage of Fronsac," (Gut of Canso), "as far as the" "said bay Verte." The letter touched on many other points respecting the Acadians, &c., but this demand was so prepos-

terous, that the governor and council, 9 September, voted the contents 'too insolent and absurd to be answered through' 'the author,' but the commandant at Chignecto was directed to acquaint the Indians that if they wished for peace they might repair to Halifax, where they would be met with reasonable conditions. Le Loutre complained that when he went by appointment with two Indian deputies to meet Hussey, the latter received them haughtily, being in a small carriage, from which he did not alight to greet them. We may believe this was a grievance got up as a pretence. Hamilton dined with him, he says, and it appears as if the good nature of this young officer had been played on. At this time, it seems, that both the deserted Acadians and the Micmacs were sick of a war with the English, by which the former were losing their homes and happiness, and the latter gained but very little, and all these conferences and letters must have been carried on by le Loutre rather to pacify his own followers, than with the slightest wish or expectation on his part of the restoration of peace. The new commandant of Beauséjour, Vergor, we are told, did not at first adopt le Loutre's policy, but aimed at diminishing his influence, although finally compelled to yield to him. There were eighty families of the refugee Acadians, who had left their homes, still remaining at Beauséjour, besides all that had been sent to the island of St. John and to St. John river. These deserters were not only a charge to the French government, but their presence was in many ways inconvenient to the old settlers on the N. W. side of the Missiguash. The English traders who frequented fort Lawrence, which was built at the old village of Beaubassin, sold their goods at lower prices than they could be got on the French side; and to attract customers, they gave them credit—would also take the French paper money in exchange, and were in the habit of giving those who came to deal with them plenty of drink. All this resulted in a memorial they sent to Vergor, stating their misery, and requiring permission to go back to their lands. This he refused to do, and even issued orders that no one should cross the *Buot* bridge or go to Fort Lawrence, but this they evaded, and indeed the discontent spread among the old

settlers also. [*See Mem. sur le Canada. Quebec, 1838, p. 39.*] Although the French inhabitants of Annapolis, Mines and Piziquid were forbidden to go to Beauséjour to work for the French authorities, yet 300 or 400 of them disregarded the order, and went there. In June, a proclamation was directed to enforce their return, and the deputies were to report the names of all who had so gone from their homes.

This year the president received an order to build a battery on the East side of Halifax harbor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

It is necessary now to turn our attention to what was transpiring in another part of the American continent, as it bore eventually on the fate of all America ; and the importance of the occurrence will excuse its introduction here, although its effect on the destinies of Acadie, however powerful, was indirect.

In the year 1749, an association, consisting of some gentlemen in Virginia and some merchants in London, was established by charter under the name of the Ohio company ; and they obtained a grant of 600,000 acres of land upon the river Ohio. The charter and grant the French soon heard of, and therefore the very next year their governor of Canada wrote to our governors of New York and Pensilvania, that our Indian traders had encroached on their territories by trading with their Indians, and that if they continued to do so, he should be obliged to seize them wherever they were found ; which was the first time that either the French or we had pretended to an exclusive trade with any Indians, or even with those that were declared friends or allies of the other : On the contrary, it was expressly stipulated by the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, that on both sides, the two nations should enjoy full liberty of going and coming among the Indians of either side on account of trade ; and that the natives of the Indian countries should, with the same liberty, resort as they pleased to the British and French colonies, for promoting trade on the one side and the other, without any molestation or hindrance, either on the part of the British subjects or of the French.

In the year 1751, the French put their menace in execution, by seizing three of our Indian traders, whom they found trading among the Twigtwees, a numerous nation inhabiting the country westward of the Ohio. At this very time, Mr. Gist, employed by the Ohio company, was upon the Ohio, surveying the lands upon that river, in order to have 600,000 acres of the best of them, and most convenient for the Indian trade, laid out and appropriated to the company ; and tho' he concealed his business from the Indians, yet, it is said, that both they and the French were informed of it by our Indian traders, who were jealous of that company as their most dangerous rivals in the Indian trade. But these traders were soon made sensible that the French would be much more dangerous neighbours ; for the latter presently set about building two forts on the south side of lake Erie and upon Beef river. As they now began to seize and plunder every British trader they found upon any part of the Ohio, repeated complaints of their behavior were made to the governor of Virginia, where the new Ohio company had such weight, that at last, towards the end of the year 1753, major Washington was sent to the French governor of these two forts, M. Contrecoeur, to summon him to retire, and to demand a reason for his hostile proceedings ; and at the same time a resolution was taken, to build a fort somewhere near, or upon the forks of the Ohio. The major accordingly went and delivered his message to the French officer, who for answer said, " That he knew of no hostilities that had been committed : That he could receive no orders, nor would he obey any, but those of his most Christian majesty, or his governor of Canada : That as the country belonged to the king of France, no Englishman had a right to trade upon any of its rivers ; and therefore that he would, according to his orders, seize, and send prisoner to Canada, every Englishman that should attempt to trade upon the Ohio or any of its branches." The colony of Virginia acted with more vigor than Pensilvania had done. Before major Washington's return, and before they had heard of the above insolent answer given to him by the French commandant, they had provided and sent out proper people and materials for

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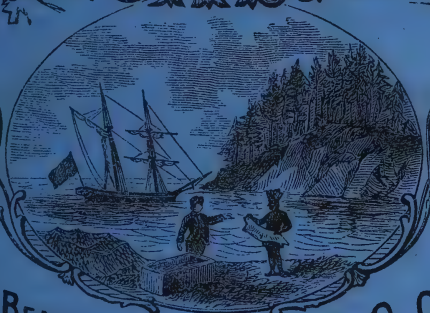
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of
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By BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE. Q.C.

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PROVINCE OF NOVA-SCOTIA:

Be it remembered, That on this Thirteenth day of March, 1865, BEAMISH MURDOCH, of the City of Halifax, Esquire, has deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the Copyright of which he claims in the words following:—
“A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA OR ACADIE, BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE, Q. C.

JAS. H. THORNE,
Deputy Secretary.

erecting a fort at the conflux of the Ohio and Monongahela, which he met upon his return ; but upon his report, they might have expected that the French would attack and drive away the people they had sent out, especially as they had before driven away all our people that were settled upon the Ohio, and had demolished a truck house we had at Picckanvillany, upon the river Miamis, at least 200 miles west of the new intended fort. The colony of Virginia rightly resolved to oppose the French incroachments by themselves alone, and without any other assistance except one independent company, commanded by capt. James Mackay, who, upon the first order, marched with the utmost expedition from South Carolina to their assistance ; for they would not wait for the two independent companies from New York, who were likewise ordered to their assistance, and actually arrived in Virginia about the end of June or beginning of July ; but long before they arrived, major, now called colonel Washington, had marched with captain Mackay's company, and 300 men raised by the colony under his command. On the 20 May, M. de Contrecoeur sent out a party of 33 men, under an officer named Jumonville, as soon as he heard that Mr. Washington was arrived at the place called the Great Meadows, near the river Monongahela ; and to this party he gave orders to march near to where our people were, and to seem as if they intended to pass them, in order to intercept their provisions ; but at the same time he gave the officer an order, in writing, to cite or warn our people to retire from the ground whereon they were, as being within the French territory. On the 28th of May, accordingly, Mr. Washington fell into the snare ; for, as soon as he got sight of this party, he marched against them, and, without sending to demand their business, or to require them to retire, attacked them with such vigor, tho' he had then but about 50 men with him, that they were all either taken or killed, M. Jumonville being among the latter, and an officer and two cadets among the former, all of whom, in number 21, he sent prisoners to Winchester, under a guard of 20 men ; and in this skirmish, which, in his letter to his brother, he calls a battle, and a most signal victory, he says, he had but one man killed and two or

three wounded. In a letter to one of his brothers, dated 31st May, 1754, George Washington says : " We expect every hour " " to be attacked by superior force ; but if they forbear for " " one day longer, we shall be prepared for them. We have " " already got entrenchments, and are about a palissade, which " " I hope will be finished to-day. The Mingoes have struck " " the French, and I hope will give a good blow before they " " have done. I expect forty odd of them here to-night, which, " " with our fort and some reinforcements from colonel Troy, " " will enable us to exert our noble courage with spirit." Alluding in a postscript to the late affair, he says : " I fortunately " " escaped without any wound ; for the right wing, where I " " stood, was exposed to and received all the enemy's fire, and " " it was the part where the man was killed and the rest " " wounded. *I heard the bullets whistle*, and believe me, there " " is something charming in the sound." [*London Magazine for 1754, p. 370.*] The French stated that Jumonville was shot while attempting to read his despatch to the provincials, but it seems an incredible story. As the parties were so nearly equal in number, it seems improbable that if the French shewed pacific intentions, the others would have fired on them. On the 3d July, about nine o'clock in the morning, he received intelligence that M. de Villier, having received a reinforcement of 760 men, was in full march with 900 men, besides Indians, to attack him. Washington and his party were at a place called the Great Flats or Meadows, and they had raised only a small incomplete intrenchment, which they had called Fort Necessity, and they had not altogether above 400 men, many of whom were sick. By 11 o'clock of that day the French began the attack. Thanachrishon, an Indian chief, called the half-king, said " that colonel Washington lay in one place from one full moon to the other, without making any fortifications, except that little thing on the meadow ; whereas, had he taken advice, and built such fortifications as I advised him, he might easily have beat off the French. But, says he, the French in the Engagement acted like cowards, and the English like fools." However, notwithstanding the insufficiency of their intrenchment, the colonel, and the men under his command,

bravely resolved to defend themselves to the last man, and by their shot killed a great number of the enemy, tho' with considerable loss to themselves, as their intrenchments were but a poor defence against the shot of the besiegers, who never fired without taking aim, and sheltered themselves as much as they could behind the adjacent trees, as no care had been taken to cut down and clear the woods within shot of the trenches ; nor had the besieged any shelter from an incessant rain, but were obliged to stand in their trenches, which were at last half full of water. Not an Indian came to the assistance of the English, and even many whom they had thought their friends were with the besiegers. Yet in this condition they defended themselves till eight o'clock at night, when M. Villier, seeing what desperate men he had to deal with, to save his own people, offered them an honorable capitulation, and by twelve the terms were agreed on.

George Washington was but 22 years old at this time, and perhaps had not even dreamed of the future elevation he was to reach. His father had been employed in Virginia as an Inspecting field officer of militia, with a small salary from the colony. He died, leaving a young family, and George, his son, was continued in his father's office. He had a brother a midshipman in the Royal navy.

CAPITULATION granted by M. de Villier, captain and commander of Infantry and Troops of his most Christian Majesty, to those English Troops actually in the Fort of Necessity, which was built on the Lands of the King's Dominions, July 3, at eight o'clock at night, 1754, viz :

As our intentions have never been to trouble the peace and good harmony which reigns between the two princes in amity, but only to revenge the assassination which has been done on our officers, bearers of a citation, as also on their escort, as also to hinder any establishment on the lands of the domain of the king my master : Upon these considerations we are willing to grant favour to all the English who are in the said fort, upon the conditions hereafter mentioned.

Article 1. We grant to the English commander to retire with all his garrison, to return peaceably to his own country, and promise to hinder his receiving insult from us French ; and to restrain, as much as shall be in our power, the Indians that are with us.

2. It shall be permitted him to go out and carry with him all that belongs to him, except the artillery, which we reserve to ourselves.

3. That we will allow them the honours of war, that they march out drum-beating, with a swivel gun, being willing to shew them that we treat them as friends.

4. That, as soon as the articles are signed by the one part and the other, they strike the English colours.

5. That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of French shall go to make the garrison file off, and take possession of the fort.

6. And as the English have few oxen or horses, they are free to hide their effects, and come and search for them when they have met with their horses ; and that they may, for this end, have guardians in what number they please, upon condition they will give their word of honour not to work upon any building in this place, or any part this side of the mountain, during a year, to be accounted from this day.

7. And as the English have in their power an officer, two cadets, and most of the prisoners made in the assassination of the *Sieur de Jumonville*, that they promise to send them back with safeguard to the fort du Gerne, situated on the *Fine River*. And for surety of this article, as well as this treaty, *Mr. Jacob Vambram* and *Robert Stobo*, both captains, shall be put as hostages till the arrival of the *Canadians* and French above mentioned.

We oblige ourselves on our side to give an escort to return in safety these two officers, who promise us our French in two months and half at furthest : a duplicate being made at one of the posts of our blockade the day above.

The capitulation was written in French, and Washington was not aware that the death of Jumonville had been characterized in it as an assassination, not being acquainted with that language. The French afterwards complained of it as a violation of a flag of truce, but the English sustained Washington in his conduct to the French party as apparently hostile. Coulon Villier we have already met with in the sad affair at Mines in 1747, where Noble was slain. He is said to have been brother of Jumonville.

President Lawrence, in writing to the lords of trade, 1 Aug., thanks them for sending out a Chief justice. Adverting to the French inhabitants, he speaks of their obstinacy, treachery, partiality to their own countrymen, and ingratitude for the favour and protection they have received. The lenity and mildness shewn them has not had the least good effect: on the contrary they have laid aside all thoughts of taking the oath of allegiance, and go in great numbers to Beauséjour, to work for the French. Many of them who wished to settle on the North side of the bay of Fundy, pretended they could not get work among the English. He offered to pay them to work on the road to Chibbenacadie, but they never came. For a long time they had not brought anything to market among the English, but carried everything to the French and Indians, whom they had always assisted with provisions, quarters and intelligence. He thinks "that it would be much better, if" "they refuse the oaths, that they were away." Cobequid he represents as most disaffected, and being a rendezvous for hostile Indians. He now dismantled the fort at Mines, (Grand pré), and sent the garrison to Piziquid. The Indians at this time were tranquil. The Boston vessels trade with the French in the bay of Fundy, supplying them with pitch, tar, and "all sorts of enumerated commodities," for which they have given bond to deliver at an English port, and allege that the bonds cannot be prosecuted, as these ports, though held by the French troops, are actually English territory.

The French had now at Beauséjour a fort of five bastions, with 32 small cannon mounted, and one mortar. They had also eight 18-pounders, not yet mounted. The garrison con-

sisted of six officers and sixty men, regulars. The fort was built of earth, faced with stone to the height of the ditch, and the ditch was palissaded. At St. John they had only a small fort, with three bad, old cannon, no gunners, and only an officer and sixteen men. The Indians on St. John river amounted to about one hundred and sixty men. At bay Verte four hundred Indians were, and it was estimated that the French could assemble, within forty-eight hours, about fourteen or fifteen hundred men from the different districts of Beauséjour, Baie Verte, St. John's island, Chipoudy, Petitcodiac, Memramcook, Gedaique, (Shediack), Ramsheik, &c.

A French shallop from Cape Breton brought to Halifax the following persons, with their families :—Paul Boutin, Julian Bourneuf, Charles Boutin, François Lucas, Sebastien Bourneuf, Joseph Gedri, Pierre Gedri, Pierre Erio, Claude Erot. They amounted to 25 in all. They stated that they could not find subsistence there, and having taken the oath of allegiance, were sent in August to Lunenburg as settlers.

We find this season copies of letters written by Lawrence to colonel Jos^a. Martin, and to messrs. Haynes, Vanhorn and Livingston, of New York, who seem to have been seeking grants of land in Nova Scotia, explaining the terms, &c. He tells them that the grant at Lawrencetown was a new and unusual one, as no one before had received more than 350 or 400 acres—recommends the lands at La Hève, as approved of by all the gentlemen from New York,—also he states that there were no sort of fees attending either the passing of grants or registering them, nor even of survey or division into lots.—In the case of alienations, indeed a small fee is paid to the register, but that is all. He wrote them again 25 October, sending them plans, &c. His letters are most courteous and obliging, and shew a great desire to forward their views.

While the conduct of the French at Beauséjour, and their encroachments on the Ohio, were gradually bringing about an open war between the two crowns, it entered into the mind of a French gentleman who held some semi-military position under Vergor in the French fort, to open a secret correspondence with captain George Scott, who commanded the English

fort Lawrence. This intercourse was continued during the time of capt. Hussey, who succeeded Scott, and did not terminate until the fall of Beauséjour. The name of the correspondent was Pichon, altho' he also calls himself (Thomas) Tyrrell. He was apparently in the confidence of de Loutre, many of whose letters and papers he copied, and enclosed the copies to the English officers. Pichon, after the place fell, came to Halifax. He afterwards published an excellent work in 1760, on the islands of cape Breton and St. John, which appeared in both languages, and gives much information on the natural history and geography of those provinces. He had been before employed under count Raymond, at Louisbourg, whom he blames exceedingly. The president, Lawrence, was cognizant of this affair, and Pichon was paid for his services from time to time. The first thing that seems to have reference to it, is a letter from Lawrence to capt. Scott, dated Halifax, 2 Feb'y., 1754, in which, after warm thanks for his merits in command of Chignecto, he lets him know that he cannot have the leave of absence he wished for, he then says : " I am not ill satisfied with what you say upon the situation of affairs beyond the Boyne, and I propose to write you an explicit answer to all the particulars in yours by the first opportunity, after receiving from the father of the lady with the handsome hand such accounts as I have wrote for, and am in daily expectation of. In the mean time carry your cup even, giving no interruption to the persons passing or re-passing through Denmark : on the contrary continue rather to gain everybody than disgust anybody ; for whatever measures it may be necessary to take in that business hereafter, the present part to be acted is a generous one, which may blow up those walls that you say are already lighted. Should they break out into a blaze, something may be picked up by the light of them ; or if that should not succeed to the wishes of the Foggy Island, some other projects may perhaps take place. That old Hand you mention should be encouraged. Your friends (who have much confidence in your discretion) will allow the Corrianders. Remember, however, the people of Denmark are thrifty, and expect their penny worth for

“their penny.” Substitute the Missiguash for the Boyne—British territory for Denmark, and most part of this passage will become intelligible. The letters transmitted by Pichon unveil the whole machinery of de Loutre’s diplomacy. Daudin, who was priest at Annapolis, was one of his agents, and kept him informed of all the English were doing—of their expected new settlers—their intention to take post at Shubenacadie, and thus hem in the Acadians, who, he says, would thus be prisoners and slaves—of their training the settlers of Lunenburg to become rangers, to destroy the Indians. In his letter of 1 August, he says the Indians should be set to work at Shubenacadie to destroy the English attempts to settle there. Chauvreulx and himself are united, but Desenclaves is a friend to the English.

In September, the people of Piziquid were busily engaged in bringing in wood for the use of the garrison, but Daudin came over from Annapolis to that place, and they at once ceased to bring in any, as was believed at his persuasion, Capt. Murray, who commanded at Fort Edward, issued orders on this subject, on which a written remonstrance was given to him, signed by 86 French inhabitants, in which they state that the oath of allegiance does not oblige them to furnish wood for the garrison. Daudin was not content with this, but immediately went to the Fort, and told Murray to his face, that had he been present the inhabitants should not have laid in one stick of wood, or have given assistance towards repairing the Fort. At this time Daudin was alarmed at his situation. He tells le Loutre that detachments of military are in constant motion, and wishes for some of the other’s Indians to force the English to keep within their fort. He fears that his letters were stopped and read at Halifax, as he cannot otherwise account for Lawrence’s indignation against him. He also says I am betrayed by a storekeeper of M. Mauger, (*magasinier*.) Capt. Murray was then required to order Daudin, and six Acadians named, to repair immediately to Halifax, and if they were not on their way within twenty-four hours, to take them prisoners, and send them with a party of at least sixty men. He is further to issue an order to the inhabitants to

bring in the wood requisite, with a menace of military execution on disobedience—to begin with burning down those houses next the fort, and to proceed with all the disobedient in the same manner. Murray says that Daudin came to the fort to pay him a visit, but as his insolence had been so great he refused to see him, lest he might have been provoked to do or say something he should afterwards be sorry for. Daudin then went down to Mr. Mauger's store, where he ran on in a most insolent and treasonable manner, saying the bitterest things against the government and president Lawrence. This Mr. Deschamps related to Murray. Daudin went on another day, and sent Deschamps to the commandant to beg an interview. This was granted, and Daudin then stated that 300 Indians were at hand, ready to kill anybody sent as government courier, and that the inhabitants were 3000 in number; that they all had hatchets, if not other arms; that they were now deliberating about mischief against the English, in a high state of irritation against the government and colonel Lawrence. Deschamps acted as interpreter, and Murray had his officers present. Murray was obliged to make Daudin, and four of the inhabitants, prisoners, as they disputed and disregarded his order to go to Halifax, and he sent them to Halifax with a strong party, under a captain and two subalterns. On the examination of the four French Acadians before the council, it appears that Daudin's statements about the people assembling in great numbers, and the coming of the Indians, had been without foundation. Daudin was then interrogated, when he denied the language imputed to him, or modified it in an equivocating way. The council reprimanded him severely, and told him they were resolved to remove him out of the country, and they dismissed the four *habitans* with a reprimand. There can be no doubt, from Daudin's own letters, that he was a zealous and active agent of disaffection among the French Acadians, and that he sought to create grievances. In fact he tells de Loutre (5 Aug., 1754) that the information he sends him ought to assure him that he "had not brought" "from France a man of straw."

Early in October, six French Acadian families, most of them

having been possessors of land at Pisiquid, who had deserted their lands and gone to cape Breton, left that island, with permission of the governor of Louisbourg, finding they could not subsist there, and returned to Nova Scotia. They now took the oath of allegiance, and were permitted to return to their old homes, and a winter's provisions given to them.

On monday, 14 Oct'r., Jonathan Belcher, the newly appointed Chief Justice of the province, was (by H. M. mandamus) sworn in as a member of the council ; after which, the council adjourned to the court house, where, after proclamation made for silence, the king's commission, appointing Charles Lawrence, lieutenant governor, was read in public. He was sworn in, and took the chair. The council addressed him in congratulation, and he made a suitable reply. A commission by letters patent for the chief justice was prepared, and on the 21 October, (monday), it was read in council, and the chief justice took the usual oaths and oath of office. On the first day of Michaelmas term, chief justice Belcher walked in a procession from the governor's house to the Pontac, a tavern. He was accompanied by the lieutenant governor, Lawrence, the members of the council, and the gentlemen of the bar in their robes. They were preceded by the provost marshal, the judge's tipstaff, and other civil officers. At the long room of the Pontac, an elegant breakfast was provided. The chief justice in his scarlet robe was there received and complimented in the 'politest manner' by a great number of gentlemen and ladies and officers of the army. Breakfast being over, they proceeded, with the commission carried before them, to the church, (St. Paul's), where the reverend Mr. Breynton preached from this text : " I am one of them that are peace- " able and faithful in Israel." A suitable anthem was sung. After this they proceeded to the court house, handsomely fitted up for the occasion. The chief justice took his seat under a canopy, with the lieutenant governor on his right hand. The clerk of the crown then presented the commission to Mr. Belcher, which he returned. Proclamation for silence was made. Belcher gave some directions for the conduct of practitioners. The grand jury were sworn, and the chief justice

delivered his charge to them. After this the court adjourned, and *his honor* the chief justice, accompanied and attended as before, went back to the governor's house.—Such was the first opening of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. A few days after the chief justice went up in his robes of office, attended by the bar, the grand jury, and the officers of his court, and addressed the lieutenant governor in his own and their names, congratulating him on his appointment, to which he replied, assuring them of his support of the law, which he said was “the firm and solid basis of civil society, the guardian of” “liberty, the protector of the innocent, the terror of the” “guilty, and the scourge of the wicked.”

The Eastern battery had now eight guns mounted, and a new battery on the North-west part of George's island had ten 24-pounders. At Lunenburg, five saw mills were put up on different streams, and enough timber cut to load several vessels. The autumn was the driest known in the country within living memory. The grain crops were plentiful, but some complaint was made as to other vegetable productions. On a very humble petition, in French, from nine of the inhabitants of Piziquid and Grand Pré, praying that Daudin might be liberated, in order to act as their priest, and engaging to supply the wood wanted for Fort Edward, the governor and council, 21 October, upon consideration that the inhabitants had returned to their duty, and M. Daudin had “made the” “highest submissions, recanted his former behavior, and promised to comport himself for the future dutifully to the” “government,” permitted him to return to his post. An ordinance of council passed to forbid the export of corn, that the Indians and French forts might not be supplied from this province; and the government vessels *Ulysses*, *York* and *New Casco*, sent to the out-forts with stores, had orders to cruise in the bay of Fundy and elsewhere, and seize vessels violating this law.

Capt. John Rous was now made a member of H. M. council. Many of the Acadian refugees at Beauséjour were dissatisfied with their condition, and 83 of them united in a memorial to the governor at Quebec, for leave to return to their lands in

the English territories, and sent Olivier Landry and Paul Douaron with it as their delegates. De Loutre was very angry at this, and not only wrote to counteract their wishes, but preached severely against them as criminals. De Loutre was anxious that the Indians, whom he had assembled at *baie Verte*, should carry on their warfare against the English ; but the French officers of the fort at Beauséjour, though they had no objection to the Indian war, were extremely unwilling that it should be carried on at or near Chignecto, as they and the English were living almost within cannon range of each other, and they dreaded the responsibilities or reprisals in which they might be entangled in that event. On the other hand, the Indians supposed that if they were to proceed hostilely, they had a right to make war everywhere, and found it more to their taste to attack the English, who were close at hand, than to approach with their tomahawks the more distant ground of Chebucto. De Loutre had other difficulties to encounter, for while the marquis du Quesne sanctioned, commended or suggested the line of conduct he pursued, the bishop of Quebec, his spiritual superior, blamed him very freely and candidly. The authority for this is derived from the copies of letters conveyed by M. Pichon to the English commanders. Captain Scott seems to have had confidence in the information thus obtained, and governor Lawrence trusted and acted on it, although he had received letters from capt. Hussey, in which that officer expressed a want of confidence in Pichon. The letters are numerous and long, and from their contents there can be little doubt that they are genuine. Pichon says the greater part of them were given or rather sold to him by the clerk employed by de Loutre. In his own letters he always calls de Loutre by the soubriquet of Moses. On the 28 Oct., 1754, in writing to captain Scott, Pichon says : " Cannot " " Mr. Mauger send me by the spring some woollen stuffs to " " make me a summer coat, a silk waistcoat of a different " " color from the coat, and not easily tarnished, with all the " " trimmings, as buttons and cords of the same color. It " " must be considered that I am large, and that our coats are " " wider than yours. The lining of the coat should be woollen,"

"of the same color, but of the finest fabric. That of the silk"
"waistcoat should be white and strong. All to be sent to"
"Mejagousche. I will make an exchange, or pay in gold."
"*Apropos* as to gold, I dare not say that I have *guineas*."
"They would ask where I got them, or perhaps embarrass"
"me." Pichon recommends that the abbé Maillard should be
appointed in the place of Daudin, and that he would bring
back the Indians to the English interest. In M. du Quesne's
letters of 15 October, he thanks de Loutre for his zeal and his
news, and says: "Your policy is excellent, to threaten the"
"English with your Indians, whose attacks will increase"
"their fears." He wishes Vergor and de Loutre to find a
plausible pretext for the Indians to attack the English vigo-
rously. He says he has frightened the Acadian delegates with
his dungeons—that they promised obedience to de Loutre.
He is averse to any peace between the Indians and the Eng-
lish, no matter what may be the terms, believing that Canada
cannot be safe. He considers the Indians, Abenakis, Male-
cites and Micmacs, the main support of his colony, and they
must be kept in a state of hatred and vengeance. *The actual
condition of Canada requires that they should strike without
delay, provided that it should not appear to be by his order, as he
had precise orders to remain on the defensive.* The bishop of
Quebec wrote to de Loutre thus: "There you are, my dear"
"sir, in the embarrassment which I foresaw, and told you of"
"beforehand. Those refugees could not escape misery,"
"sooner or later, and must throw the blame of their suffer-"
"ings on yourself. It will be the same with those in the"
"island of St. John, when war breaks out. They will be at"
"the mercy of the English, and will throw all the fault upon"
"you. The government were willing to facilitate their deser-"
"tion from their lands, but this is not the concern of the"
"clergy. My opinion was that we should not say anything"
"to persuade them to this course, or to dissuade them from it."
"I have long since pointed out to you, that a priest ought"
"not to meddle in temporal affairs, and that if he did so, he"
"would create enemies, and make his people discontented."
The bishop approves of the terms following to be demanded:

1. Freedom of religion. Priests not to be subjected to the governor's approbation ; and that the bishop (of Quebec) should make a visitation in Acadie at least every five years. 2. Neutrality and exemption from acting as pilots. 3. Liberty to withdraw from British dominion whensoever they pleased. He goes on to condemn the conduct of de Loutre in refusing the sacraments, threatening the people with the loss of their priests and the hostility of the Indians. While he wishes the Acadians to abandon the lands they hold within the English dominions, he cannot say that they may not conscientiously return to their farms. The question is one he should find difficult to decide, and yet de Loutre has given a public judgment on it.

During this year, gen'l William Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, entered into a correspondence with Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state, with a view to the reduction of the French posts at Beauséjour and the river St. John. Arrangements were made with lieut. governor Lawrence for this purpose, and lieut. colonel Monckton and capt. Scott were sent to New England. Monckton was ordered to consult with general Shirley, how two thousand men might be raised with the greatest privacy and despatch, who were early in the spring to be employed under Monckton's command for the reduction of fort Beauséjour, and the removal of the French from the river St. John. Monckton was instructed by lieutenant governor Lawrence to provide twelve 18-pound guns, with their appurtenances,—ammunition to the extent of 150 barrels powder, tents, small arms, ammunition, flints, &c., harnesses for fifty horses, two hundred bill hooks, five hundred pickaxes, five hundred iron shod shovels, and fifty wheelbarrows. Monckton had a letter of unlimited credit on Apthorp and Hancock, and if he failed to procure what he wanted at Boston, he was to apply to the governor of New York for assistance. Unless countermanded, he is in the beginning of March to hire transports, proceed to Chignecto, and endeavor to capture the fort of Beauséjour, and the post on *Baie Verte*, at *Gaspereau*. He is to consult in all things with governor Shirley. In December, de Loutre, having obtained a power of attorney from

M. de la Vallière, then a captain in the garrison of Louisbourg, who claimed to be seigneur of Beaubassin, extending ten leagues in all directions from the *isle de Vallière*, which was opposite fort Lawrence, as a central point, made a circuit to Memramcoupk, Petcoudiak and Chipoudi, and gave deeds of land to the inhabitants, on such conditions as might suit his views. (At this time, M. de Belleisle, a very good man, a descendant of la Tour, was settled on the river St. John, probably Alexandre le Borgne, born in 1679.) Drucourt at this time was commandant at Louisbourg. One Ducoudrai, who could play the violin and teach dancing, and whose wife kept a *cabaret* at Louisbourg, spent this summer and autumn at New York, being, as Pichon supposed, sent there to watch the proceedings of colonels Monckton and Scott. He had been in the mounted police (*marêchaussée*) in old France. Everything had been so tranquil in Nova Scotia this year, that one hundred German families at Lunenburg had gone out to settle on their country lots, and some considerable merchants of New York had proposed to settle a township on the LaHève river.

At this time the population of Quebec was	8000
Montreal,	4000
Three rivers and the forges,	800
Rural districts,	42,200

Total inhabitants of Canada,	55,000
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Of the French priests in this province, M. le Maire had become imbecile. M. Jean Baptiste des Enclaves, who belonged originally to the diocese of Limoges, in France, came to Canada in 1728. He was parish priest at Annapolis Royal from June, 1742, to the early part of 1754, when he retired to cape Sable, and not long after went to France, being worn down by age and labor. [See 10 *N. York Documents*, p. 107. *Pichon's letters*, 23 September, 1754. 2d. vol. *Register Church at Annapolis*, for inspection of which I am indebted to the politeness of the Vicar General, Very reverend Dr. Hannan.] Antoine Simon Maillard was sent by the society of Foreign Missions of Paris to Canada, about the year 1734, and went as Indian missionary to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.

He was afterwards appointed Vicar general of Louisbourg, but on its fall in 1745, retired into the woods, attending the few Acadian and Indian villages between that and Miramichi. In 1747 he was at the island of St. John, trying to get the Indians to go to *Isle Royale*, (Cape Breton), where they would have an opportunity of attacking six English houses erected outside the town. 20 Feb'y., 1748, he writes to Quebec, that he expects to send Indians to *Isle Royale* to harrass the English. In 1759 he made his peace with the English, and on the invitation of the governor took up his abode at Halifax, with a salary or pension of £200 a year, using his influence to quiet the Micmacs. He died there some time after, (1762), and was buried with the greatest honors. The Rev. Thomas Wood, an English church missionary, attended his death bed—read to him, at his own request, the prayers for the dying from the church prayer book, and at his funeral read the English church burial service in the French language, in presence of the chief inhabitants of Halifax and a large number of French Acadians and Micmacs, who attended. [10 *N. York Doc's.*, pp. 17, note 149, 156, 165. *Paris mss.* *Akin's Sketch of Church of England.*]

CHAPTER XIX.

1755. In the beginning of this year, 1755, an apparent calm existed in Acadie. Monckton and Scott had been sent with full powers to governor Shirley to prepare the expedition against the French fort at Beauséjour. Shirley managed the whole affair with the most perfect secrecy and the most admirable system. He obtained an early authority from Sir Thos. Robinson, secretary of state, to justify his proceedings, and also got the fullest approbation of general Braddock, the commander in chief. Meanwhile, captain Hussey, at Fort Lawrence, had a correspondence and conferences with some of the Indians, and with their ruler, the abbé de Loutre. This resulted in a chief, named Algimou, and one Paul Laurent, an Indian captain, receiving a letter from Hussey, and proceeding towards Halifax, with a view to making a treaty of peace. François Arsenault, an Acadian, accompanied them, as interpreter. They left Beauséjour 24 January. The priest Manach had been previously sent to Cobequid with a party of Indians, to intercept any courier with letters from the English governor. He contrived to detain the chief, Algimou. Paul Laurent went on to Halifax, and was brought before the council by governor Lawrence on 12 Feb'y. He stated that the chief had fallen sick at Cobequid; and not being able to proceed on his journey, had sent him with the proposals the Indians had to make, and then demanded the same territory which de Loutre had asked for in the previous year, viz., all the Eastern part of the peninsula, including the fort of Chignecto, &c. On the following day, a written reply was given to

Laurent, declining to treat for peace, unless the chiefs of the tribes should come in person to negotiate.

Lawrence at this time, on the advice of Mr. Brewse, the engineer, determined to put up three batteries on the beach in front of the town of Halifax. One, now called the Lumber Yard,—another where the Queen's wharf is now built,—a third at the present Ordnance wharf;—each to be mounted with ten 24-pounders. In February, three deserters were returned to captain Hussey by Vergor,—two belonged to Gorham's rangers, and the third was Mr. Newton's servant. These men had robbed their officers, and escaped as far as Remsheg. The schooner *la Marguerite*, capt. Lesenne, was sent from Louisbourg in March, laden with provisions, cannon and ball, for the French post at the river St. John. This vessel was captured at port Latour by the Vulture, sloop of war, captain Kenzie. She was brought into Halifax, and tried and condemned there by the Vice Admiralty court. The chevalier de Drucour wrote a long letter to colonel Lawrence on this subject, praying explanations. In the reply, Lawrence tells him that the captains of the English navy have always their instructions from the English government, and are in no manner under the orders of the provincial governor, and that the vessel was tried and condemned for a contraband trading.

Shirley, after remarking on the encroachments of the French upon the English colonies on this continent, says that they had long marked out for themselves a large empire on the back of it, and comprehending the country between the Apalachian mountains and the Pacific ocean. He then mentions orders of 5 July, 1754, from Sir Thomas Robinson to himself and colonel Lawrence, to attack the French forts in Nova Scotia, and says he is raising two thousand men, to be landed in the bay of Fundy in the first week of April, for that purpose. [*Letter to governor Morris, dated Boston, N. E., Feb'y. 25, 1755.*]

On the 20 April, 1800 men, raised in New England by Shirley for the expedition to Beauséjour, were embarked, and remained on board the transports at Boston, waiting for the arrival of 2000 stand of arms from England, which, having

a passage of ten weeks, did not come there until the 18 May. On 17 May, colonel Monckton went on board. They waited for a wind, and finally sailed on 23 May, at 6, A. M. They had at the time they left, very nearly the complement of 2000 men. Shirley had appointed captain Winslow, late of Philipps' regiment, and captain Scott, to be lieutenant colonels on this expedition, under the general command of Mr. Monckton. At the same time the English were sending an expedition to Crown point. Shirley was to command two regiments, destined to attack Niagara ; and general Braddock, who had recently arrived from England as commander-in-chief, was to attack the French forts on the Ohio, with a body of British troops, and the military of Virginia and other Southern colonies. The population of the British colonies in North America at this period were supposed to exceed one million ; while France had but about fifty thousand colonists on this continent. In a military point of view, however, the two crowns were more evenly balanced in power. The situation of Canada, surrounded in one direction by seas of fresh water and almost trackless forests of immense extent, and on the other being more than half the year unapproachable from the icy barriers that shut off a navigation difficult enough in summer, made that province almost impregnable. On the other hand, the frontier settlements of New England, New York and Pennsylvania, were open and subject to constant attack by the Indian bands, with whom no certain and assured peace could be made, and who were, by presents and persuasion, always ready to raise the hatchet, in order to strike the English colonists. Whatever prisoners or scalps they could bring to Montreal were in a paying market. Had the military resources and the finances of the provinces been under the control, as Nicholson had designed, of one executive, it is hardly possible that the handful of French could have kept our people under such incessant alarm, and inflicted every year so many miseries upon them. The first siege of Louisbourg gave convincing proof of their warlike spirit and capacity. As to naval power, France was said, in 1755, to have possessed ninety-eight ships of war, of which 28 were vessels of 70 guns and upwards ;,

while a list of the English navy at the same date sets it down at fifty-five ships, of which 33 were of 70 guns and upwards. The French, then, appear to have had equal, if not greater sea forces, and their armies were far more numerous than ours.

The French government had been busily augmenting their naval forces, which were known to be designed to operate in America. In India, America, and everywhere, they pursued hostile courses, without open and declared war against England, and tried to amuse the British ministry with pacific professions. The commissioners to settle the boundaries had separated in 1753, without effecting any arrangement; and France was in Acadie, on the Ohio, and elsewhere, taking firm foothold on territories, her claims to which were purely imaginary. The English government was not so wholly inattentive to the interests of the nation as to be deceived by the fair words of the diplomatists of Paris. Sir Thomas Robinson, the secretary of state, had, by his letter of 10 Feb'y. 1755, given authority to Sir William Shirley to raise 2000 men in New England, for the expedition under colonel Monckton; and although in the opening of the session of parliament, 14 Nov., 1754, no intimation of an approaching rupture with France was given in the king's speech, yet, in the latter part of March, 1755, a royal message called on the house of commons to provide for an augmentation of the land and sea forces of the kingdom, and to protect its possessions in America, which was responded to by a grant of a million pounds sterling, and other suitable measures; and at the close of the session, on April 25, in the royal speech allusion was made to the encroachments of France in America, in manly and decisive language. [*Smollett's History*, c. 10.]

The assembly of Massachusetts passed a law, prohibiting all correspondence with the French at Louisbourg. To aid the expedition under Monckton, captain Rous was sent to the bay of Fundy with some frigates. [*London Magazine* for 1759, pp. 463, 464.] In the following account of the siege of Beauséjour, we have not any English account, official or private, to help us, except some remarks of gov'r. Lawrence, in a letter to the secretary of state, date 28 June. The "*Mémoires sur les*"

"*affaires du Canada depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760. Quebec, 1838,*" pp. 43, 44," give some particulars, but the main parts are derived from the mss. journal of Pichon, alias Tirel, which, with his letters, &c., form one of the volumes bound up and preserved by the Record commissioner of Nova Scotia. G. B. Fari-bault, in his catalogue, printed at Quebec, 1837, mentions Pychon's book, called *Lettres and Mémoires, &c., Cap Bréton, &c.*, published London, 1760, Paris, 1761, by Thomas Pichon, and quotes from the *Biographie Universelle*, to the effect that Pichon retired in 1758 to London, where he remained until his death in 1781, enjoying the society of many of the *savants*. He had studied medicine, been secretary to a judge, inspector of military hospitals in Bohemia in 1743, inspector of forage in Alsace in 1745, and subsequently secretary to count Raymond, the governor of Louisbourg, 1751 to 1753, who gave him a very favorable certificate, dated 10 October, 1753. He latterly signed his name '*Thos. Tyrell*.'

Monckton's squadron comprized three frigates, one snow, and many schooners and boats, in all over 36 sail. They arrived at Maringouin cove, said to be two leagues from Beauséjour. An inhabitant of Port Royal having observed this flotilla, and counted their numbers, informed M. Vergor of the occurrence at 2, A. M., 2 June, 1755, monday. The wind favoring them, they approached the Missiguash, where they landed their men in front of fort Lawrence, at 6, P. M., the same day. On tuesday, 3 June, the English troops were to be seen encamped on the glacis of Fort Lawrence, with their tents, forming two lines, where they exercised, and were firing blank cartridges. Vergor having no longer room to doubt the intentions of the English, sent orders to all the Acadians capable of bearing arms, to come in without delay to the fort of Beauséjour. The chief inhabited places were: the three rivers of Memramcook, Chipoudy and Petitcoudiac, then Beauséjour, the lake of Oueskak, Pont à Buot, la Coupe, and la baie Verte. All the men in those places, if collected together, might amount to 1200 or 1500. They were, truly, but little inured to war, and with but small inclination to encounter it,—more especially this was the case with the refugees who had everything

to fear from the English, who had often threatened them with severe treatment if found in arms against them. The first of these who came forward told Vergor they were willing to bear arms for the French, but for their security they must have positive orders to arm and defend the fort, under pain of serious punishment in case of disobedience. This the commandant complied with, sending orders to this effect to all the captains of militia. After this the refugees placed their wives and children in places they deemed secure in the woods and far inland, and then came to do duty at the Fort, where Vergor gave them hopes of prompt success, and even assured them that the English would not be able to take his fort.

M. Jacan de Piedmont, an artillery officer, who was acting engineer at Beauséjour, had urged on the commandant the imperative necessity of finishing the defences of the fort, but the abbé le Loutre kept all the working hands at the aboiteau, for which he had obtained 50,000 livres ; and although apprehensions of attack existed, little or nothing had been done to prepare to repel it. Now that the blow was struck, Vergor set the inhabitants and soldiers to work to put the place in order. He got into the fort some provisions that had been stored outside. He detailed a small guard, to be kept on the isle *de la Vallière*, which is really but a thicket or grove, lying between the two forts, where this guard had to sleep without shelter. He wrote to Drucour, the governor of Louisbourg, asking for aid in his defence. He also despatched a courier with information to the marquis du Quesne, and ordered the vessels that were at *baie Verte* to go back to Canada. He sent a message to captain de Villeray, who commanded the fort of Gaspereaux, in *baie Verte*, to be on his guard, and directed Baralon, a cadet or ensign, who was in charge of a small fort called *pont à Buot*, to burn it down.

Fort Beauséjour, built in the form of a pentagon, was situated upon a small rising ground, where it commanded the bay of Chignecto, from which it was separated by marshy grounds. It was but scarcely half a league distant from Fort Lawrence, (about 1 1-4 miles), one league (2 1-2 miles) from *pont à Buot*, and five leagues (about thirteen miles) from *baie Verte*. The

ditches had only been begun. The works had languished for want of hands. The fortress was about 260 or 280 feet in width. Its garrison consisted of one hundred and fifty men of the troops of the marine, commanded by fourteen officers from Canada and Louisbourg. It had twenty-one guns, and a mortar of 16 inches, mounted, and was abundantly provided with ammunition and provisions. On Wednesday, the 4 June, at 5, A. M., the English troops came out of their encampment, and marched on the road to Buot. Some Acadians sent there had raised an entrenchment, and were supported by a few volunteers. This party, the English state, were 450 in number. The English, who had three field pieces, six-pounders, with them, advanced proudly at 2 o'clock, to lay down their bridge, in order to pass the stream of the Missiguash. The Acadians fired on them, and the English returned the fire from their guns and their musketry. Some Indians, who were along with the Acadians, ran away, and thus created a panic, men and officers fleeing without order. By the English statement, there was a block-house there on the French side of the Missiguash, built to defend the passage of the river. The French and Indians, four hundred and fifty in number, were posted there. They had mounted cannon in the block-house, and thrown up a strong breastwork of timber for covering their men; and thus entrenched, made a stand for about an hour, but were forced by the British troops, with some loss, from their position, and retired, leaving the block-house and the pass of the river clear. The English then laid their bridge, crossed it quietly, and encamped at the *butte Amiraude*, (or Mirande), half a league distant from the fort of Beauséjour. On this, it was the opinion of Vergor and le Loutre that the church, the houses and out-buildings around the fort, and those at *pont à Buot*, should be burnt, and they were so destroyed immediately. In this encounter there were four men wounded of the French side. Two hours after, (4 o'clock), the English flag was flying at the *butte à Roger*. The English brought up their small vessels, armed with swivel guns, to the place where they crossed the stream, and the attempts of the besieged to fire on them from their cannon, and some mus-

ketry acting along the river shore, proved quite ineffectual. On thursday, the 5 June, the English were busied in establishing a bridge over the Missiguash, near the *butte à Mirande*, where they had encamped. Forty of them spread themselves on the open ground below the *butte à Roger*, to collect cattle to draw their guns over, and were fired on by the French. On friday, 6 June, some officers of the French garrison, among whom were Barallon and Montarville, cadets, and 12 or 15 *habitants*, among whom were the two Beausoleils, went into the plain to fire upon the English, who were bringing up one of their boats in the Missiguash, near to the *butte à la Mirande*, whence they had sent out three detachments to endeavor to surprise the small number of the French. The English boat had fired several shots from its swivel guns on the French party, who returned to the fort after some hours without having lost a man. The engineer Jacan de Piedmont had, by this time, constructed bomb-proof works on the bastions. In the evening, M. de Roüilly, who had 60 men with him, went out, but effected nothing. Saturday, 7 June, great exertions were used in the interior of the fort. The casks of lard, pease, flour, &c., were taken out of the casemates, in order that the inhabitants might be lodged therein. At 10, A. M., an English deserter, apparently a seaman, who seemed to be either weak minded or drunk, was brought in, and being unable to answer satisfactorily, was put in irons by the commandant. On Sunday, 8 June, an English party went to reconnoitre towards the *butte à Charles*. The French musquetry was used against them, but with no effect. A party of Indians this day captured an English officer, named Hay, who was returning at break of day from Fort Lawrence to the British encampment at the *butte à Mirande*. The Indians were disposed to put him to death, but Beausoleil prevented it. The French ransomed him from the hands of their savage allies—treated him with great politeness, and notified colonel Monckton of his capture. This day the garrison began to demolish the roofs of all the buildings in the fort, and went on with the work, which heavy rain had checked at noon. Hay's eyes had been bandaged before he got to the fort, and he had been stripped by

the Indians, so that the French officers had to supply him with linen and clothing. During dinner he told them that the English had about 2300 men, of whom 300 or 400 were regular troops, the rest being persons enlisted in New England,—that they had six 18-pounders and nine mortars, of different diameters. He asked and obtained leave to write to the general and to his wife. In one of these letters he mentioned his fear of being long detained. Barallon was selected to carry these letters, and having been well regaled, returned to Beau-séjour. He reported that he had seen six 18-pounders and one mortar, on which Hay remarked that he had not seen all. At this time, Vergor was seeking everywhere for help. The Acadians were deserting him, openly stating that they did not wish to stay in the fort during the siege, as its contracted space would cause the destruction of them all by fire and by misery. He sent them orders upon orders. They often answered that he should have used them better when they were in his power. At last he addressed father Germain, the Jesuit missionary at the river St. John, and begged him to send him his people. Germain replied by stating that his post was equally in danger, and his Indians could not resolve to abandon it. Vergor wrote again to the commandant there to send them to him, but his request received no attention. On monday, the 10 June, the works were but slowly carried on, the weather being adverse. In the evening, fifteen men volunteered to go out. It was ascertained that the people from *baie Verte* were at the Lake, but had no disposition to come into the fort.

Tuesday, 10 June, the English sent a strong party to reconnoitre the ground for erecting their batteries, where they had a skirmish with their opponents. The works at the French fort were a little more earnestly advanced, the abbé le Loutre in his vest, and with his pipe in his mouth, urging on the *habitans*. Forty of the settlers at the Lake came in, and by their account it was feared that the English would go and carry off the oxen to draw their artillery. Some of the *habitans* of *baie Verte*, who are now at the Lake, declare that they have seen two vessels near cape Tourmentin. A great number of Indians were now expected by the French to come in aid of

their defence, and rumors of a French fleet expected were prevalent. The English still remained encamped near the *butte à Mirande*, and occasionally were seen on the *butte à Roger*. Wednesday, 11 June. The works of the fort advanced. The curtain had been strengthened and raised, in the middle of which was the gate which they had masked. At 10, A. M., a detachment of about 200 English came upon the rocks on this side of the *pere Charles*. At 4, P. M., twenty Indians and some *habitans* from *baie Verte*, came into the Fort, Thursday, 12 June. At 2, A. M., the *sieur de Vannes* left the fort with a party of about two hundred men, soldiers and Acadians, to try to surprise some of the English. He came back at 8, A. M., without having fired a shot or effected anything, and his men were quite dissatisfied with his conduct. At 3, P. M., news arrived of three French frigates, with troops on board, destined for *baie Verte*, being at Louisbourg. At 6, P. M., the English, who had made a road across the woods and ravines to transport their artillery as far as the *coteau Charles*, about 700 feet from the Fort, came to occupy the ground. Some Indians and about thirty French, under the command of the *sieur caput de Bailleul*, a brave officer, left the fort, and fired for some time, but supposing the enemy were weaker than they really were, being deceived by the woody screen that hid their number, he advanced too far, and received a severe wound. On this his party retired, covered partly by cannon from the fort.

Friday, 13 June. At break of day it was seen that the English were entrenching themselves upon and behind the rock beyond the house of St. Omer, on the side of *pere Charles*, nearest to Beauséjour, where they had appeared the evening before. From this place they began in the morning to fire bombs. A fragment of the 54th shell discharged wounded Jean Hugon, junr., in the head, who survived the injury but a few moments. The place known as *la butte à Charles* was parallel with the fort, and was the only spot from which it could be advantageously attacked. It is called also *coteau Charles*. The earth and fascines were ready, so the English worked there on the 12th and 13th at opening their trenches,

completing them so as to be safe from attack by the morning of the 13th, and erected their mortar battery, which replied to some cannon shot from the fort by sending above 50 bombshells into the works. It was reported in the evening that three guns had been heard at *baie Verte*. Vergor was led to hope that three frigates from Louisbourg, in which he expected twelve hundred regular troops, had now come to his assistance. In the afternoon of the same day forty Malecite Indians arrived at the Fort, who went through their war dance, and made every demonstration of their inclination to fight.

On Saturday, the 14 June, the English, in the morning, discharged thirty bombshells, which did not produce any remarkable damage in the fort. The French, in return, fired fifty cannon shot to disturb the work of the besiegers. Vergor, this day, received a reply to his request for help from the governor of Louisbourg. Drucourt's letter pointed out the impossibility of his sending succor to the fort, and stating that an English squadron was cruising in that direction, and came often in sight of Louisbourg. Vergor called his officers together, and, making them acquainted with the contents of the letter he had received, asked their opinion. They advised him to hold out as long as it was possible, carefully concealing this news from the Acadians. This reasonable precaution failed to be observed, and the bad news was speedily divulged, as much, it was said, by the indiscretion of some officers who disliked their situation under siege, as by Vergor's having allowed one of his domestics to be present at the meeting. Scandal said that the servant's wife, though ugly, possessed the art of pleasing the master, and the husband's impertinent manners, which Vergor did not check, gave confirmation to the rumor. The afternoon of this day was pretty quiet. Many of the Acadians escaped from the Fort, but seventeen of them were caught and brought back again. It was planned that Beau-soleil and some Indians should make a sortie the next evening. The *habitans* seemed to be discouraged, and the works for defence proceeded but slowly. Sunday, 15 June. This morning the Acadians, alarmed by the discourse of some of the officers, came to Vergor and represented that they could no

longer remain in a fort so little capable of defence, and prayed leave to go out, which they might easily do, as the place was not invested, and was attacked on one side only. The English continued their work, without firing a shell, till 1, P. M., after which they threw in twenty, some of which were of 250 lb. weight. Two of that magnitude fell within the fort. Pierre Saunier, an inhabitant, was killed by a splinter from one. The main body of the caserne, the only one subsisting, was greatly shaken and much damaged. No bombshells were fired off during the night.

Monday, 16 June. This morning the besieged fired cannon at the English working parties, to which the besiegers replied with bombshells. At half-past 8, A. M., a shell of 250 lbs. fell on the casemate, which served for a prison. Mr. Hay, the English officer, who was a prisoner—Raimbault, an officer of the garrison—Ferment, an interpreter, and M. Billy, a clerk, were killed. Messrs. St. Laurent and Montarville were wounded and almost suffocated. This melancholy accident, and the noise and disturbance the bombshell had made in a place supposed to be especially safe, and directly opposite to the other casemate where M. Vergor, the two priests, and some of the officers were at the time, and which was till then supposed to be out of danger of bombshells, induced Vergor, le Lou-tre, and the officers of the garrison, to incline to surrender. Terror and inexperience united to produce this result, and but a few persons were opposed to giving up the place. M. Louis de Courville, who had been commissioned as a notary for *French Acadie*, by Bigot, 28 May, 1754, and acted also as secretary to Vergor, was employed to draw up conditions of surrender. M. de Vannes, the oldest of the lieutenants, a relation of Vergor, and who had commanded a sortie that proved useless, was sent with a letter from the commandant to Monckton, requesting a suspension of arms for forty-eight hours, to prepare and agree upon terms of capitulation. Monckton replied by stating the terms of surrender to which he was prepared to consent. It was in vain that some brave officers insisted on holding out longer. Le sieur Jacan de Piedmont, who, during the siege, had done everything in his power, was specially

zealous for the safety of the Acadians—to demand honorable and advantageous terms for them, and not to come to terms unless this was granted, but to stand yet on the defensive. M. abbé de la Loutre loudly proclaimed that he would rather bury himself in the fort than surrender it. M. de Vannes returned about noon, and some time after, Mr. Shirreff, an English officer, came to the fort from Mr. Monckton. Several messages were sent to Monckton, who stated that unless the place was delivered to him by 7, P. M., he would make use of his batteries and guns, and he would grant no more than he at first proposed. Finally, M. de Rouilly was sent to the English, and the capitulation was signed and exchanged. Monckton had good reasons to adhere to the terms he at first prescribed. All this day division reigned in the Fort. The officers of the garrison were busied in pillaging and drinking, and could hardly be got away to sign the terms of surrender. The soldiers saw this, but did not interfere. The Acadians were sent away, most of them laden with whatever effects they could carry off. At 7 in the evening the English entered the fort, and remained in battle array in the centre of the place. The French troops were drawn up near their *casernes*, and English parties were detached to the several bastions. M. le Loutre went out a little before the English came in. In the evening the officers supped with M. Vergor.

The terms of surrender agreed on were as follows: 1. The commandant, officers, staff and others, employed for the king, and the garrison of Beauséjour, shall go out with arms and baggage, drums beating. 2. The garrison shall be sent direct by sea to Louisbourg, at the expense of the king of Great Britain. 3. The garrison shall have provisions sufficient to last until they get to Louisbourg. 4. As to the Acadians,—as they were forced to bear arms under pain of death,—they shall be pardoned. 5. The garrison shall not bear arms in America for the space of six months. 6. The foregoing terms are granted on condition that the garrison shall surrender to the troops of Great Britain by 7, P. M., this afternoon.

(Signed)

ROBERT MONCKTON.

At the camp before Beauséjour, }
16 June, 1755. }

The blow inflicted on le Loutre by this event must have been intensely severe. For many years his power and influence must have been growing in this region. He had the full confidence and entire support of the government of Quebec, from which quarter he derived constant supplies in the shape of powder, shot, clothing and provisions, which he distributed at his will among the refugee Acadians and Indians. His visits to France had filled his purse with large sums to build an aboiteau, and he had obtained the rank of an abbé *in partibus infidelium*, and the authority of Vicar general of the bishop of Quebec, in Acadie. By means of the latter office, most of the missionaries,—Daudin, Chauvreulx, père Germain, the Jesuit priest at the river St. John, Manach and others,—had become his agents in reducing the Acadians and Indians to the most abject submission. He managed, by his Indians, to intercept nearly all the correspondence of the Halifax governors with their outposts, and was generally believed to have caused the massacres of our out-settlers and the tragic murder of How. The French Canadian commandants at Beauséjour, St. John river, &c., and their officers, were most clearly subjected to his control, so that, in effect, he was for years the sole despot of this region, as far as French, Indian, or French Acadian influence extended. But as he had concentrated his resources in Chignecto, the fall of Beauséjour terminated his political career. The whirlwind of disappointed ambition which rent his soul we may faintly conceive but can hardly realize. Assuming that the letter in October, 1754, from the bishop of Quebec to de Loutre is genuine, of which I feel little doubt, the latter must now have felt the force of the good advice and prophetic warnings it contained. While the bishop explains the policy of the French government was to retain the Acadian refugees and induce them not to return to their former homes under British rule, he most distinctly points out that this matter is a temporal question, and is not within the scope of an ecclesiastic's duty. He advises a perfectly neutral line of conduct for his Vicar general, and expressly warns him of the evils that attend on a priest's meddling with temporal affairs. He deems it essential that if they returned under the

British flag, they should make strict bargains for the security of their priests and their worship ; but he says : “ Is it suit-” “ able to refuse them the sacraments—to threaten them with ” “ having no priest, and with the hostility of the Indians. I ” “ wish they could conscientiously abandon the lands they ” “ held under English rule. Is it so clearly proved that their ” “ going back to them could not be justified, setting aside any ” “ peril of their being perverted from their faith ? I think the ” “ question too embarrassing to be made the subject of a ” “ *mandement*,” (episcopal charge or manifesto), “ and I avow ” “ to you, that I should have much trouble to decide it, even ” “ in the tribunal of penitence.”—“ Meanwhile you have deci-” “ ded publicly what you would ask me to adjudge now.” The bishop speaks of the ruin of the refugees, sure to come sooner or later, and tells de Loutre they will blame him for it. A few short months had passed, and this expectation was literally fulfilled. We may find something to admire in the energy, activity and tenacity of purpose that de Loutre exhibited, but his habitual stirring up the malignant passions of his Indian catechumens—his leading them on to war under the ramparts of Annapolis—the deception he constantly practised, and the utter worldliness of his ambition and its objects, must convince us that his presence in the country was fraught with mischief, and was most especially injurious to the Acadians and Indians, whose friend and protector he pretended to be, while he incessantly struggled to prevent pacification. The priests under his control were urged to take part in his secular policy, both by his example and precepts. It must nevertheless be remembered that we have derived our information of this person from sources not friendly to priests of his church,—the French of that period being tinged with the philosophy of Voltaire.

Whether Vergor could have held out much longer, is a question for military readers. If the statements of contemporary writers can be trusted, some of his officers were little to be relied on. The sortie and sudden retreat of de Vannes, say little for his prowess. The pillage by officers after surrender was proposed, give us but a low conception of their character ; and the presence of Pichon, with his pocket filled with English

guineas, and his desires strong for the success of the besiegers, could have had but a damaging effect on the harmony of the garrison. De Loutre's influence, though opposed to surrender, was an anomalous power, which must always tend to weaken the just authority of the commandant, and from the moment it was ascertained that the arrival of troops from Louisbourg in aid was improbable, the refugee Acadians in the Fort were beset with visions of the punishment for treason they had a claim to receive on the eventual capitulation. So many elements of discord and disaffection being at work in his little command, it is possible that Vergor did no more in coming to terms of surrender, than was reasonable and prudent. There is a difficulty in judging from the universality of slander and detraction, ever too prevalent, but, as far as I can judge, most especially rife in the middle of the 18th century, and particularly so in the affairs of Canada and the posts dependant. Bigot, Vergor, and others, may have been bad enough, but the mss. memoirs and letters that survive have not failed to paint their moral portraits in the blackest colors, insomuch that one is naturally tempted to think that envy and malice had overcharged the picture.

The supper which, Pichon says, Vergor gave to the officers on the evening of the surrender, 16 June, we may believe included the victors and the vanquished : one party, the English, proud of their success,—the others, perhaps, as well pleased with the booty they had realized out of the French king's stores and military chest. This supper reminds one of the banquet at Mines, in 1747, given by the French officers, then victors, to the surviving officers of colonel Noble's troops, after a much more tragic conflict, though one of less important bearing on the destinies of Nova Scotia than the fall of Beau-séjour ; and it is just possible that there might have been some guests at this supper who had been present at the entertainment of eight years before. One remark may be allowed, that on both occasions, the urbanity, cheerfulness and polite character of French gentlemen must have been conspicuous ; and in this last case, that healthy turn of mind which enables them, under the most depressing circumstances, to efface the

wrinkles of over-anxious care, and to innocently enjoy the pleasures of social intercourse.

Tuesday, 17 June, the French troops evacuated the place before 11, A. M., and col. Scott took possession. The Acadians had previously withdrawn, and in the evening embarked in schooners. The English commissary wished to have a signed account of the munitions of war, provisions and merchandize, left in his charge ; but the French storekeeper, (*garde-magazin*), replied to him, and to M. de Vergor, who was with him, that he would sign no account, for if he did, he would make himself responsible for what was deficient, and the robbery and pillage that had been carried on in the sight of the commandant, without any check put on it, in spite of his protestations, would fall upon him, and bring him into difficulties. So no more was said on the subject. It was observed that almost all the bales of goods, although placed under the care of centinels, had been opened, and extensively robbed, and in this the French had been more successful than the English. The French officers and their valets had made considerable packages. M. de Vergor and M. de Vannes had different *habitans* to work for them in this, who were of their kinsfolk ; and the valet of Vergor, named St. Germain, had not been idle. Monckton set up his tent this day near the only gate of the fort that was open.—*Wednesday*, 18 June. The English set up their flag in the fort, and fired off all their guns, after which, they gave three *hurras*.

Monckton sent a detachment of 300 men to offer to captain Villeray, who commanded the party posted at the fort at Gaspeaux, *baie Verte*, the same terms that he had given the garrison of Beauséjour, which he accepted, and on the 18th colonel Winslow took possession ; and on the 24th, the troops who had been in garrison at both forts sailed for Louisbourg, and arrived there on the 6 July. Meanwhile, Joseph Brossart, called Beausoleil, came in under a safe conduct to propose a peace with the Indians, praying pardon for himself. The pardon was granted him, subject to the approval of governor Lawrence. Jacob Maurice, who is said to be a kinsman of M. Vergor, came in also with some *habitans* of *baie Verte*, to make terms.

On the 20, 21 and 22 June, many of the inhabitants of the country came in and surrendered their arms. On the 22, (sunday), Vergor and de Vannes dined with colonel Monckton, and slept in the fort. The anniversary of the accession of king George the second was celebrated by the firing of cannon at both forts. Pichon says that he and M. Marsal were robbed of a thousand crowns, out of their trunks, which were in a locked-up cellar, guarded by a centinel, and all attempts to recover the money proved ineffectual. 25 June, news from Halifax was received at fort Beauséjour that two French frigates, the Alcide and the Lys, had been brought in there as prizes, having been captured by admiral Boscawen. Thursday, 26 June, the abbé de Guerne, the only priest who remained there, was introduced by Pichon to colonel Monckton, who received him politely.

After the departure of the French troops, Monckton ordered the Acadians to come into the fort. He offered them pardon, on condition of their taking the oath of allegiance. They brought in and gave up their arms, but would not take the oaths. Le Loutre had left them, after stating that he would sooner take his own life than yield; and finding that his opinion was overruled, he was afraid of falling into the hands of the English, and, disguising himself, left the fort, and made his way to the river St. John and thence to Quebec. There he met with but a cold reception, and bitter reproaches from his bishop. In August he embarked for France. The vessel was captured by the English, and de Loutre was sent as a prisoner to Elizabeth castle, in the island of Jersey, where he remained in confinement for eight years, until the peace of 1763 enabled him to go back to France. He had been originally sent to Canada, in 1737, by the Society of Foreign Missions at Paris, and is called Louis Joseph de la Loutre. [*N. Y. Doc's.*, v. 10, p. 11, note. *Memoires sur le Canada*, p. 59.] The news of the surrender of Beauséjour, and the smaller fort on the river Gaspereaux, at *baie Verte*, reached governor Lawrence, at Halifax, on the 21st June. The French had their principal magazine for supplying the Acadians and Indians, at the *baie Verte* fort, and the victors found a great quantity of provisions

and stores of all kinds in both forts. At Beauséjour they had twenty-six cannon mounted, while the English had not yet mounted any guns except their mortar battery for throwing bombshells, so that they captured the place after scarcely four days' bombardment, losing of the besiegers twenty killed and about the same number wounded. Major Preble, of the irregulars, was slightly wounded in the shoulder. Ensign Tonge, of major-general Warburton's regiment, acting as sub-engineer, received a shot in his thigh as he was taking a survey of the ground for the trenches and batteries to be raised against the fort, and ensign Hay, of colonel Hopson's (40th), was, as mentioned before, killed while prisoner. (Hay and the five French officers were at breakfast at the time.) As the English had not men enough to invest the fort, many of those who had been in it got away. On its surrender, there remained one hundred and fifty regulars, and about three hundred inhabitants, inclusive of several wounded, officers and men. The number of the French killed in the siege was not known to the conquerors ; but as several lay half buried on the parade, they believed it was not trifling.

Monckton gave the fort Beauséjour a new name, calling it Fort Cumberland, (a name which was afterwards transferred to the township, and since to the present county of Cumberland.) This fort, Lawrence says, is an infinitely better one than fort Lawrence, and he directed Monckton to leave a garrison in it, and proceed to St. John's river, and reduce the French post there. Monckton gave great praise to the troops he commanded. Captain Rous, who commanded the naval part of the expedition, and Mr. Brewse, the chief engineer, were both praised by Lawrence.

As soon as the forts on the Isthmus were taken, capt. Rous sailed thence with three 20-gun ships and a sloop, to look into St. John's river, where, it was reported, that there were two French ships, of 36 guns each. He anchored off the mouth of the river, and sent his boats to reconnoitre. They found no ships there ; but on their appearance, the French burst their cannon, blew up their magazine, burned everything they could belonging to the fort, and marched off. The next morning

the Indians invited captain Rous on shore—gave him the strongest assurances of their desire to make peace with the English, and stated that they had refused to assist the French.

About the end of June, governor Lawrence, writing to the lords of trade respecting the three batteries on the beach in front of the town of Halifax, which were begun 25 January, to hold each ten 24-pounders, says: “they are 12 feet high” “above high water mark, 246 feet in length, and 75 feet in” “breadth, each. These dimensions regard the ramparts.” “The parapet raised on them is seven feet high. The materials employed in the building consisted of 9500 logs, of 25” “feet long each, 1280 tons of which are squared. This timber is framed hollow, and filled up with 25000 tons weight” “of gravel, stones, earth and sand. The workmanship and” “materials, when all will be completed, may amount to about” “£5,300.” Fifteen guns were already mounted—in a few days the work would be ready for five more, and in a very short time the whole would be completed. Lawrence had received orders to augment the three regiments of regulars in the province to 1000 each. He says the 2000 provincial troops now in pay here, as they are engaged for a year, will, in the meantime, be more than equivalent to the augmentation; and if it cannot be done otherwise, he will try to enlist a sufficient number of them to fill up the regiments.

The two prizes, *Alcide* and *Lys*, had separated from the French squadron off the banks of Newfoundland, and fell in with part of vice admiral Boscawen's fleet, off cape Race, about the 8 June. After five hours' fighting with the *Dunkirk*, capt. Howe, afterwards lord Howe, and the *Defiance*, capt. Andrews, they were taken. The *Alcide* was a vessel of 64 guns and 480 men, commanded by M. Hocquart, *chevalier* of St. Louis. He had been taken in the *Medea*, in 1744, and in the *Diamond*, in 1747. The *Lys* was pierced for 64 guns, but mounting only 22, commanded by M. Lageril, having eight companies of land forces on board. The *Dunkirk* was said to have lost ninety men in this engagement. The *chevalier de Rostaing*, lieut. colonel of infantry, was killed. Godart d'Helincourt, *aide-de-camp*, captain of infantry—Dubois de Crancé, commis-

sary of war—messrs. Dumoulin, cadet Geoffroy, Aguitton, engineers in ordinary, were on board the *Alcide*, and made prisoners. The prizes and the prisoners were sent to Halifax harbor.

On the 6 May, the French fleet sailed from Brest, under Macnamara, an Irish gentleman. It comprized 25 ships of the line, besides frigates and transports; and 3000 or 4000 regular troops were embarked, under baron Dieskau, a German, intended for Canada and Cape Breton. Macnamara returned to France with part of the fleet, while the rest got to Louisbourg under M. Bois de la Mothe, except the *Alcide* and *Lys*. It was about this time that the English man-of-war, the *Mars*, of 70 guns, was lost at the mouth of this harbor. The crew and guns were saved. The *Mars* rock still retains the vessel's name. [This summer the marquis du Quesne was succeeded in the government of Canada by Pierre François Rigaud marquis de Vaudreuil Cavagnal, third son of the late Philip de Vaudreuil, who died at Quebec. His commission was dated 1 January, and registered at Quebec 10 July, 1755. He had served in Canada under his father, and had also been a governor of Louisiana, and a navy captain.]

While victory attended the English by sea and land in this region, in another part of America they met a sad reverse. General Braddock had commenced to advance, 10 June, from fort Cumberland, at Wills' creek. His army was in two divisions. The first, under his own command, was of from 1300 to 1500 strong, with four howitzers, four 12-pounders, and thirteen artillery waggons; and by the 9 July, (the day of the slaughter), had marched to within about seven miles of fort du Quesne, on the Monongahela. Colonel Dunbar commanded the rear division, having most of the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage with him. This last party were many miles behind. Beaujeux, the captain in charge of fort Duquesne, came out with a party of French and Indians, whose number has been variously stated from 300 to 1000, and they were posted behind the trees in a spot which the English had to pass by. The whole division had crossed the river Monongahela, when the vanguard, being suddenly and unexpectedly

attacked by shot from unseen foes, fell back, and panic spread among the whole of the English troops. Not listening to their officers, they fired away their ammunition recklessly, and then fled, leaving the guns, stores and baggage to the enemy. The sudden and unlooked-for appearance of enemies—the frightful war cry of the Indians—their strange figures, naked, and covered with the war paint in different colors, were calculated to intimidate the soldiers. The officers sacrificed themselves in vain. The general, after five horses were killed under him, was mortally wounded, surviving but four days. His two aide-de-camps, Orme and Morris, wounded. Major *George Washington*, extra aide-de-camp, “ had two horses shot under him, ” “ and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving ” “ the whole time with great courage and resolution.” Sir Peter Halket was killed. In all, 26 English officers were killed, (of whom 7 were provincials), and 37 were wounded,—only 22 officers remaining unhurt ; and of the men, about 600 were killed and wounded. Wm. Shirley, the general’s secretary, was among the killed. Of the damage done to the French we only know that M. Beaujeux, their leader, (Leonard Daniel, ecuyer, sieur de Beaujeux, capitaine d’infanterie), was killed, and his place taken by M. Dumas. This melancholy result is attributed to the total absence of the usual precautions in passing through a closely wooded country, and Braddock is said to have been unwilling to take advice or listen to suggestions, and particularly to have entertained contempt for the militia of the provinces, and to have disgusted the Indian allies by haughtiness. Much of the stores and heavy articles were destroyed by Dunbar on his retreat to Philadelphia. I have felt it requisite to give an outline of the affair, as it influenced the minds of the British in all the provinces, and probably the alarm it created tended much to confirm the decision just arrived at in Nova Scotia, of expelling the French Acadians. The ruin of the expedition—the flight of a column, in which were the 44th. and 48th. regiments, some of the best troops of New York and Virginia, artillery, engineers, and a detachment of the seamen of the royal navy, with officers of the highest courage and character, spread a funereal gloom over all the

English colonies. Mr. Orme, aide-de-camp, was so badly wounded, that he could not use a pen, but a friend wrote, at his dictation, on 18 July, at Fort Cumberland, where a garrison of militia remained with the sick and wounded. His letter, containing the best account given of the affair, was copied and transmitted to all the governors of the provinces, the news of this battle reaching Halifax by the end of July.

It may not be amiss to notice here the liberal grants of parliament for the settlement of Nova Scotia, in the first seven years of Halifax :—

In 1749,	£40,000	0	0
1750,	57,582	19	3½
1751,	53,927	14	4
1752,	61,492	19	4½
1753,	94,615	12	4
1754,	58,447	2	0
1755,	49,418	7	8
<hr/>			
	£415,484	14	11¾

The author of the *British Empire in America*, v. 1, p. 213, complains of this expense, and praises the French for their economy in making settlements. The event has shewn that this vaunted parcimony lost all New France, while the English gained it by a contrary course, and spread their race and language over the whole continent.

CHAPTER XX.

THE forced removal of the French Acadians, who called themselves neutral French, occurred in this year. The first step in the affair took place on thursday, 3 July, 1755.—At a meeting at the governor's house in Halifax, at which were present lieutenant governor Lawrence, and hon. councillors Green, Collier, Cotterell and Belcher, the lieutenant governor laid before the council two memorials from the deputies and inhabitants of Mines and Piziquid, that had been transmitted to him through captain Murray, the commanding officer at Fort Edward.

In the first of these, signed by twenty-five persons, they express themselves sensibly affected by the conduct of the government towards them,—of the doubts entertained of their sincerity ; refer to their past conduct, wherein they allege they have kept their oaths, tho' solicited and menaced by another power to break them ; state their disposition to continue loyal and true as heretofore, as long as the king leaves them the liberties he has granted them.—They complain that they are charged with carrying grain to the enemy at Beau-séjour and St. John, which they deny,—of being debarred from carrying corn by water from one settlement to another ; state that some of the refugees had taken away their own cattle,—ask for the use of their canoes to carry what they need from river to river, or to fish for their subsistence, of which freedom they were never before deprived. Their guns they look on as their own property ; they have been taken from them, though they were essential to protect their families

and their cattle from the wild beasts, which are increasing since the Indians no longer frequent these quarters, and are daily destroying their stock. That the taking away their guns was a weak security for their allegiance. That having a gun will not make a man a rebel, nor taking it from him make him loyal ; but it depended on conscience, which would induce him to keep his oath. They then refer to an order dated 4 June, 1755, in his excellency's name, signed by capt. Murray, requiring them to carry their guns and pistols to fort Edward. If they have any arms left, after the exact search that had been made for them, it would be dangerous to obey this command. The Indians may come to threaten and pillage them, and reproach them with furnishing arms to kill them with. They beg, on the contrary, the return of the weapons of which they have been already deprived, to preserve themselves and their cattle. They finally complain that Pierre Melançon, of river *aux Canards*, was seized with a loaded boat, having had no previous notice of any order to the contrary. The second memorial, signed by forty-four inhabitants, is to beg a favorable interpretation of the other document, if any part of it is too harshly or improperly expressed.

Captain Murray had informed the governor that for some time before the delivery of the first of these memorials, the French inhabitants in general had behaved with greater submission and obedience to the orders of the government than usual, and had readily delivered in to him a considerable number of their fire arms, but at the delivery of the memorial they treated him with great indecency and insolence. This made him suspect them of having some information not received by the government. Lawrence believed it was a report of a French fleet being in the bay of Fundy, as any hope of French assistance led them to display an insolent and unfriendly feeling.

The signers of the first memorial had been ordered to come to Halifax, and fifteen of them appeared, the rest being sick. They were reprimanded for their insolence. The memorial was taken up paragraph by paragraph—was read over to them, and comments made on it, to make clear their disaffec-

tion and insincerity—the lenity and protection they had received, and indulgence shewn them hitherto : they were told the laws of England forbid Roman catholics possessing arms. They were then called upon to take oath of allegiance. They replied they were not come prepared to answer on this point. This was treated as evasive, as they had been for six years past frequently called on to take the oath. On this they desired to return home, and consult the body of their people. This was refused, and they retired for an hour to consult among themselves. On coming back, they reiterated that they could not do it without consulting the great body, but were ready to take it as they had done before, (that was, conditionally.) They were told that the conditional oath had been disapproved of by the king, and the council could not accept any oath but an absolute one, such as all other subjects took. They still declining, they were allowed time till the next morning at 10, A. M., to come to a resolution.

On friday, 4 July, the lieutenant governor and council being again assembled, viz : colonel Lawrence, and mess^{rs}. Green, Collier, Cotterell and Belcher, the French deputies were brought in. They declared that they could not consent to take the oath in the form required without consulting the body. They were then told that the council could no longer look on them as British subjects, but as subjects to the king of France, and they were ordered to withdraw. ‘The council, after consideration, were of opinion, that directions be given to capt. Murray to order the French inhabitants to choose and send to Halifax new deputies, with the general resolution of the said inhabitants in regard to taking the oath, and *that none of them, for the future, be admitted to take it, having once refused so to do, but that effectual measures ought to be taken to remove all such recusants out of the province.*’ The deputies were then called in, and were informed of this resolution ; on which they submitted, and were willing to take the unconditional oath, but they were not permitted to do so, on the ground that it would be the effect of compulsion and force ; and the English act of 1 Geo. I, stat. 2, c. 13, s. 10, was alleged as making their first refusal final. On the 15 July, the lieut. governor assem-

bled at his house, in Halifax, messrs. Green, Collier, Cotterell and Belcher, councillors, and, at his particular request, vice admiral Boscawen and rear admiral Mostyn. The recent proceedings of the council were laid before the two admirals, who approved of what had been done, and "gave it as their" "opinion, that now was the properest time to oblige the said" "inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to his majesty," "or to quit the country." Captain Rous's letter, stating the destruction of the fort at St. John river, was read, and it was resolved so to leave it; also to retain and pay the 2000 New England troops at Chignecto, under the command of colonel Monckton.

On the 18 July, lieutenant governor Lawrence wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson, the secretary of state. He says in his letter: "As the French inhabitants of this province have never" "yet taken the oath of allegiance to his majesty unqualified," "I thought it my duty upon this occasion to propose it to" "them; and as the deputies of the different districts in Mines" "Bason were attending in town, upon a very insolent memo-" "rial they had delivered to the council, I was determined to" "begin with them. They were accordingly summoned to" "appear before the council, and after discussing the affair of" "the memorial, article by article, the oath was proposed to" "them. They endeavored, as much as possible, to evade it," "and at last desired to return home and consult the rest of" "the inhabitants, that they might either accept or refuse the" "oath in a body; but they were informed that we expected" "every man upon this occasion to answer for himself; and" "as we would not use any compulsion or surprise, we gave" "them 24 hours time to deliver in their answer, and if they" "should then refuse, they must expect to be driven out of" "the country; and though they should afterwards repent of" "their refusal, they would not be permitted to take the oath." "The next morning they appeared, and refused to take the" "oath without the old reserve of not being obliged to bear" "arms; upon which they were acquainted, that as they refused to become English subjects, we could no longer look" "upon them in that light: that we should send them to"

“ France by the first opportunity, and till then they were ”
“ ordered to be kept prisoners at George’s island, where they ”
“ were immediately conducted. They have since desired to ”
“ be admitted to take the oath, but have not been admitted, ”
“ nor will any answer be given them until we see how the ”
“ rest of the inhabitants are disposed. I have ordered new ”
“ deputies to be elected and sent hither immediately, and am ”
“ determined to bring the inhabitants to a compliance, or rid ”
“ the province of such perfidious subjects.”

On friday, the 25 July, a council was held at the governor’s house in Halifax. at which Lt. gov’r. Lawrence, mess^{rs}. Greene, Collier, Cotterell, John Rous and Jonathan Belcher, councilors, and vice admiral Boscowen and rear admiral Savage Mostyn were present. A memorial to the lieutenant governor, signed by 207 French inhabitants of Annapolis river, was read. They had assembled under his excellency’s order of 12 July, and profess great respect and fidelity, &c. They have chosen thirty delegates to go to Halifax, whom they have instructed to say or do nothing opposed to H. M. council ; “ but we enjoin on them not to engage in any new oaths, we ” “ being resolved and willing to adhere to that which we have ” “ already taken, and which we have faithfully kept under ” “ existing circumstances ; for the enemies of his majesty ” “ solicited us to take arms against the government, but we ” “ have taken care not to do so.” The deputies from Annapolis being called in, stated for themselves and their constituents, “ that they could not take any other oath than what they had ” “ formerly taken, which was with a reserve, that they should ” “ not be obliged to take up arms ; and that if it was the ” “ king’s intentions to force them to quit their lands, they ” “ hoped that they should be allowed a convenient time for ” “ their departure.” After some remarks from the council on their misconduct in aiding the Indian enemy, &c., they were told they must now resolve, either to take the oath without any reserve, or else to quit their lands, for that affairs were now at such a crisis in America, that no delay could be admitted,—that the French had obliged us to take up arms in our defence against their encroachments, and it was unknown

what steps they might take further. For which reasons, if they, the inhabitants, would not become subjects to all intents and purposes, they could not be suffered to remain in the country; upon which, they said, they were determined, one and all, rather to quit their lands than to take any other oath than what they had done before.

The council then told them they ought very seriously to consider the consequences of their refusal. That if they once refused the oath, they would never after be permitted to take it, but would infallibly lose their possessions. That the council were unwilling to hurry them into a determination upon an affair of so much consequence to them, and therefore they should be allowed until next monday, at ten of the clock, in forenoon, to reconsider the matter, and form their resolution, when their final answer would be expected.

On monday, 28 July, the lieut. governor, and mess^{rs}. Green, Collier, Cotterell, Rous and Belcher, councillors, and admirals Boscawen and Mostyn, being present, a memorial received from Pisiquid, signed by 103 inhabitants, and one from Mines and river *aux Canards*, signed by 203, were read. They were differently worded, but each refused in positive terms to take any unqualified oath of allegiance. The deputies of Pisiquid, Mines, &c., and those of Annapolis river, were then called in, and they all peremptorily refused to take the oath of allegiance to the king of England, whereupon they were all ordered into confinement. As it had been before determined to send all the French inhabitants out of the province if they refused to take the oaths, nothing now remained to be considered but what measures should be taken to send them away, and where they should be sent to. After mature consideration, it was unanimously agreed, that, to prevent, as much as possible, their attempting to return and molest the settlers that may be set down on their lands, it would be most proper to send them to be distributed amongst the several colonies on the continent, and that a sufficient number of vessels should be hired with all possible expedition for that purpose.

Lieutenant governor Phips, of Massachusetts, about this date, in a letter to colonel Lawrence, after commenting on

the defeat of Braddock, says : " I must, on this occasion, also propose to your consideration, whether the danger with which his majesty's interest is now threatened will not remove any scruples which may heretofore have subsisted with regard to the French neutrals, as they are termed, and render it both just and necessary that they should be removed, unless some more effectual security can be given for their fidelity than the common obligation of an oath, for by the principles of their religion this may easily be dispensed with ; and although they may expose themselves to be treated as rebels, yet what confidence can be placed in subjects who are inclined to revolt whenever they can do it with safety ?"

The different memorials of the French inhabitants are long and argumentative, and are couched in respectful language. They all proceed from the basis of the conditional oath of allegiance, and most explicitly and firmly refuse to take any other, a refusal which they had uniformly persisted in ever since the conquest. The fact that, notwithstanding reiterated demands on them on many occasions to take the oath without reserve as other British subjects do, they had been suffered, from the conquest in 1710 to this time, a period of over forty years, to retain their lands and reside in the country upon a footing of neutrality, (a state of things partly owing to kindness and indulgence of government, and partly to weak and temporizing councils), had, no doubt, led them to believe that this was their rightful position. Under the governors and presidents at Annapolis, they persisted in thus thinking, expressing and acting, while the government confined its assertion of a sovereignty to arguments and reprimands, with no apparent power or design to enforce its views. It would be the acme of absurdity to go on thus with a province, the chief part of the population feeling either a hostile sentiment, or at least indifferent to the success and progress of its rulers, and closely attached to a foreign power. On the settlement at Halifax taking place, the tone of the provincial government became more firm and menacing, but unfortunately the *habitans* now looked on their neutrality as a vested right, sanctioned by long enjoyment ; and as the major part of them had adhered

as faithfully to the terms of the oath they had taken, in the light in which they had been taught to view it, as could well be expected of persons in their circumstances, I doubt not that they were, most of them, sincere enough, when, in their remonstrances, they appealed to their past fidelity to their engagements. The occasional breach of the neutrality by individuals, and even the desertion of several hundreds to Beauséjour, were not inconsistent with the pacific and honest intentions of the greater number. In the disturbed state of the country from French encroachment and Indian bands cutting off couriers and checking settlement, the milder rules of action must be abandoned, and military necessity produced measures that one may regard as cruel but unavoidable ; but the day had arrived when the British colonists believed themselves justified, in self-defence, to claim and enforce the true rights of their empire over this land ; and while the measures adopted were severe and harsh, and in some particulars cannot be justified, it would be difficult to point out any other course that would have consisted with the safety of the English. There can be no room to doubt that such a neutrality as had been suffered, but never sanctioned by the British crown, was wholly incompatible with its just rights of sovereignty, and that all measures requisite to end it—to bring the land and all its dwellers under unconditional submission to the laws of the empire, were now essential to the dignity of the nation, and to the preservation of its territory, so encroached and menaced by the French and their Indian allies.

Lieut. governor Lawrence, writing to lieut. colonel Monckton 31 July, (forwarded by capt. Croxton's party, Aug't. 2nd.), after mentioning the resolve of removing the French of Mines, Annapolis, &c., says : " And as to those about the Isthmus, " " most of which were in arms, and therefore entitled to no " " favour from the government, it is determined to begin with " " them first." Transports and instructions will be sent him. This is to be kept secret, and he is instructed to use strata-gem to arrest all the men, and detain them until the transports arrive. Their cattle and corn is forfeited, and must be applied towards the great expense of removal ; " nor will they be "

“allowed to carry away the least thing but their ready money” “and household furniture.” He, Monckton, is to send a strong detachment to Tatamagouche, to prevent their sending their cattle that way to Louisbourg. He is to detach four hundred irregulars to Piziquid, by water if possible. If colonel Winslow wishes, he is to go with this party. “I would have you give orders to the detachment you send to Tatamagouche to demolish all the houses, &c., they find there, together with all the shallops, boats, canoes or vessels of any kind which may be lying ready for carrying off the inhabitants and their cattle.” In a subsequent letter, sent by captain Goreham, he orders the destruction and demolishing of the villages of Jediack, Ramseck, &c., to prevent the French rising or joining in bodies. 8 August, Lawrence writes to Monckton a third letter, with confirmation of Braddock’s defeat—orders him to demolish all the villages to the North and North West of the fort of Beauséjour, and to try to save the cattle and crop.

Instructions were sent to major John Handfield, commanding the garrison of Annapolis Royal, and to lieutenant colonel John Winslow, commanding H. M. troops at Mines. They bore date on 11 Aug’t., 1755. Of the same date were circulars from governor Lawrence to the governors of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, &c., to which the Acadians were sent. Major John Handfield is told that transports will be sent from Boston to Annapolis to receive 1000 persons, reckoning two persons to a ton,—and from Boston to Mines for a similar purpose; while vessels are engaged at Halifax to carry away the people from Chignecto, it being designed to disperse them among the English colonies on the continent, lest they should return to the province, or join in strengthening the French of Canada or Louisbourg. As Annapolis is the place whence the last of the transports will sail, any of the vessels that may not receive their full complement up the bay will be ordered there, and colonel Winslow, with his detachment, will follow by land, and bring up stragglers to embark there. When the transports come, he is to put on board as many of the inhabitants as can be collected by any means, particularly the heads of families

and young men. Mr. George Saul, who has charge of the provisions, will arrive there from Chignecto.

From Annapolis, 300 persons are to go to Philadelphia.

200	"	"	to New York.
300	"	"	to Connecticut.
200	"	"	to Boston.

The masters of the vessels were to be on their guard, lest the passengers should seize them, and were to allow only a small number to be on deck at one time, — suffer none to carry arms on board with them. If requisite to get them on board, Handfield was to use measures of compulsion, and deprive any who should escape "of all means of shelter or support, by" "burning their houses and destroying everything that may" "afford them the means of subsistence in the country." Winslow, if requisite, will send him reinforcements. As the vessels are paid by the month, he is to use all possible despatch to save the public money. When the transports are ready to sail, a man-of-war is to convoy them.

Winslow's instructions are similar in most points. From Mines, river Canard, Pisiquid, Cobequid, &c.,

500	persons	are to be sent to North Carolina.
1000	"	" to Virginia.
500	"	" to Maryland.

He is to concert measures with capt. A. Murray, who commands fort Edward. When he has completed his task, he is to march a detachment to Annapolis, to pick up stragglers and assist Handfield. A subsequent letter of same date, adds : "You must collect the inhabitants together, in order to" "their being transported, in the best manner in your power," "either by stratagem or force, as circumstances may require ;" "but above all, I desire you would not pay the least atten-" "tion to any remonstrances or memorial from any of the" "inhabitants whatever, who may be desirous of staying" "behind, but embark every person, if possible, according to" "the instructions herewith sent, without any further applica-" "tion to me." If the tonnage prove insufficient, he is to send express, but not delay the embarkation. The people and their bedding are to go on board, and afterwards, if there is room,.

any furniture, but not to incumber the vessels. The water casks are to be all filled. The circulars of 11 August to the English governors, intended to justify the expulsion, I have put in the appendix to this chapter.

A man-of-war, captain Proby, and eight transports, arrived at Chignecto, Wednesday, 20 Aug't., and two other vessels on the 24th. Mr. Jedediah Prebble, an officer there, wrote to colonel Winslow, at Mines, congratulating him with his having such good quarters, and says : ' As you have taken possession of the friar's house, hope you will execute the office of ' priest.' Governor Lawrence writes, 26 August, to lieutenant colonel Monckton. He thinks 500 men for fort Cumberland, 200 at fort Gaspereau, and 100 at fort Lawrence, will be enough for the ensuing winter. Tells him Winslow has taken post with his detachment at the church at Mines, but has not provision or ammunition to serve any time. Has sent him some, and wishes Monckton to send more. Regrets that he had not been able to secure the St. John's Indians in the English interest. " The provisions you sent down are put on board " " the fleet, together with three priests of Mines, Piziquid and " " Annapolis. I forgot to tell you to lay hold of the priest at " " Chignecto, Miniac, I think they call him, that he might be " " sent with the rest ; if it is not too late, I wish you could do " " it still." All the cattle that can be brought in from the villages of Petitcoudiac, Memramcook and Chipody, he wishes distributed, as many amongst " our people of Chignecto " as they think they can support during the winter, and the rest to be used as rations for the troops. This despatch, which contains many other details, is printed in the New York Historical Magazine of 1860, pp. 41, &s. Lieutenant Pernette, of the Rangers, was sent, with an escort, to carry it and other letters to capt. Murray, at Fort Edward. He was specially instructed to secrecy, and his party were to be silent with the French Acadians as to anything they had heard, and no private letters were to be delivered.

Murray went on to Mines without delay, and it was agreed between Winslow and him that the capture of the people should take place on Friday, 5 September, to give them time to put

their corn into the barns. The camp at Grand Pré had been picquetted in. Winslow tells Lawrence, "although it is a" "disagreeable part of duty we are put upon, I am sensible it" "is a necessary one, and shall endeavor strictly to obey your" "Excellency's orders to do everything in me to remove the" "neighbours about me to a better country : as to poor father" "Le Blanc, I shall, with your Excellency's permission, send" "him to my own place." While in all the districts of Mines and Pisiquid no suspicion or apprehension of the coming event existed, one of the Boston transports arrived at Annapolis, and about a hundred heads of families fled to the woods, taking their bedding with them, and Handfield applied to Winslow for reinforcements to enable him to bring them in.

At the villages round fort Edward all the people were quiet and busy with their harvest. At the river Canard was a fine country, full of inhabitants, a beautiful church, abundance of worldly goods, and plenty of all kinds of provisions. At the village Melançon, on the Gaspereau, and also in the South front of Winslow's camp, everything was prosperous. Such was the condition of these lands in the beginning of September, a season peculiarly calculated to exhibit Acadian scenery in its richest charms. Although all the features of war may be thought repulsive and odious, and the concussions which political necessity inflicts painful to consider, the scene we are now to contemplate has very remarkable features of a distressing character. The contrast is striking between the state of a cheerful peasantry living in the lap of comparative luxury, suddenly torn from their homes and transported as beggars to a distant land ; and one is apt, at first view of these deplorable circumstances, to affix unlimited blame on those who ordered and those who executed the removal. But we must remember that all the governors and rulers of this province had decided that the Acadians ought to be removed, unless they would honestly become British subjects. As no man can serve two masters, the position they held was tenable no longer than the weakness or lenity of government permitted it ; and now the game was for a great stake, for France was aiming to drive a million English settlers out of this continent, and to become

mistress of America and ruler of the ocean. At the very moment that the last despatches were sent by Pernette to Murray, Winslow and Monckton, 28 August, colonel Dunbar was entering the city of Philadelphia, from Monongahela, with about 1000 men, the remains of general Braddock's army, greatly fatigued, and almost naked. [*London Magazine*, 1755, p. 498.]

On the 2 Sept'r. Winslow issued a written order, addressed to the inhabitants of Grand pré, Mines, river Canard, &c., commanding all the men, old and young, to attend at the church at Grand pré, on friday, the 5th. at 3, P. M., to hear from him the governor's resolution respecting the matter proposed to the inhabitants, "being desirous that each of them should be" "fully satisfied of his majesty's intentions, which he has also" "ordered us to communicate to you, such as they have been" "given to him." All of 10 years old and upwards are ordered to attend without excuse, under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, &c. In consequence of this notice, four hundred and eighteen men assembled in the church. Winslow and his officers were in the midst. He thus addressed them: "Gentlemen. I have received from his excellency, governor" "Lawrence, the king's commission, which I have in my hand," "and by his orders you are convened together, to manifest to" "you his majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants" "of this his province of Nova Scotia, who, for almost half a" "century, have had more indulgence granted them than any" "of his majesty's subjects in any part of his dominions; what" "use you have made of it, you yourselves best know. The" "part of duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very dis-" "agreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it" "must be grievous to you, who are of the same species; but" "it is not my business to animadvert, but to obey such orders" "as I receive, and therefore, without hesitation, deliver you" "his majesty's orders and instructions, namely, that your" "lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of" "all sorts, are forfeited to the crown, with all other your" "effects, saving your money and household goods, and you" "yourselves to be removed from this his province. Thus it"

“is peremptorily his majesty’s orders, that the whole French”
“inhabitants of these districts be removed ; and I am, thro’”
“his majesty’s goodness, directed to allow you liberty to”
“carry off your money and household goods, as many as you”
“can without discommoding the vessels you go in. I shall”
“do everything in my power that all these goods be secured”
“to you, and that you are not molested in carrying them off ;”
“also, that whole families shall go in the same vessel, and”
“make this remove, which, I am sensible, must give you a”
“great deal of trouble, as easy as his majesty’s service will”
“admit ; and hope that, in whatever part of the world you”
“may fall, you may be faithful subjects—a peaceable and”
“happy people. I must also inform you, that it is his”
“majesty’s pleasure that you remain in security under the”
“inspection and direction of the troops that I have the honor”
“to command.” And he then declared them the king’s prisoners.

The whole number of persons collected at Grand pré finally amounted to 483 men and 337 women—heads of families, 527 boys and 576 girls,—in all, 1923 souls. Their stock consisted of 1269 oxen, 1557 cows, 5007 young cattle, 493 horses, 8690 sheep, 4197 swine. Some escaped to the woods, but all possible means were resorted to, to recapture them ; and it is said the country was laid waste to deprive them of subsistence. In the district of Mines alone, 255 houses, 276 barns, 155 out-houses, 11 mills and one church, are stated to have been destroyed during the evacuation ; and by September 10 these prisoners were embarked in the transports. [1 *Haliburton’s history*, pp. 175, 332, &c., where the speech and several letters are given.] On the day of the meeting in the church, Winslow issued a proclamation, declaring all the property, landed or moveable, of the inhabitants, forfeited, and forbid any one touching it without orders ; and another order, that the French should all be in their quarters in the church at tattoo, and in the day time should not walk beyond his quarters on the East. A serjeant and 12 men to patrol round the church constantly, and all centinels to be doubled ; and he adds this to the record of his orders :—P. S. Sept. 5. The

French people not having with them any provisions, and many of them pleading hunger, begged for bread, on which I gave them, and ordered that for the future they be supplied from their respective families. Thus ended the memorable fifth day of September, a day of great fatigue and trouble. J. W.

Captain Murray had, on the 5 Sept'r., got 183 men into his possession, and looked for more from distant rivers. He sent father le Blanc's son to Winslow to accompany his parent. On the 8th. he wrote to colonel Winslow thus :

Dear Sir. I received your favour, and am extremely pleased that things are so clever at Grand Pré, and that the poor devils are so resigned ; here they are more patient than I could have expected for persons so circumstanced, and what still surprises me, quite unconcerned. When I think of those at Annapolis, I appear over thoughtful of summoning them in ; I am afraid there will be some difficulty in getting them together. You know our soldiers hate them, and if they can but find a pretext to kill them they will. I am really glad to think your camp is so well secured, (as the French said at least a good prison for inhabitants.) I long much to see the poor wretches embarked, and our affairs a little settled, and then I will do myself the pleasure of meeting you, and drinking their good voyage, &c. &c.

Meanwhile the progress of this business was more difficult in the vicinity of Chignecto. Serious resistance was made to the forces sent out to destroy the villages. Major Fry, with capt. Brentnall, Thomas Speakman, Mr. Endicott, Dr. March, lieut. Billings, and 200 men, embarked on board the sloop York, capt. Cobb, and the schooner Warren, capt. Adams, and the same evening landed at Chippoudie, a village 8 leagues up the river, having instructions to bring off all the inhabitants and set fire to the houses. Upon their first landing they marched with an advance and two flank guards to the village, but found all the inhabitants were fled, except 25 women and children, who were taken prisoners. They set fire to the buildings, and burnt down 181 houses and barns, with all the hay, grain, &c., therein. After this they proceeded to the mass house, which, with what was therein, was burnt to ashes.

Then putting the prisoners on board one of the transports, they embarked again on 3 Sept. Two of the officers, with 62 men, were ordered to Petitcoudiak, and having landed within sight of the armed vessels, they found the houses entirely evacuated ; and by the first of September they laid the buildings in ashes for 15 miles in length, on the Northerly side of the river, and about 6 on the other side ; and when they came in sight of a *Mass house*, they discovered foot tracks lately made, and soon after perceived a smoke. The mass house being close to a wood, they posted proper guards, and as they were preparing to fire the house, a signal gun was fired by the enemy, and before the guards and the few men with them could repair to the main body, they found themselves almost surrounded by them ; upon which they were obliged to rush through them as well as they could, firing their pieces and receiving their fire ; and while thus retreating, the Indians gained ground—killed doctor March, who acted as a leader contrary to orders, and lieut. Billing, and ten more were wounded, and five or six privates killed. But a serjeant, with six men, coming from a copse of wood, stopt their pursuit, so that the rest of our men gained the dyke and secured their retreat. All this time it was impossible for major Fry to come to their assistance, on account of the rapidity of the river, being driven by the current three-fourths of a mile below the intended landing place ; but landing the rest of his men as soon as he possibly could, he drew up the whole body and made a stand. Upon this the enemy, commanded by Boishebert, likewise drew up in a body, besides the dykes being lined with Indians, and parties (supposed to be upwards of 300) scouting in the woods ; but they were not inclined to engage the English forces in an open manner, tho' with such a number they might have done almost as they pleased. At high water the two armed vessels got in as near the shores as they safely could, and, covering each of the flanks, sent their boats to take the men on board, the vessels, during the embarkation, firing their cannon, and keeping the rebels off. The French acknowledge only one Indian killed and 3 wounded. 253 houses and barns, besides

the mass house, were burnt. [*See London Magazine*, 1755, p. 627. 1 *Haliburton*, 336, 337.]

Lieut. governor Lawrence wrote, 18 Oct'r., to the lords of Trade. He states that, tho' every means was used to point out to the deputies their true interest, and sufficient time given them to deliberate, nothing could induce them to acquiesce in any measures consistent with H. M. honor and the security of the province. He says: "We easily foresaw that a driving them out by force of arms to Canada or Louisbourg, would be attended with great difficulty, and if it had succeeded would have reinforced those settlements with a very considerable body of men, who were ever, universally, the most inveterate enemies to our religion and government, and now highly enraged at the loss of their —. The only safe means that appeared to us of preventing their return or their collecting themselves again into a large body, was distributing them among the colonies from Georgia to New England. Accordingly vessels were hired at the cheapest rates. The embarkation is now in great forwardness, and I am in hopes some of them are already sailed, and that there will not be one remaining by the end of the next month. As soon as the French are gone, I shall use my best endeavours to encourage people to come from the continent to settle their lands, and if I succeed in this point, we shall soon be in a condition of supplying ourselves with provisions, and I hope, in time, be able to strike off the great expence of victualling the troops. This was one of the happy effects I proposed to myself from driving the French off the Isthmus; and the additional circumstance of the inhabitants evacuating the country will, I flatter myself, greatly hasten this event, as it furnishes us with a large quantity of good land ready for immediate cultivation—renders it difficult for the Indians, who cannot, as formerly, be supplied with provisions and intelligence, to make incursions upon our settlers, and I believe the French will not now be so sanguine in their hopes of possessing a province that they have hitherto looked upon as already peopled for them, the moment they could get the better of the English. As the three French priests, messrs. Chauvreulx, Daudin and Lemaire, were of no

further use in this province after the removal of the French inhabitants, admiral Boscawen has been so good as to take them on board his fleet, and is to give them a passage to England."

Father Germain had gone to Quebec, while M. Boishébert was left on the river St. John to collect and unite the Acadians in that quarter. Vaudreuil calculated on many advantages to be derived from Boishébert being in command on the St. John. In his letter to M. de Machault, of 18 October, referring to Boishébert's position, he says : " He will occupy himself in like manner to reunite the Indians, and will form an equally considerable corps of them ; he will correspond with M. Manach, missionary of Miramichi, and according to the exigency of the case, will join the Indians of that mission to his own, to oppose the progress of the enemy. He will be in a position to have spies constantly at Beauséjour and Halifax, and to make some prisoners, who will inform him of the situation and strength of the English." " He will be able to organize parties of Acadians and Indians, to continually harrass the enemy at Beauséjour, and to prevent them cutting firewood. By holding the river St. John, I shall be able to obtain news at all times from Louisbourg ; and it will be necessary only to cross from the island of St. John to Chedaik, or, after having crossed the gut of Canso, to keep along the coast to Chedaik or Cocagne."

Governor Lawrence, in his letter to Sir Thomas Robinson, of 10 Nov'r., 1755, explains the movements of the *deserted* French inhabitants who left the English side of the Missiguash and swore allegiance to the king of France, and being joined by other Acadian French, who took refuge under the protection of fort Beauséjour, were reckoned at 1400 men, capable of bearing arms. They had before that sworn allegiance to the English king, with a reserve of not bearing arms. After the fall of Beauséjour, it being found that the rest of the French inhabitants were as far from loyalty as the deserters, the resolution to banish them all was taken. The greater part of them, if not the whole, had then sailed. He proposes in the spring to repair and garrison the fort at St. John's river,

The vessels employed in transporting the French Acadians were 17 in number, paid by Apthorp and Hancock, in which 2000 or 3000 persons were carried to the other colonies, 50 of whom were sent direct from Halifax to North Carolina. On the 8 Sept'r., 1755, major general Johnson, (Sir W^m.), nephew of admiral Warren, gained a victory over general Dieskau, near lake George, (lac du St. Sacrement.) Johnson is said, by the French accounts, to have had 3000 men, while the French troops were 222 regulars, 600 Canadians and 760 Indians, (total 1582 men.) John Herman Dieskau, major gen'l., was wounded, and made prisoner. He died in 1767, at Surene, in France, in consequence of the wounds he received in this engagement. 6 or 7 officers and 83 men of the French forces were killed, and 130 wounded. On the English side, Johnson was wounded, 40 Indians and 130 English killed, and 60 wounded.

In closing the account of this eventful year, the English colonist can look back with deep satisfaction at the fall of Beauséjour, a fortress erected in defiance of every principle of fairness, justice, and international law ; but in the melancholy fate of the French Acadians, removed by force, scattered in strange lands, among an uncongenial people, the retrospect is anything but agreeable. While we see plainly that England could never really control this province while they remained in it, all our feelings of humanity are affected by the removal itself, and still more by the severity of the attendant circumstances. Sent to the other colonies without any previous consent on their part to receive them, and with little or no provision made for their support when they arrived there,—scattered among communities to whom their religious worship was odious, and deprived of all their property without compensation, it is not to be wondered at that the poet and the novelist have made capital of their sufferings. They were the victims of great error on their own part, and of delusive views that false friends had instilled into their minds, and the impulses of national ambition and jealousy precipitated their fate. It is, however, some consolation to know that very many of the exiles returned within a few years to their native land, and though not restored to their original farms, they became an

integral and respected portion of our population, displaying, under all changes, those simple virtues that they had inherited—the same modest, humble and peaceable disposition, that had been their early attributes. On many parts of our Atlantic shore—in Cape Breton, in Prince Edward Island, and the Magdalen islands, and in portions of New Brunswick, the Acadian French still exist in considerable numbers, and tho' most of their gentry left the province at Nicholson's conquest, we have yet among us lineal descendants of the great Latour in the female line, in the family of Dentremont, and other branches. The love of country must have been strong indeed in the Acadians to induce them to return at the first opportunity and begin the world anew, without money or patronage, and to build up, by patient industry and economy, communities, prosperous and valuable, such as, for example, the settlements of the district of Clare.

“ However rugged be the strand,
 “ I love, I prize my native land.
 “ On no compulsion would I change
 “ For fairer clime or wider range.
 “ Here where my infant joys were found,
 “ To me is ever holy ground.
 “ My country ! how can I unfold
 “ The love I bear thee, words are cold.”

1755. 30 December, lieut. colonel Montague Wilmot, and Charles Morris, esq'r., were appointed members of the council, and took the oaths and their seats. The other members present were mess^{rs}. Collier, Cotterell, Monckton and Rous.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XX.

(I.)

[The scroll or draft of this in ms. is endorsed “ to the governors on the continent.”]

Halifax, Nova Scotia, 11th Aug., 1755.

Sir. The success that has attended his majesty's arms in driving the French out from the encroachments they had made in the province, furnished me with a

favorable opportunity of reducing the French inhabitants of this colony to a proper obedience to his majesty's government, or of forcing them to quit the country. These inhabitants were permitted in quiet possession of their lands, upon condition they should take the oath of allegiance to the king within one year after the treaty of Utrecht, by which this province was ceded to Great Britain; with this condition they have ever refused to comply, without having (at the same time) from the governor an assurance in writing that they should not be called upon to bear arms in the defence of the province, and with this general Philipps did comply, of which step his majesty has disapproved; and the inhabitants therefrom pretending to be in a state of neutrality between his majesty and his enemies, have continually furnished the French and Indians with intelligence, quarters, provisions and assistance in annoying the Government; and while one part have abetted the French encroachments by their treachery, the other have countenanced them by open rebellion; and three hundred of them were actually found in arms, in the French fort at Beauséjour, when it surrendered.

Notwithstanding all this former bad behaviour, as his Majesty was pleased to allow me to extend still further his Royal grace to such as would return to their duty, I offered such of them as had not been openly in arms against us, a continuance of the possession of their lands, if they would take the oath of allegiance, unqualified with any reservation whatever. But this they have audaciously as well as unanimously refused; and if they would presume to do this when there was (is) a large fleet of ships in the harbor, and a considerable land force in the province, what might we not expect from them when the approaching winter deprives us of the former, and when the troops, which are only hired from New England occasionally, and for a short time, have returned home.

As by this behaviour the inhabitants have forfeited all title to their lands, and any further favour from the Government. I called together his Majesty's council, at which the Hon. Vice Admiral Boscawen and Rear Admiral Mostyn assisted, to consider by what manner we could, with the greatest security and effect, rid ourselves of a set of people who would for ever have been an obstruction to the intention of settling this colony, and that it was now, from their refusal of the oath, absolutely incumbent upon us to remove.

As their numbers amount to near seven thousand persons, the driving them off, with leave to go whithersoever they pleased, would have doubtless strengthened Canada, with so considerable a number of inhabitants; and as they have no cleared land to give them at present, such as are able to bear arms must have been immediately employed in annoying this and the neighboring colonies. To prevent such an inconvenience, it was judged a necessary and the only practical measure to divide them among the colonies, where they may be of some use, as most of them are healthy, strong people; and as they cannot easily collect themselves together again, it will be out of their power to do any mischief, and they may become profitable, and, it is possible, in time, faithful subjects.

As this step was indispensibly necessary to the security of the colony, upon whose preservation from French encroachments the prosperity of North America is esteemed, in a great measure, dependant, I have not the least reason to doubt your Excellency's concurrence, and that you will receive the inhabitants I now send, and dispose of them in such a manner as may best answer (our design) in preventing their reunion.

As the vessels employed in this service are upon monthly hire, I beg the favor

of you to expedite, as much as possible, their discharge, and that they may be furnished with a certificate of the time thereof, agreeable to the form enclosed.

I am, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

CHAS. LAWRENCE.

For his Majesty's especial service.

To the Hon. Arthur Dobbs, Esq., captain general and
commander-in-chief of his Majesty's province of
North Carolina, in America, or to the commander-
in-chief of the said province for the time being.
North Carolina.

(2.)

(*From Thatcher's History of the town of Plymouth. Boston, 1835, pp. 142, 143.*)

Speaking of General John Winslow, a descendant of the early governors of that name in New England, he says :—

“In 1740 he commanded a company in the expedition against Cuba, and afterwards rose to the rank of major-general in the king's service.” That as colonel, he was second in command in the expedition under Monckton, in 1755; that “so great was the popularity of colonel Winslow, that in an incredibly short” “time he raised for this expedition 2000 men.” That “in 1756 he commanded” “at Fort William Henry, on Lake George. He was also a counsellor of the” “province” (of Massachusetts.) “He died at Marshfield in 1774, at the age” “of 73.” That he resided several years in Plymouth. That he was remarkable for his skill in horsemanship. That he left two sons, Pelham and Isaac, both attached to the Royal cause in the American revolution.

CHAPTER XXI.

1756. The governor and council at Annapolis in the period during which it was the capital of the province, had occasionally passed ordinances. These were either temporary regulations to regulate the trade in grain of the bay of Fundy, or else local rules affecting the people of the village. After the government was established at Halifax, many important laws were passed by the governor and council, some of which imposed duties on trade, to raise a revenue. It seems that some person had questioned their power of legislation, for we have the opinion of the attorney and solicitor general of England, Murray and Lloyd, dated 29 April, 1755, who, having considered the governor's commission and royal instructions, and the observations of Jonathan Belcher, esq'r., the chief justice, gave their opinion, "that the governor and council alone are" "not authorized by his majesty to make laws. Till there can" "be an assembly, his majesty has ordered the government of" "the infant colony to be pursuant to his commission and" "instructions, and such further directions as he should give," "under his sign manual, or by order in council." [1 *Chalmers' Opinions*, 261, 262.] This official decision appears to have made the constitution of a representative assembly a desirable proceeding to meet the requirements of the times. Such an idea at all events prevailed, but governor Lawrence was not over anxious to forward this view. In his letter to the lords of trade, 8 Dec'r., 1755, he says, very truly, that the question of the validity of these ordinances is altogether a point of law. He asserts that the laws passed were chiefly such as were

indispensably necessary for the good regulation of the town of Halifax, and encouragement of its commerce. The merchants and people concerned had never questioned the authority of these enactments. He says that laws were passed in Virginia in the same manner prior to the convening an assembly. He refers them to the 86th. instruction, and shews it cannot be practically complied with, as there is but one township (Halifax), erected. The chief justice's proposition to elect twelve members at Halifax, (as a county election), for the province, he thinks would give the merchants the whole power, and exclude the landed interest. If ordered, he will punctually execute instructions on this matter, but states that the expence of a house for the assembly to meet in—payment of their clerk and officers, must be provided for, as the people here are not able to defray these charges.

Mr. Green, one of the council, was, in January, at Boston, instructed to communicate with governor Shirley on the affairs of Nova Scotia. Lawrence wrote to Shirley at this time, that the sentiments of the latter concerning the French inhabitants had turned out to be directly just in every particular, and that they proved to the very last the faithless and perfidious wretches he had always described them, and would certainly, in case of a rupture with France, have worked out the destruction of the province, had they been suffered to remain in it. He had instructed Green to propose to Shirley the re-peopling the evacuated lands in Nova Scotia with Protestants from the continent, and the fortifying the river St. John. Lawrence was called on by the Massachusetts assembly and government to indemnify them for expences they incurred in receiving and supporting the French Acadians. On the 10 Feb'y. parliament voted £55,032 19 0 for the support of the colony of Nova Scotia. This sum does not include charges of forces and garrisons. Shirley tells Lawrence that the New England people are accustomed to be ruled by a governor, council and assembly, and to charter constitutions; that publication of the terms on which they are to be encouraged to settle, and protection from French or Indian enemies, will be all that can now be done to induce them to migrate to Nova

Scotia. He also asks to have 2000 stand of arms returned. Shirley, after the death of Braddock, was commander-in-chief of the army, and was now engaged in plans for a new campaign on the Canadian borders. The earl of Loudon was made governor of Virginia and commander-in-chief in North America.

One of the transport vessels that sailed from Annapolis Royal, bound for Carolina, with thirty-six families of Acadians, numbering 226 persons, was taken possession of by her passengers, and carried into the river St. John. In February, Lawrence sent a party of Rangers in a schooner to St. John, the men clothed like French soldiers and the vessel wearing French colors. His intention was to obtain intelligence, and, if possible, to bring off some of the St. John river Indians. The officer in command of the schooner found the English transport there, and would have brought her off, had not their disguise been rendered useless by an accident. The French, finding they were foes, set fire to the ship, and some shot were exchanged. They brought back with them one Acadian Frenchman, whom they took by a stratagem. There were no Indians there at the time, part of them being with Boishébert, at Gedaique, (Shediac), and the rest at Pasimaquadie. Up the river, at a place called St. Anns, there was a French officer, with about twenty men. Lieut. colonel Scott, at Chignecto, went with a strong detachment after Boishébert, who was at head of some Acadians and Indians. Not finding him where expected, he was returning to his fort, and was attacked in the rear on his march, and lost two men of the Regulars. He had reason to believe that the enemy lost six or seven Indians in this skirmish. A schooner, belonging to Mr. Winniett, carrying six guns and having a crew of ten men, McNeale, master, bound from Boston to Annapolis Royal, laden with provisions for the garrison, in which captain-lieutenant Martin, of the artillery, was going to his duty at the fort, was surprised and captured by the Indians, (in February), at Pasimaquadie, where she lay at anchor. At this time it was estimated that about five hundred of the French inhabitants were lurking about in the woods in Nova Scotia, and an attack on Anna-

polis in the spring, by French and Indians, was projected and rumored. Shirley urged on governor Lawrence to send an expedition in the spring to drive the French from the river St. John, and to build a fort 90 miles above the mouth, where the French held their upper post. The two Massachusetts regiments were now preparing to return home from Nova Scotia, and Massachusetts could not send aid, as they were raising a large body of men for an expedition on the continent in the coming summer.

Early in April, a battalion of general Shirley's New England regiment, under command of major Jedediah Prebble, lay in Halifax harbor, embarked in two schooners and ten sloops, and a detachment of 37 officers and men of the artillery in another sloop. The New Englanders were on their return to Boston, the term of their enlistment having expired, and the artillerymen were to be taken to New York, to join general Shirley. This flotilla were to sail under convoy of H. M. S. Vulture, John Scaife, commander. As there were many French Acadians in the neighborhood of cape Sable and port Latour still unremoved, governor Lawrence ordered them to put into cape Sable or some of the adjoining harbors on their way to Boston. Prebble was directed to land troops—seize as many of the inhabitants as possible, and carry them to Boston. He adds: "You are, at all events, to burn and destroy the" "houses of the said inhabitants, and carry their utensils and" "cattle of all kinds, and make a distribution of them to the" "troops under your command, as a reward for the perform-" "ance of this service, and to destroy such things as cannot" "conveniently be carried off."

Governor Lawrence had obtained from the two New England regiments, raised the year before for the siege of Beauséjour, one hundred and eight men, who took service in the regular troops in Nova Scotia; but as the assembly of Massachusetts disapproved of this, and governor Shirley, as commander-in-chief, objected, he was obliged to discharge these men again. One of the New England battalions had left this province, and the other was (28 April) waiting only for transports. The troops he had left (being under 2500) were: but enough to,

protect Halifax, Lunenburg, Annapolis and Chignecto. The escaped Acadians, under Boishébert, were still lurking about the North side of the bay of Fundy, but Lawrence could not prudently send out detachments to check them. In his letter of 28 April to the lords of trade, he tells them that the different provinces to which the French inhabitants were sent, had received them, and that his orders to major Prebble to destroy the French settlement at cape Sable and carry off the inhabitants, had been executed. Three men of the 40th. regiment (Hopson's) were sentenced 15 April, hanged 17 April, and their bodies hung in chains. They had seized on a schooner, and endeavored to take her to Louisbourg.

The fort at *baie Verte* had been re-named Fort Monckton. On the 26 April, lieutenant Bowen was out from this fort with a party of 30 men, in order to get wood. They were attacked by a body of Indians, who killed and scalped nine of the men, and wounded another. Colonel Scctt, who commanded at Beauséjour, sent 200 men of his own (New England) battalion to *baie Verte*, with a serjeant and ten men of the regulars. He replaced the men that were killed, and caused three weeks' supply of wood for fort Monckton to be laid in. On 27 April, the Indians killed one of the regulars, and carried off one of the irregulars. These two men had strayed beyond their limits down to the side of the river Tintamarre, opposite West-coque, about the break of day. Scott proposed to raise two companies of rangers from amongst his men, with 25s. bounty per man, a dollar to the enlisting officer—to serve for eighteen months, and found it indispensable to offer them payment for prisoners and scalps. About 20 had enlisted, after two days' consideration. Scott offered them £25 for each male Indian prisoner above 16 years old—£20 for Indian female prisoner—£20 for the scalp of a man, and £10 for child prisoner. He engaged to ask the governor to raise the price of scalps, and to grant similar bounties for Acadian prisoners or their scalps, "as they now act in conjunction with the Indians."

The horrors and atrocities of this kind of warfare were not confined to the Isthmus. A gentleman named Payzant came to Halifax in 1754, with a recommendation to Lawrence, then

president, from Mr. Pownal, secretary to the lords of trade. (I find in the London magazine for 1757, among the deaths, ' July 23. James Payzant, esq : a clerk in the secretary of state's office, aged 100.) Mr. Payzant decided on settling with his family in the vicinity of the new German town of Lunenburg, and Lawrence gave him a letter to colonel Sutherland, who commanded there, requesting that he should be favored and protected in his design. Payzant established his residence, building a house on an island in Mahone bay, a delightful region, not far from another island then called Rous island, on which there was also a settlement belonging to capt. Rous. A party of Indians went to Rous's island—took off a boy, whose hands they tied, and forced him to guide them to Payzant's place, the islands being numerous, and then probably all covered with wood. They killed and scalped Payzant himself, a woman servant and a child—carried off Mrs. Payzant and four children, and also killed and scalped the boy guide. The man who lived on Rous's island was also found scalped. It was the practice of the Indians then to carry any prisoners whose lives they spared to Canada, where they were disposed of for a money ransom, which the humanity of the French inhabitants or the policy of the Quebec rulers provided ; and after years of exile, the survivors got back to the British colonies, on exchange of prisoners, re-payment of ransom, or at a general peace. In this instance, one, if not more, of the four children of Payzant were, after a long time, restored to Nova Scotia. A son of this family got back from Canada, and in after life was a religious teacher of great piety and virtue at Liverpool, Nova Scotia, and the name is still found in the province, growing in esteem.—On Friday, 14 May, the lieutenant governor assembled his council at his own house, in Halifax, at which ~~messrs~~ Green, Cotterel, Rous, Collier, Monckton and Wilmot, met him. He laid before them the letters he had received from Scott and Sutherland, detailing the circumstances of the Indian warfare, and they resolved to offer bounties for Indian prisoners and scalps.

The following is re-printed from one of the placards then issued :

[ROYAL ARMS.]

BY

CHARLES LAWRENCE, Esq;

Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Province of
Nova-Scotia, or Accadie.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS notwithstanding the gracious Offers of Friends'hip and Protection made by us, in his Majesty's Name, to the Indians inhabiting this Province, and the Treaty of Peace concluded with a Tribe of the Mickmacks, bearing Date the 22d November, 1752, the Indians have of late, in a most treacherous and cruel Manner, killed and carried away divers of his Majesty's Subjects in different Parts of the Province.

FOR these Causes We (by and with the Advice and Consent of His Majesty's Council) do hereby authorize and command all Officers, civil and military, and all His Majesty's Subjects, to annoy, distress, take and destroy the Indians inhabiting different Parts of this Province, wherever they are found; and all such as may be aiding or assisting to them, notwithstanding the Proclamation of the 4th of November, 1752, or any former Proclamation to the contrary.

And We do hereby promise (by and with the Advice and Consent of His Majesty's Council) a Reward of *Thirty Pounds* for every male Indian Prisoner, above the Age of Sixteen Years, brought in alive; for a Scalp of such Male Indian *Twenty-five Pounds*, and *Twenty-five Pounds* for every Indian Woman or Child brought in alive: Such Rewards to be paid by the Officer commanding at any of His Majesty's Forts in this Province, immediately on receiving the Prisoners or Scalps above mentioned, according to the Intent and Meaning of this Proclamation.

Given at Halifax, this 14th Day of May, 1756, in the 29th Year of His Majesty's Reign.

By His Excellency's Command,

Chas. Lawrence.

Wm. Cotterell, Secr.

G O D save the K I N G.

Halifax: Printed by J. Bushell, Printer to the Government. 1756.

This paper was about 12 inches long by five inches wide.

It is not the duty of the historian to aggravate and color darkly the errors, the severities, or even the crimes he relates, Human nature is too open at all times to the influence of passion, the seductions of ambition, and the prejudices of party and faction. It is impossible to read the solemn orders for destroying and annihilating the homes and their surroundings of our fellow creatures—the forcible capture and removal of families—the rewards in money to the soldier for the scalp of an enemy, and many other proceedings of those in authority.

at this period, without strong sensations of pain and disgust. Those who were called savages, destitute of the supposed advantages of civilization and learning, which are said to humanize and soften the feelings, no doubt, in their attacks on the English, whom they were zealously and systematically instructed to believe not only enemies to themselves but hostile to their great French king and father, and to the religion they had been taught, did not stay much in their career, when on the war path, to enquire into the doctrines of Grotius or Puffendorf as to the duties and rules that should govern belligerents. They only made war agreeably to the ancient practice and habit of their tribe. The same thing cannot be said in mitigation of the conduct of the Europeans. English and French alike adopted the Indian plan of scalping, and added to it a refinement unknown to the Indians, in giving a pecuniary recompense for the scalp of an enemy. This brought into active play one of the lowest, meanest, and most brutalizing features of humanity—a miserable avarice—a thirst of gain, to be acquired by cruelty, and spent most probably in the most degrading sensual pursuits. Nothing could be calculated to lower and disfigure the character of the soldier more, than this appeal to his selfishness and his basest appetites. While, however, we pass in review the acts of those who dwelt in our country a century ago, let us not for a moment suppose that the harsh proceedings of that day which jar upon our sensitive modern nerves have become obsolete. Many occurrences in the wars which sprang out of the French revolution—of the American war of independance—of that of the Crimea, and more especially the destruction of property and homes, and other cruel incidents, which the recent civil war in the United States produced, and the recent contests in China, New Zealand and Jamaica, are distinct proofs that, however men fancy they have improved and become pacific and humane, there is still ample room left for the destructive and cruel part of our nature to develope itself. In disapproving, therefore, as we occasionally may, of the line of conduct pursued by our forefathers and their contemporaries—weighing their actions coolly at a distance from the excitement and

tumult in which they lived, we may rightly say this was just and that was indefensible ; but we must always bear in mind that the same passions of the heart, and impulses or errors of the understanding, that may have occasionally caused them to pass beyond the true line of demarcation between right and wrong, are equally close to us as causes of error and delusion.

On the 18 May, war was declared in a formal manner in London and Westminster against the French king. The "usurpations and encroachments made by" the "French" "upon" the English "territories and the settlements of" "British" subjects "in the West Indies and North America," "particularly in" the "province of Nova Scotia," were placed in the first paragraph of the declaration, dated Kensington, 17 May, as causes of the war. The French king's declaration of war was dated Versailles, 9 June.

In connection with the affairs of this continent, we may mention that Mr. William Johnson, a native of Ireland, the nephew of Sir Peter Warren, who had settled in the Western part of the state of New York, and was equally successful as a lawyer, a merchant and a soldier, was, in 1755, made a baronet. He possessed the confidence of extensive Indian tribes in that region. His victory 8 Sept'r., 1755, near lake George, over general Dieskau, obtained him this rank. [*See London magazine*, 1755, p. 550—1756, p. 432.]

(A son of the hon. Mr. Morris had received a commission in the 45th. regiment from general Shirley. This young man died 22 May, 1756, and lieut. governor Lawrence, 29 May, requests general Shirley to grant the vacant commission to Alexander Morris, a brother of the deceased officer, stating that Mr. Morris, the father, was very deserving, and had been warmly recommended to him, Lawrence, by Shirley, and made a councillor in consequence.)

The four governments of New England, and that of New York, had agreed to raise forces to attack Crown Point. By the last of May they had assembled eight thousand men for this purpose, at Albany, thirteen hundred of whom were furnished by the province of New York ; and as men were continually joining, they reckoned on the total number soon

reaching 9000. The English regiments, 44th. 48th. 50th. and 51st.—three independant companies, and the Jersey provincials, were destined for the campaign on lake Ontario, and mostly marched for Oswego, thence to be carried over in 200 whale boats, which were then at the lakes. They were to attack fort Frontenac, and other French posts on the lakes. Upwards of 2000 batteau men were employed to navigate the *batteaux*, each one ton burthen, loaded with provisions and stores. They were to proceed from Albany up the Mohawk river, then through Oneyda lake and river, down to Oswego. Three hundred sailors were hired and sent up from New York to Oswego to navigate four armed vessels on the lake, built the year before, of 150 tons each, and two more were building. This little army was about 3600 men, not including officers. Pennsylvania had voted £100,000, and raised 1500 men, but they were acting only on the defensive. Maryland had voted £40,000, and Virginia £45,000. This activity and zeal in the provinces was undoubtedly owing to the skill and perseverance of general Shirley, the governor of New England, a gentleman who displayed the highest administrative ability in both civil and military affairs; and though he had no opportunities of distinguishing himself in the field, yet, by his prudence, forethought and perseverance, effected as much, if not more, for the preservation of our colonies and the extension of British dominion on the continent, than any other person in the service of the crown in those times.

15 June. The governor and council, at the request of colonel Sutherland, authorized the erection of a block-house at Lahéve river, and of another half way between that and Mushamush, at which latter place a private one had been already erected, (probably that of Ephraim Cook.) Rations were granted to such of the Germans as would occupy these posts. Mushamush, I believe, is the charming little village and harbor called formerly Mahone bay, and lately named Kinburn. 22 June. Twenty-nine French prisoners, taken on board the Pontchartrain, were confined on George's island. The names seem to be all German.

In the spring of this year many of the Acadian families

who had fled, found their way in vessels from Miramichi to Quebec, and those who remained in Nova Scotia caused a memorial to be presented in July to M. de Vaudreuil, in the following terms : ‘ The inhabitants of all Acadie, represented by their deputies, have the honor to expose to you ‘ their melancholy fate, and that into which they are ready to ‘ fall, if you do not hold out the hand of succor. Can you, my ‘ lord, fail to feel affected by their lot, scattered here and there, ‘ persecuted by the English, deprived of all asylum, it seems as ‘ if nature regards them only as the object of public vengeance. ‘ They beg you to observe that the sole cause of their misery ‘ is their exclusive attachment to France, and their character ‘ of subjects of that crown, which the English have been unable ‘ to constrain them to renounce. Brought up by their fathers ‘ in uniform sentiments of attachment to their king, whose ‘ kindnesses they have, on different occasions, experienced, ‘ can they, without failing in duty to their religion and to themselves, give in to the terms exacted of them, especially at a ‘ time when France in arms takes openly the part of avenging ‘ them. The inhabitants of Mines, those of Beaubassin, those ‘ of the rivers, are either straying in the woods or prisoners in ‘ the hands of the English. It is a rare thing to find a family ‘ actually reassembled, and there remains for those who are ‘ collected together only the desire of revenging themselves. It ‘ depends on yourself alone to put arms in their hands, but of ‘ favor grant them provisions, so that, all united together, they ‘ may place themselves under the laws of a king who becomes ‘ dearer to them by the visible protection with which he honors ‘ them. Do not their actual misery, that which they have done, ‘ and their constant refusal to obey the English, speak in their ‘ favor ? and do they not destroy the bad impressions that some ‘ persons have tried to give you against them in the business of ‘ Beauséjour ? Observe, my lord, their perplexity at that critical period : alternately intimidated and caressed by an English ‘ army superior to the French forces, they dared neither to act ‘ or speak. Besides, why were they not led against the enemy ? ‘ It is true they were not inured to war. Your petitioners, to ‘ the number of 3500, have retired to Miramichi, because they

' think it the only place where families may more easily reassemble, and where they may subsist better by aid of the fishery. ' For this reason they beg for provisions ; but as in this critical ' time it does not seem possible to send provisions sufficient for ' so many people, they pray you will give them plenty of pease ' and beans, and a very little of flour and meal, as the fishery ' and chase will help them much. My lord, the inhabitants only ' insist on staying at Miramichi, as they foresee the removal of ' such a number of people this year is almost impossible, and ' their settling here will be advantageous to Canada ; but they ' would apprise you that the Micmacs are very bad neighbours, ' although directed by M. de Ménac, (*the priest elsewhere called ' Manach.*) They destroy everything. On this account they ' beg you will send to Miramichi a person of probity,' (*hard to find at that time in Quebec, if the stories against Bigot, &c., are to be credited*), ' who can make a just distribution of provisions, ' as they do not wish to have any business with this missionary. ' M. de Boishébert has promised to stop with them, but on condition that he shall not have anything to do with these Indians. ' If provisions were sent to these Micmacs, or they were sent ' elsewhere, the French would not be injured more than the ' English have been by them, as thieving and idling are their ' characteristics.' They concluded their memorials by praying that no difference should be made between them and the other subjects of the king of France.

Père de la Corne, a Récollet, had been the predecessor of Ménac in this mission. He acquired the nickname (*soubriquet*) of *capitaine Jean Barthe*. (Barthe was a naval officer of great activity, who died in 1702.) La Corne was not only a clergyman, but also a merchant. He used to come to Quebec to sell his goods and take back returns. He owned and acted as master of a schooner employed in this business. When he had amassed a large sum of money, and on pretence of ill health left his mission, returned to France, where, by the use of money, he got rid of his convent and his vows, and became quite a lady's man. Ménac, his successor, had been missionary at *baie Verte* before the capture of Beauséjour, and subservient to le Loutre.

Brossard, called Beausoleil, fitted out a privateer in the bay of Fundy, and took some English vessels. Boishébert attacked the English in *baie Verte*—burnt a vessel of 200 tons they had on the stocks, and a schooner close by at anchor—killed seven Englishmen, and made one prisoner.

I am sensible that many of the details respecting the French inhabitants and the proceedings of French officers that I have introduced, are comparatively uninteresting to the English reader, who naturally feels a desire to hear of his ancestors of his own race and nation. It would, however, be a very defective history of Nova Scotia which omitted to give a distinct and clear view of the adventurers of 1605, and of all the French who were actively connected with Acadie from that time until the last remnant of their Empire, was abandoned in America by the peace of 1763.

On tuesday, 15 June, 1756, Robert Grant, esquire, by a *mandamus* from the king, was sworn in as a member of the council of Nova Scotia.

Governor Lawrence, having received information that many of the French inhabitants who had been removed the year before, had procured small vessels and embarked on board them, in order to return to Nova Scotia by coasting from colony to colony, and that several of them were actually on their way, addressed a circular letter to all the English governors on the continent, dated Halifax, 1 July, 1756, begging them to take measures to frustrate this design, by destroying any vessels prepared or in use for such a purpose, assuring them that the return of those people would be likely to prove fatal to his majesty's interest in this part of the world. On 7 July, Lawrence writes to colonel Webb, who had arrived at New York early in June, and taken command of the troops till lord Loudon should come out. He explains how short he is of men since the New England troops left, insomuch that he has been unable to send a detachment to drive the French from the upper post on the St. John, or to repair and garrison the fort at St. John harbor, at the mouth of the river, and shows him that he cannot spare a man. Lieut. governor Spencer Phips, of Massachusetts, published a proclamation for raising

forces to defend the colonies against the French, at the expence of the crown. The recruits were not to be obliged to serve out of North America, and to be free from their engagement when hostilities should cease. Each man was promised 300 acres of land in New York, New Hampshire, or Nova Scotia, at his choice. The irregulars of New England still in Nova Scotia were offered, if they would remain on duty there for six months longer, the choice of lands in *Nova Scotia*, New York, or New Hampshire, viz. : to a colonel, 1000 acres ; lieutenant colonel or major, 750 : captain, 500 ; lieutenant or ensign, 400 ; private soldier, 200.

26 July, the earl of Loudon, commander-in-chief, arrived at New York. John Campbell, 4th, earl of Loudon, baron Mauchlane, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, and F. R. S., was born in the year 1705, and succeeded to the title on the death of his father Hugh, the 3rd. earl, in November, 1731. On the landing of the Pretender, in Scotland, in 1745, the earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he raised for the crown a regiment of Highlanders, of which he was appointed colonel in April. On the approach of the enemy, however, he abandoned his position, and retired to the isle of Skye, without making scarcely any show of resistance, [*Smollett.*] He was elected one of the sixteen Scotch peers in four successive parliaments. His regiment having been broke in 1748, his lordship became colonel of the 30th. of foot, 1 November, 1749, major general on the 17 February, 1755, and on the 25 Dec'r., 1755, was appointed colonel of the 60th. or Royal American regiment, which was to be raised in Virginia, of which province he was appointed governor in February, 1756, when he also became commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces in North America. He sailed in the latter end of May for this country, where he arrived in the latter part of July, 1756. His career in America was distinguished mainly by inefficiency, and his military operations confined principally to the celebrated "Cabbage planting expedition," at Halifax, 1757, so that, though promoted to the rank of lieutenant general in January, 1758, not only his military skill but his courage and integrity were questioned. It is, therefore, not surprising to

learn that "the multitude shouted at the news of his being recalled to England" in the course of the latter year. In 1763 or 1764 he was appointed governor of Edinburgh castle, at a salary of £300 a year, and on the 30 April, 1770, became colonel of a regiment of Foot guards, (Scotch), and a general in the army. His lordship died, unmarried, at Loudon castle, Ayrshire, on the 27 of April, 1782, aged 77 years. [*New York Documents, vol. 7, p. 36.*]

On the 3 July, a party of English, under colonel Bradstreet, who had left Oswego in batteaux, were attacked by the French force, viz.: 180 regulars, 400 Canadians, and over 100 Indians. The action lasted two hours, and the English had 60 or 70 killed and wounded, but claimed a victory.

The private ship *Seaflower*, (a sloop, Wm. Knox, master), was commissioned by the lieutenant governor to cruise on the Eastern coast, against the enemy.

Royal commissions were received, appointing Charles Lawrence captain general and governor in chief, and Robert Monckton lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia. The council being convened at the court house, in Halifax, on Friday, 23 July, 1756, the commissions were publicly read, and Lawrence and Monckton sworn in. After which, messrs. Monckton, Belcher, Green, Collier, Cotterell, Grant, Morris and Willmott, were sworn in as councillors, the usual proclamation adopted requiring officers to continue. An address of congratulation from the council to his excellency was presented, to which he made a suitable reply.

Lieutenant governor Phips wrote to Mr. Lawrence, Boston, 23 July, 1756, that seven boats, with about ninety of the French Acadians, had coasted along shore from Georgia or South Carolina, and put into a harbor in Massachusetts. Phips had ordered the boats and people to be secured, and three or four of the latter to be sent on to Boston, to be examined. He complains that more of these people had been received and supported already by Massachusetts than their proportion; and in a subsequent letter, of 6 August, presses on Lawrence the claims of Massachusetts to be indemnified, (which the governor and council engaged to do, 16 Aug't.), and further

states that these people had a passport from the governors of Georgia, South Carolina, and New York. (Hon. Spencer Phips, lieutenant governor of New England, adopted son of Sir W. Phips, died in 1757.) Lawrence sent major Hale, of the 47th. regiment, to Louisbourg, with a letter, dated 2 Aug't., 1756, addressed to *le baron de Drucour*, governor of cape Breton, requesting the exchange of Mr. Martin, capt. lieut. of artillery, captured the autumn before by the Indians, under a French officer at Passamaquadie, where he had taken shelter from bad weather. Lawrence thinks that war had been declared, and requests Drucour to propose terms for a cartel of exchange of prisoners. The French man-of-war, the *Arc en Ciel*, M. Belingant, commander, had been brought in as prize to Halifax. The captain and officers are destitute of funds and credit, and Lawrence can only supply them with the ordinary rations for prisoners. He therefore suggests that Drucour should send them letters of credit, as they have requested him. 27 July, 1756. Commodore Holmes, in his own ship, the Grafton, with the Nottingham, and the Hornet and Jamaica, sloops, had an engagement with the French ships Heros, 74, Illustrious, 64, and two frigates, of 40 and 36 guns respectively, off Louisbourg. Holmes obliged the French to sheer off, and drove them back into Louisbourg harbour, whence they had come that morning.—In August, Lawrence was carrying on the works at George's island with all possible despatch. Lord Loudon had summoned all the governors of the British American colonies to meet him at New York this fall, and Lawrence gives this as a reason to the lords of trade why he postpones carrying into effect their order to call an assembly in the province.

The English had established a very strong post at Oswego, on the river Chouaguen, on the shores of lake Ontario. They had three forts there—old fort Oswego, fort Ontario, and fort George. It was a point for collection of military stores, from which they were to prepare detachments against the French posts at Niagara and Frontenac. In March, the French destroyed an English fort in this vicinity, and in June they captured some vessels there. The marquis de Montcalm

having with him a force of about 3000 men, (of whom 1300 were regulars), approached the English garrison cautiously, sending two vessels, one of twelve and the other of 16 guns, to cruise off Oswego, and posting a chain of Canadians and Indians on the road between Oswego and Albany, to intercept couriers. On the 10 August, his vanguard arrived at a creek within half a league of Oswego, and there erected a battery on lake Ontario. The 11th. and 12th. were employed in making gabions, saucissons, and fascines, and in cutting a road across the woods from the place of landing to the place where the trenches were to be opened. The second division arrived on the 12th. in the morning, with the artillery and provisions, which were immediately landed. Tho' dispositions were made for opening the trenches at night, it was midnight before they could begin the trench, which was rather a parallel of about 100 toises in front, and opened at a distance of 90 toises from the fossé of fort Ontario, in ground embarrassed with trunks of trees, &c.

This parallel being finished at five in the morning, the workmen began to erect the batteries. The fire of the enemy, which had been very hot from day break, ceased at six in the evening. They evacuated the fort, and retired across the river Oswego. Montcalm immediately took possession of fort Ontario, and ordered the communication of the parallel to be continued to the bank of the river, where, the beginning of the night, he began a grand battery, placed in such a manner that it could not only batter fort Oswego and the way from thence to fort George, but also the entrenchments of Oswego.

On the 14 August a body of Canadians and savages crossed the river, some by swimming, and others by wading, with the water up to their middles, in order to invest and attack the fort on the side of the woods. This bold action, by which the communication between the two forts was cut off—the celerity with which the works were carried on in ground that the English thought impracticable, and the fire of a battery of nine guns, forced the English to hang out a white flag.

By virtue of the capitulation, that garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and the French immediately took possession of

Oswego and Fort St. George, which they entirely destroyed, agreeably to their orders, after removing the artillery, warlike stores, and provisions. There were at Oswego seven armed ships, viz.: one of 18 guns, one of 14, one of 10, one of 8, and three others mounted with swivels, besides 200 batteaux of different sizes, the officers and crews of all which were included in the capitulation. The English had 152 men killed or wounded; colonel Mercer, the commander, is of the number of the former. The French, as they stated, had only one engineer, one Canadian, one soldier, and one gunner killed, and 20 slightly wounded. They made 1600 prisoners, including 80 officers. These are Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, and a part of Schuyler's regiment of militia. They found in the forts 121 pieces of artillery, 55 of which are cannon of different bores, and 14 mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition and provision.

On the 9 August, war was publicly declared against France, at Halifax.—Two of the transports employ'd to carry off the French Acadians, had gone with them to the West Indies. The owner, capt. Cook, claimed freight, alleging that they had been obliged to take that course by stress of weather, and the papers being regular, the demand was paid.—In consequence of the fall of Oswego, it was determined by the governor and council, on 15 September, that the two small forts on the Isthmus be forthwith destroyed, and their garrisons placed in fort Cumberland, (Beauséjour.) Governor Lawrence writes to Mr. Fox, 3 October. He says the Indian and French inhabitants that are still lurking about in the woods never fail to fire upon parties sent out for the service of the forts, and a few men have been thus lost. The fall of Oswego put a stop to the enterprise against Crown point, which had been planned by Shirley, and was now expected to be carried on by his successor, lord Loudon.

The Acadians continued to get along the coasts of America towards their ancient homes; and besides those who had been detained at Boston, a second party were stopped in their progress through the province of New York. Lord Loudon at this time invited all the British governors of the continent to

an interview with him at New York, and Sir Charles Hardy, the governor there, invited Lawrence to stay with him, offering him an apartment in Fort George.—Sir William Shirley withdrew finally from Massachusetts in September, 1756—arrived in England 30 October, and was made governor of Bahamas. He returned in 1779 to Roxbury, Mass., being honorably poor, and died at that place in April, 1771. On the 26 October the governor and council decided to address commodore Holmes, and request him not to remove the squadron of the navy. The vessels under his command had from time to time visited *baie Verte* and St. John's river, and the French had not attempted to re-establish the old fort at the latter place. Fort Gaspereaux, in *baie Verte*, was burnt and evacuated on the 12 October.

In November, Lawrence had given up his intention of going to New York to meet lord Loudon. Chief justice Belcher had returned from a visit to New England—the session of the supreme court had terminated, and the governor and council were about to take into consideration the business of a house of representatives, as recommended to them. Lawrence apprehends great difficulties in this affair. He says he knows not of one instance wherein his majesty's subjects have been in the least molested in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties to the full extent under the present form of government. He, as governor, has endeavored to give satisfaction to every person. He cannot redress grievances of which he never was informed, nor conjecture reasons that the *petitioners* could state to shew the inconveniences they suffer for want of an assembly. Many who were forward to have an assembly in the time of his predecessor, Cornwallis, now seem to think it would at present serve only to create heats, animosities and disunion, when the enemy is at the door, and unanimity is essential to safety and defence. He suggests that there will be malevolent and ill-designing people under any government, who will misrepresent affairs from selfish views. He thinks the well disposed people here have no uneasy feeling under the present form of government, as they have never signified anything like it to him, and if any of them have joined in the

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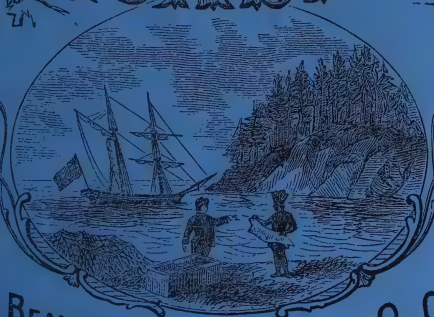
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HOLLIS ST.

PROVINCE OF NOVA-SCOTIA:

Be it remembered, That on this Thirteenth day of March, 1865, BEAMISH MURDOCH, of the City of Halifax, Esquire, has deposited in this Office, the title of a Book, the Copyright of which he claims in the words following:—
“A HISTORY OF NOVA-SCOTIA OR ACADIE, BY BEAMISH MURDOCH, ESQUIRE, Q. C.

JAS. H. THORNE,
Deputy Secretary.

petition, that they have been led into it thro' inadvertency and the specious pretences of designing men.

Lawrence sent lieut. colonel Wilmot with 200 men, to fort Cumberland, to strengthen the garrison there. On the surrender of Beauséjour, there was no building of any consequence left standing, except one for officers' quarters, which was unroofed, and general repairs and alterations were required in the fortifications. Most of this repair, and the buildings required, (guard houses, store houses, hospital, magazine, &c.,) were completed by this time. The materials had to be brought from Boston and Halifax, and artificers from New England. The curtain, ditch, covert way, glacis and palissadoes, on the side of attack, were finished, and a gateway and drawbridge remained to be completed.

At this time, the sloop York, captain Cobb,

“ schr. Monckton, Solomon Phips, master,

“ snow Halifax, captain Taggart,

“ sloop Ulysses, captain Rogers,

were in the employ of the provincial government.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXI.

7. *Pennsylvania Records, p. 239, &c.*

At a council held at Philadelphia, Friday, 2 September, 1756 :—

“ A petition was presented to the Governor, in Council, by the neutral French, which was read, in these words :—

To His Excellency William Denny, esquire, Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c. &c.

My Lord—

Inasmuch as your Excellency has been pleased to manifest to us all the goodness that we could desire, particularly in assuring us that we should not stand in want of any necessary, we apprehend at this time of pressing necessity, we cannot do better than to address ourselves to your Excellency.

“ The honorable gentlemen to whose care you have committed us, have assured us that that money which, by charity, had been provided for our subsistence, was expended on our account. In the melancholy situation to which we are now reduced, we must inevitably perish, we and our unhappy families, except your Excellency gives orders to the contrary, which we beseech you will please to do,

by giving orders that we may be maintained as prisoners ought to be : Nevertheless, as we doubt not but that we are a burthen to this Government, we beseech your Excellency would please to cause us to be carried in our own country, or that we be suffered to join our nation in the same manner which it has pleased his majesty, king George, (whom may God preserve), to cause us to be transported here contrary to our will.

“ We have been told by several gentlemen that provisions were withheld from us, because we have refused to accept of several things which have been offered us, such as a Garden, a Cow, &c. Its true we did refuse them, as we apprehended it was contrary to common right to oblige such prisoners as we are to take engagements against their wills, which, we must acknowledge to your Excellency, has appeared to us in some degree hard, inasmuch as Mr. Lawrence, Governor of Nova Scotia, assured us, before his Majesty’s Council, that he took us prisoners of war in the same manner as the French were made prisoners, who had then been taken on board the *Lys* and the *Alcide*, two French vessels, which were taken by Admiral Boscawen ; and Governor Lawrence further promised us, that we should be carried amongst our own people, (i. e. the French.) Notwithstanding if your Excellency cannot cause us to be transported to our country, we beseech that we may enjoy the same privilege which prisoners have always enjoyed, viz., : to furnish us with what is necessary to keep us alive, and not to let us perish whilst we are detained here against our will. It is very hard for us, my lord, to see that substance taken from us which has been granted to us by his Majesty, paying him the customary dues, and which we have improved by the sweat of our brows ; we say, my lord, its very hard to see ourselves deprived of this substance, notwithstanding the most solemn promises, and to find ourselves transported into strange lands, and there suffered to perish. We have been allowed by the Commissioners a pound of bread and half a pound of meat a person each day, but if this is wholly taken from us, we must inevitably perish if you do not help us.

“ Many of us had yet a little money, but it is now expended, having been employ’d in such refreshments which were necessary for the better subsistence of our families, so that we are ready to perish except assisted by your Excellency, or that at least you would be pleased to order that vessels suitable to our unhappy situation be provided, that so that we may be sent back either to our own country or to our country people. These are the sincere and ardent desires of those who are, with the deepest respect, my lord, your humble servants,

Pierre Doucet.	Joseph Tibaud.
Pierre Melanson.	Philip Melanson.
Jean Doucet.	Charles le Blanc.
Pierre Aucoin.	Simon Babin.
Baptiste Tibaud.	Pierre Landry.
Daniel le Blanc.	Paul Bourg.
St. Pierre Babin.	Pierre Babin.
Charles le Bruice.	Mathurin Landry.
Paul Bujauld.	Baptiste Babin.
Olivia Tibaud.	Paul le Blanc.

“ Then the governor informed the house that, at the instance of the Speaker and some members of the assembly, he had conferred with them on the claims

set forth in this petition, they having alledged in a petition of the same tenor to the assembly, that they were and ought to be treated as prisoners of war, and not as subjects of the king of England ; and on reading Governor Lawrence's letter, which was delivered to the late Governor by the captains who imported them here, and the proceedings respecting those neutrals in Carolina, and the other Governments ; and on considering the treaty of Utrecht in the articles of the cession and surrender of Nova Scotia, the Governor and Council were unanimously of opinion that they were subjects of Great Britain, and to be treated on that footing and no other ; whereupon the Governor sent the following verbal message by the secretary to the speaker :

"The Governor directs me to inform the speaker and the committee that it is the unanimous opinion of the council and himself that the French prisoners should not be treated as prisoners of war. That he recommends it to the house to provide for them in such a manner as they shall think fit. That it might be better they should be more generally dispersed and settled as far from the frontier as possible.

"Governor Lawrence's letter is sent to shew the house under what circumstances the neutrals came here.

2d. September, 1756.

"In the conference with the members of assembly, the Governor was requested to recommend it to the assembly of Newcastle, to take and provide for a proper quota or part of these neutrals, and to pray the same of the Governor of Jersey, with respect to his assembly."

CHAPTER XXII.

1757. Mr. Belcher, the chief justice, had returned to the province, and took his seat in council, and the oaths, on 3 Dec'r., 1756. Governor Lawrence then laid before the board his correspondence with the lords of trade, concerning a house of representatives, and desired the advice of the council. They met and consulted, 3, 6, 8, 10, 21, 24, 29 and 30 of December, saturday, 1 January, 1757, and on monday, January 3, adopted resolutions on the subject. The governor, lieutenant governor Monckton, chief justice Belcher, and messrs. Green, Collier, Grant and Morris, were present at their meetings, but Lawrence was not present at that of 3 January. Their resolutions were in substance—

“ That there shall be elected for the province
at large, until the same shall be divided
into counties,

		12 members.
For the township of Halifax,	4	“
“ “ Lunenburg,	2	“
“ “ Dartmouth,	1	“
“ “ Lawrence town,	1	“
“ “ Annapolis Royal,	1	“
“ “ Cumberland,	1	“
	—	
	22	“

This house, together with the governor or commander-in-chief for the time being, and H. M. council, to be stiled the General Assembly.

The bounds of the above named townships were pointed out. When 25 qualified electors shall be settled at Pisiquid, Minas, Cobequid, or any other townships which may hereafter be erected, each of the said townships so settled shall, for their encouragement, be entitled to send one representative to the General Assembly, and shall likewise have a right of voting in the election of representatives for the province at large.

That the house shall always consist of at least 16 members present, besides the speaker, before they enter upon business.

Members and voters must not be Popish recusants, nor under the age of 21 years, and must each have a freehold estate in the district they represent or vote for.

Voters, if required, must take the usual state oaths and the test : a qualification oath was also prescribed.

The governor is to issue a precept to the provost marshal or sheriff of the province, to summon the freeholders and hold the elections. The first precept to be made returnable within 60 days from its date."

The above are the chief features of the plan, but it contains several other regulations.

It is gratifying at this distance of time, over a century having elapsed, to notice the attention and care bestowed by the men of that day on the frame of a representative government. Every existing and prospective interest was cared for sedulously ; local representation secured ; the principles of English constitutional law guarded, especially in limiting the vote to those who had a direct connection with the land as freeholders ; and an arrangement adopted for the expansion of the assembly as new townships and settlements should arise. The election of 12 members, being more than half of the whole number, by the settlers of the whole province, was something original and anomalous, but, doubtless, under all the circumstances, a wise measure. The light taxation—the great economy, and honest application of provincial revenue—the steady improvement in roads and bridges, and the integrity that have all been habitual in our public affairs, and which yet give our little province honor and distinction, as well as the general loyalty and union of our people down to the present

time, may be attributed justly to the serious deliberations of the governors and council of 1756-1757, and their desire to promote the welfare of the province. They laid an excellent foundation for a free government. The experience and sentiments of New England had, no doubt, much weight in their consultations. Mr. Belcher combined the Bostonian with the learned student of the Temple—the aristocratic feeling with a profound respect for the democratic element of British law. Messrs. Green and Morris were also from New England. Lawrence, Monckton and Collier, were English. Many changes and some improvements in our constitution have since been adopted. Religious prejudice has disappeared, and with it test oaths, and other barriers between neighbor and neighbor. The broad rule of universal suffrage has extended the responsibility of government to all the governed ; but after all our modifications, we must not forget that the elements of civil liberty were planted broad and deep amongst us by the men of the eighteenth century. As all human institutions and arrangements partake of the imperfections of man, we must not be surprised to find that, in representative governments, tumults, passion and party views occasionally disturb the working of the machinery—that popular excitements and restless demagogues sometimes induce doubts in the reflective mind of the real blessings of liberty ; while on the other hand, influence, private ambition and pitiful subserviency may give to a country with a free constitution the aspect of servility, sycophancy and slavery. But all these oscillations proceed from the people themselves, and not from any defect in the principles of free government. They also are evidently short-lived evils, and rarely last long enough to inflict a permanent injury on the constitution. Viewing the whole century in which the people of Nova Scotia have had a representative government, we may conclude that it has been a blessing, the value of which can hardly be overrated.

Our poor Acadians turn up again in Pennsylvania. We find 18 January, 1757, “ A bill for binding out and settling such ” “ of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, imported into this province, as are under age, and for maintaining the aged, sick ”

"and maimed, at the charge of this province," passed into a law. Here we find these unfortunate beings, who had been living in comfort if not in affluence, exposed to the chill charities of the people of Philadelphia, and the children separated from the parents.

In February, Thomas Pownal, esq., governor of New Jersey, was made governor of Massachusetts, in the room of governor Shirley; colonel Charles Lawrence made colonel of the 60th. regiment, and colonels Hopson and Cornwallis made major generals.

Lord Loudon now laid a general embargo on all shipping from Virginia, New England, New York and Pennsylvania. [*London magazine*, 1757, p. 258.]

In March, a large force of French and Indians attacked fort William Henry, unsuccessfully.

In May, bounties were granted at Halifax for sowing land in grass,—for stone fences,—for raising grain or potatoes, on the peninsula of Halifax. 1s. per quintal for codfish, &c.—A destructive fire occurred in Halifax this spring. In May, Mr. Pernette contracted to make a road from Mush-a-Mush (now called Mahone bay or Kinburn) to Halifax, 50 miles in length and 10 feet wide, for £300.

In January, M. Boishébert, with a few French soldiers and 1500 Acadians, were at Miramichi. He was aided greatly by pere Germain, a Jesuit. This priest, the reverend Charles Germain, was a missionary among the Abenakis, on the river St. John, as early as 1745. He was at Beaubassin in 1746, and also in 1756. He removed to Miramichi, where he was in 1757 and 1758, and finally retired to St. Francis, in Lower Canada, where he died 5 Aug., 1779. [*New York Col. Doc's.*, p. 547, &c., v. 10.]

In April, admiral Holborn sailed for America, with a large squadron, 11 ships of the line, 50 transports with 6200 soldiers, who were commanded by general Hopson.

On the 30 June, lord Loudon, with transports from New York, arrived at Halifax. At Louisbourg there were at that time eighteen French men-of-war. They were thus confident of safety. M. Dubois de la Mothe was there in command;

also the chevalier de Grasse, (afterwards count and marquis de Grasse Tilly.) On 9 July, admiral Holburne, with the fleet and transports under his command, arrived at Halifax. 16 July lord Loudon had complained that fever was spreading among his troops from the rum sold them by unlicensed retailers, and the governor and council ordered all liquors held by merchants and traders to be secured in the king's stores without delay.

In July, a detachment of 350 English, from fort William Henry, went out to attack the French advanced guard at Ticonderoga, but they were surprised on their way, at lake George. 160 were killed or wounded, and most of the remainder made prisoners. The English took about thirty men in another skirmish previously. On 2 August, Montcalm besieged the fort, with 5500 French and Canadians and 1806 Indians. The garrison were 2400 strong, under col. Monroe. On the 9 August the garrison capitulated, obtaining the honors of war. 13 were killed and 40 wounded of the French, and 41 killed and 71 wounded of the English. The garrison were to go to the English fort Edward, and not to serve in this war for 18 months. [10 *N. York Doc's.*, pp. 621-625.] After the surrender, the Indians attacked the English, killing about 20 men, and carrying off many.

When admiral Holburne got to Halifax in July, the troops were landed to refresh themselves. Several small vessels from Louisbourg brought information that the French there were superior in ships, and nearly equal in troops. The councils of war held here fluctuated much in their plans, as they believed or doubted the reports of the vessels and of deserters from the French. At length it was determined to try the event, and 12000 men had been already embarked, when letters, that had been found in a captured French packet bound from Louisbourg to France, disclosed the facts that there were there 6000 regular troops, 3000 inhabitants and 1300 Indians, in all 10,300, with 15 men of war, of which 3 were 84's, 6 were 74's, 8 64's, one 50, and 3 frigates. The English fleet had but 15 sail of the line, and one vessel of 50 guns, few of which were equal to the French vessels in guns, weight of shot, or number of men. On this the expedition was abandoned.

Lord Loudon garrisoned Halifax with three battalions, and sent two to the bay of Fundy. He then sailed for New York on 16 August, with the rest of his troops, with the professed view of protecting the frontier, but before he got there fort William Henry had surrendered. Admiral Holborne sailed on the same day, and arrived 20 August, off Louisbourg, and finding the French fleet there superior, and disposed to attack him, he returned to Halifax. Having been joined by two ships of 70 guns, and two of 60, he sailed 11 Sept'r. for Louisbourg again, but found the French naval force was undiminished, and continued to cruise for some time in that direction until the 24 September, when, being about ten leagues South of Louisbourg, a terrible storm damaged and dispersed his fleet. Eight got safe to Portsmouth, with the exception of one missing and two wrecked; the rest got to New York, much damaged. The French of cape Breton saved the lives of 200 men of the Salisbury. Three of the French men-of-war were driven from their moorings by this storm, (which lasted 14 hours), in Louisbourg harbor.

25 August, it was resolved to withdraw the soldiers from Lawrencetown, and the settlers left it also, owing to constant apprehension of the enemy. In September, Jonathan Belcher, governor of New Jersey, formerly governor of Massachusetts from 1730 to 1741, and father of chief justice Belcher of Nova Scotia, died at Elizabethtown, N. J.—The small pox prevailed at Halifax in this month.—In Virginia, many persons were killed and others carried off from Cedar and Stony creeks. Some of the murders took place within thirteen miles of lord Fairfax's house. 28 Sept'r., hon. Robert Monckton was made colonel of the 60th. regiment. Governor Lawrence was sent, by order of lord Loudon, to the bay of Fundy, to relieve the garrisons and put them in good order, and lieutenant governor Monckton administered the government in his absence, in Sept. and Oct. Lord Loudon had left at Halifax for that place and for Lunenburg the three regiments formerly there, also the Royals. Bragg's regiment to be posted at Chignecto, and Kennedy's regiment at Annapolis and Piziquid. In October, 17 French ships of the line still continued to ride at anchor

in Louisbourg harbor until the end of the month, when they all sailed, except two ships of the line and one frigate. On the 1 November Lawrence got back to Halifax.

The successes of the French on lake Ontario, and their heavy armament at Louisbourg, had paralysed the English military power on this continent. The projected enterprises against Canada had been tacitly abandoned, and the movements of lord Loudon's forces carried dismay, not among the enemy, but among our own colonists. Apprehensions of attack prevailed everywhere in this province. Fears for the safety of Halifax, and the security of the other armed posts, were dominant. Lawrencetown, we have already noted, was abandoned. At Lunenburg the settlers were compelled to do much militia duty, and this, together with the scanty crops that a remarkably dry, hot season suffered them to gather, left them still dependant on supplies of government provisions for subsistence, although in 1756 a party of 50 (fifty militia, who went from Mush-a-Mush, inland) had captured 60 or 100 French cattle at Mines. Governor Lawrence commends their industry in the highest terms. In his letter to the lords of trade, of 9 November, he says that the addition of the three regiments make the demand for fuel so great that it was found impracticable to get wood sufficient, most of the laboring people having taken to privateering, (there were 39 privateers at this time belonging to New York alone), and he was under the necessity, though against the former orders of their lordships, to open the coal mines near Chignecto, without doing which, the three garrisons in the bay of Fundy, having a considerable force, would have been rendered untenable in the winter. Proposes to have these mines worked in future, 'as the price of fuel is' 'now grown to such an enormous height,' much saving would arise in supplying the troops. Explains that cutting firewood does not promote cultivation, or add to the value of the land. Lawrence had been to Boston, and found parties in New York were planning a settlement at cape Sable, but now had dropped the project, as the attack on Louisbourg not taking place created fear. From his knowledge of Chignecto, and the bay of Fundy in general, he says at least 20,000 families might be

commodiously settled in the districts of Chignecto, Cobequid, Piziquid, Mines and Annapolis ; and if peace were restored, substantial and useful settlers would flock hither from every part of the American continent. The people of cape Cod are very desirous to settle at cape Sable. He has no personal knowledge of the place, but believes it may be suitable for a flourishing fishery. He then refers to the affair of calling an assembly as a question of great importance, but which has embarrassed him more than any other. The state of the times and the unpeopled condition of the evacuated settlements, "the most knowing—the most substantial, and the truest well wishers of the colony," see objections to its present adoption. When he was among the people of New England last winter, he took every occasion of discovering their sentiments on this subject, as it had been reported that it was principally owing to the want of a house of representatives that the evacuated lands were not already settled. This idea, he found, had no foundation. On the contrary, they thought it chimerical to call a house of representatives under existing circumstances. After further reasoning against this measure, he says that the military duties, &c., had made it impossible during the past year ; but if their lordships direct him now to go on with it, he will at once execute the plan formed for that purpose last winter. "I am this moment informed by admiral Holburne, that he proposes to take his departure for England in a few days time, and to leave eight ships, the remainder of his squadron to winter here for the protection of the colony."

In December, 1757, major general James Abercrombie was made commander-in-chief in North America, and colonel-in-chief of the Royal American regiment, consisting of four battalions, of 1000 men each. Lord viscount Howe, Edward Whitmore and Charles Lawrence, were made brigadier generals in America only ; and John Bradstreet, deputy quarter master general.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1758. When the earl of Loudon left Halifax, the military command in this province devolved on major-general Hopson. Several colonial promotions occurred in January, 1758. Lord Loudon was made a lieutenant general ; Paul Mascarene and William Whitmore, majors general ; George Haldane, governor of Jamaica ; Francis Bernard, of New Jersey ; Francis Fauquier, lieut. governor of Virginia ; Thomas Hutchinson, lieut. governor of Massachusetts, and Robert Monckton, lieut. colonel commandant of the Royal American regiment.

On the 2 January, some arms having been stolen from the army and secreted at Halifax, governor Lawrence issued a warrant to William Foy, esq., the provost marshal of the province, to search for them. On the 4 February, major general Hopson complained that a secret and treasonable correspondence was carried on between some people in Halifax and the French at Louisbourg, and that the house of one Thos. Poor, in Halifax, and its dwellers, were suspected of this, and of furnishing intelligence to the enemy. Lawrence gave his warrant directing Foy, the provost marshal, to enter Poor's house at 10, P. M., that evening—to arrest all persons found there, seize papers, open locks, &c. We find no trace of further results of this affair ; and 22 March, lieut. governor Monckton writes to the right hon. William Pitt that everything remains in a state of tranquillity in this province. Not long after, the people of Lunenburg were much alarmed by movements of the Indians, and the farm settlers there requested the aid of government in

putting up block-houses between every ten families for additional security, by finding them boards and nails only. This request was granted by the lieutenant governor and council, saturday, 22 April. At the same meeting a demand from the government of Massachusetts, for £394 16s. 8½d., Mass. currency, "expended by them for supporting a number of the" "French neutrals, who had coasted it thither from the South-ern colonies," was advised to be paid.

M. Beaussier had sailed from Brest, for Louisbourg, with 5 men-of-war and 16 transports, with 1270 soldiers, and great quantities of ammunition and provisions.

On monday, 8 May, a fleet arrived at Halifax from England, commanded by the hon. Edward Boscawen, who had been appointed admiral of the blue in February, under whom was Sir Charles Hardy, knight, made at the same time vice admiral of the white. There were many ships of war and transports. This armament was destined to besiege Louisbourg. Amherst was to be the military chief. 15 May, captain Fesch, 3 batt. Royals, was sent with a detachment to Lunenburg, to relieve captain Sutherland and the troops there.

In the midst of all the hurry and excitement of the war, the preparatory measures for our representative assembly were adopted. On the 20 May, 1758, saturday, a council was held in Halifax, at the governor's house, at which there were in attendance the governor, Lawrence, the lieut. gov'r. Monckton, Jonathan Belcher, John Collier, Montagu Wilmot, Benj. Green, Robert Grant and Charles Morris. The settlers at Lunenburg had suffered much from the enemy recently, by the interruption of their industry, and some of them were killed and others taken prisoners. An order was made to purchase out of the prizes in the harbor, or otherwise, 50,000 lb. pork, 14,000 lb. beef, and 136,000 lb. flour, for their use, and besides to give them rations of flour until July, 1759. The governor communicated to the council a letter of the board of trade, dated 7 Feb'y., 1758, approving, with some alterations, of the plan adopted by the council 3 Jan'y., 1757, respecting the General Assembly, on which the governor and council came to the following resolutions :

“That a house of representatives of the inhabitants of this province be the Civil Legislature thereof, in conjunction with H. M. governor or commander-in-chief for the time being, and his majesty’s council of the said province.”

“The first House to be elected and convened in the following manner, and to be stiled the General Assembly, viz. :

“That there shall be elected for the province at large, until “the same shall be divided into counties, sixteen members ; “for the township of Halifax, four ; for the township of Lunenburg, two.”

“That until the said townships can be more particularly “described, the limits thereof shall be deemed to be as follows, viz. :

“That the township of Halifax comprehend all the lands “lying southerly of a line extending from the westernmost “head of Bedford Bason across to the northeasterly head of “St. Margaret’s Bay, with all the islands nearest to the said “lands, together with the islands called Cornwallis’s, Webb’s, “and Rous’s islands.”

“That the township of Lunenburg comprehend all the lands “lying between Lahave river and the Easternmost head of “Mahone Bay, with all the islands within said Bay, and all the “islands within Mirliguash bay, and those islands lying to the “Southward of the above limits.”

“That when fifty qualified electors shall be settled at Pisi- “quid, Mines, Cobequid, or any other townships which may “hereafter be erected, each of the said townships so settled “shall, for their encouragement, be entitled to send two repre- “sentatives to the General Assembly, and shall likewise have “a right of voting in the election of representatives for the “province at large.”

“That the house shall always consist of at least eleven “members present, besides the speaker, before they enter “upon business.”

“That no person shall be chosen as a member of the said “house, or shall have a right of voting in the election of any “member of the said house, who shall be a Popish recusant, or “shall be under the age of twenty-one years, or who shall not,

“at the time of such election, be possessed, in his own right, “of a freehold estate within the district for which he shall be “elected, or shall so vote ; nor shall any elector have more “than one vote for each member to be chosen for the province “at large, or for any township, and that each freeholder pre- “sent at such election, and giving his vote for one member for “the province at large, shall be obliged to vote also for the “other fifteen.”

There were several other regulations, among which are that the electors, if required, are to take “the usual state oaths,” “and declare and subscribe the test ;” and a qualification oath is prescribed, in which the possession of a freehold, a negation of bribery, &c., are contained.

The provost marshal or sheriff of the province is to hold the election, giving 20 days previous notice.

The precept is to be made returnable on the 2nd. October next. The election for each township is to last two days, and that for the province at large four days.

In case of two months’ absence of a member from the province, the governor may, if he think necessary, issue a writ to choose another in his place.

The council give as a reason for the late date of convening the first assembly, that the governor and lieutenant governor were both immediately to leave the province to go on the expedition against Louisburg, and that the time appointed will be more convenient for the inhabitants than at present.

A question was made by messrs. Green and Belcher, as to which of them were entitled to administer the government in the absence of the governor and lieutenant governor, Mr. Green claiming under H. M. instructions as the eldest resident councillor. They desired the decision of his excellency and the council, and retired. It was decided that Mr. Belcher had the right. On the 22 May, governor Lawrence wrote to the lords of trade, that general Amherst had not yet arrived here, and brigadier Whitmore had committed to him entirely the conduct of the preparations necessary for the expedition. That he, with the council, had corrected the former plan for calling an assembly, in the particulars their lordships had pointed out

for amendment, and that he had issued a writ for convening an assembly on the 2nd October next. He has left their directions as to settling the vacated lands to be considered by the council in his absence. The colliery cannot be undertaken now, as troops will be wanting to protect the workmen.

Boscawen's Fleet, now at Halifax, (May, 1758.)

Namur,	90,	{ admiral Boscawen, }	Capt. Buckle.
Royal William,	84,	{ v. admiral Hardy, }	Evans.
Princess Amelia,	80,	{ com'dore. Ph. Durell, }	Bray.
Dublin,	74,		Rodney,
Terrible,	74,		Collins.
Northumberland,	70,		Lord Colville,
Vanguard,	70,		Swanton.
Oxford,	70,		Spry.
Burford,	70,		Gambier.
Somerset,	70,		Hughes.
Lancaster,	70,		Hon. G. Edgcumb.
Devonshire,	66,		Gordon.
Bedford,	64,		Fowke,
Captain,	64,		Amherst,
Prince Frederick,	64,		Man.
Pembroke,	60,		Simcoe.
Kingston,	60,		Parry.
York,	60,		Pigot.
Prince of Orange,	60,		Ferguson.
Defiance,	60,		Baird.
Nottingham,	60,		Marshall.
Centurion,	54,		Mantell.
Sutherland,	50,		Rous.

Being 23 ships of the line. There were also 18 frigates, viz. : the Juno, Diana, Boreas, Trent, Grammont, Shannon, Hind, Port Mahon, Nightingale, Kennington, Squirrell, Beaver, Hunter, Scarborough, Hawke, Etna, Lightning, Tyloe. The whole fleet, including probably a hundred transports, amounted

when they left Halifax, to one hundred and fifty-seven vessels of all descriptions.

The soldiers under general Jeffery Amherst, with whom were Wolfe, Lawrence, &c., were 11,936 foot, and 324 of the train of artillery,—total, 12,260. We have no official list of the regiments employed, but from the return of killed and wounded officers, and other sources, we find that there were all or portions of the 1st Royals, 17th Forbes', 28th Bragg's, 35th Otway's, 40th Hopson's, 48th Webb's, 58th Anstruther's, 45th Warburton's, 63rd Fraser's Highlanders, besides the regiments of 47th Lascelles, Amherst, 60th Monckton's Royal American, Whitmore's, five companies of Rangers, and some artillery.

The forces defending Louisbourg were:—*Naval*: President, 74; Entreprenant, 74; Capricieux, 64; Celebre, 64; Bienfaisant, 64; Apollon, 50; Diana, 36; Echo, 26; and three frigates, the Chevre, Biche and Fidelle. *Land forces*: 24 companies of the marine, and 2 companies artillery; 2nd battalion Volontaires Etrangers; 2nd batt. regiment of Cambise; 2nd batt. regiment of Artois; 2nd batt. regiment of Bourgogne. The soldiers were over 3000 in number. There were also about 700 Canadians.

On Sunday, the 28 May, admiral Boscawen set sail from Halifax with the fleet and troops, and general Amherst met them coming out of the harbor, colonel Monckton being left in command at Halifax. Bragg's regiment from the bay of Fundy joined the expedition in a number of sloops the same day. The English were actuated to more ardor than ever, by the desire to wipe off the supposed disgrace of the taking of Minorca by the French not long before. On 2 June, friday, the fleet, with about a third of the troops, anchored in Gabarus bay. Most of the transports got in the next day, but the surf and the fogs made a landing quite impracticable until tuesday, 8 June. Before break of day, the troops were assembled in the boats in three divisions. About sunrise, the Kennington and Halifax snow, on the left, near Kennington cove, began to fire, followed by the Grammont, Diana and Shannon, frigates, in the centre, and the Sutherland and Squirrel on the right,

near White point. When the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats upon the left rowed into shore, under the command of brigadier general James Wolfe, whose detachment was composed of the four eldest companies of grenadiers, followed by the light infantry, (a corps of 550 men, chosen as marksmen from the different regiments to serve as irregulars under command of major Scott, major of brigade. They were dressed some in blue, some in green jackets and drawers, for the easier brushing through the woods, with ruffs of black bear skin round their necks, their beard let grow on their upper lips ; they wore little round hats like seamen, and carried each a fusil, cartouch box and powder horn.) Then came the companies of Rangers, supported by the Highland regiment, and those by the eight remaining companies of grenadiers. Lieutenants Brown and Hopkins, and ensign Grant, with about one hundred light infantry, gained the shore, over almost impracticable rocks and steeps, to the right of the cove. General Wolfe, on this, directed the remainder of his command to push on shore. Light infantry, Highlanders and grenadiers rushed on intermixed. Twenty-two grenadiers were drowned by their boats being stove. Among the foremost was Wolfe, who jumped out of his boat into the surf, under a heavy fire of the enemy. The division on the right, under the command of brigadier general Whitmore, consisted of the Royals, Lascelles, Monckton's, Forbes', Anstruther's and Webb's. They rowed to the right by the White point, (*cap Blanc*), as if intending to force a landing there. The centre division, under brigadier general Lawrence, was formed of the regiments of Amherst, Hopson, Otway, Whitmore, Lawrence and Warburton. This division at the same time made a shew of landing at the Freshwater cove, near Flat point. The enemy's attention was thus drawn to every part, and his troops posted along the coast were prevented from joining those on their right. The enemy acted very wisely. They did not throw away a shot, but when the boats were near in shore, directed the whole fire of their cannon and musketry upon them. General Wolfe having landed just at the left of the cove, took post, attacked the enemy, and forced

them to retreat. Many boats overset—several broke to pieces, and all the men jumped into the water to get on shore. As soon as the left division was landed, the first detachments of the centre division rowed at a proper time to the left and followed—then the remainder of the centre division as fast as the boats could fetch them from the ships, and the right division followed the centre in like manner. It took a great deal of time to land the troops.

Amherst tells Mr. Pitt, then secretary of state, that the enemy's retreat was through the roughest and worst ground he ever saw, and the pursuit ended with a cannonading from the town, which was so far of use that it pointed out how near he could encamp to invest it. After this the regiments marched to their grounds and lay on their arms. The wind increased so that the English could not bring anything on shore.—On this occasion the English loss was, in killed, 4 officers, 5 non-commissioned, and 41 privates ; in wounded, 5 officers, 3 non-commissioned, and 52 privates,—one man missing ;—in all, 111 killed, wounded and missing. On the French side, 4 officers and about 70 men were made prisoners ; an officer, an Indian chief, and several men, were killed. The French commander in the cove was colonel St. Julien. The English, on this occasion, captured three 24-lb. guns, seven 6-pounders, two mortars, fourteen swivels, and a furnace for red-hot balls, all of which had been placed along the shore to prevent their landing,—with ammunition, tools and stores of all kinds. Soon after, the garrison took the seasonable precaution of setting fire to the barracks at the Grand battery, which they had before dismantled and ruined, and of destroying all their out-buildings in one general conflagration, which made a prodigious blaze all that afternoon and a great part of the night, and left nothing standing within two miles of the town walls but the towers at the Grand battery and some chimnies and gable ends of their wretched hovels. The French also destroyed the Light-house battery, leaving there only four cannon spiked.

Bragg's (the 28th) regiment had been ordered on the 7th, in the sloops that brought them from the bay of Fundy, to sail, under convoy, past the mouth of the harbor to Lorembec.

Artillery, intended to be used at the Light-house point, went with them. They were directed to make all the show they could of landing, but not to land till further orders, the intention being to draw the enemy's attention to that side. On the 9 June they returned. Some tents were got on shore, and on the 11th some artillery stores and eight 6-pounders. On the same day a serjeant major and four men of Fischer's regiment *Volontaires Etrangers*, deserted to the English. On monday, June 12, Wolfe marched round with 1200 men to the Light-house point, (while guns, &c., were sent thither by water), and took possession of the ground and other outposts which the French had abandoned. Amherst commenced three redoubts in front of his camp. A party of French came out, but were repulsed by the Light infantry, the French losing 5 killed and having 40 wounded in the skirmish. 14th. The French cannonaded the besiegers. The weather was bad, and the fleet under Hardy was in the night blown off to sea. Four mortars were sent in a sloop to the Light-house battery, and on 17th two more mortars and three royals. Amherst says on the 17th, (saturday), I got colonel Bastide on horseback, and with colonel Williamson and major McKellar, we reconnoitred the whole ground as far as we could. 19th. The *Echo*, a French frigate of 32 guns, had gone out of the harbor on the night of the 13th, bound to Quebec, but was taken by the *Juno* and *Scarborough*, and now brought in as prize. On the 20th, the Island and ships began to fire at the batteries on shore. The bad weather delayed the English much in landing provisions and cannon. The plan of the besiegers, as suggested by colonel Bastide, engineer, was to make their approaches by Green hill—to connect the camp with the Light-house battery by a road, redoubts, block-house, &c., in rear of the town, and to use the Light-house battery in the destruction of the ships in the harbor and in silencing the Island battery. On the 23, colonel Messervé, and most of the carpenters under his command, were taken ill with the small pox, which was esteemed a very great loss to the English army. An *épaulement* was made to Green hill of $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long, 60 feet wide and 9 feet deep, consisting of gabions, fascines and earth. The Light-house battery

now began to fire with success upon the Island battery, and on the 25th, (sunday), the Island battery was silenced ; their own fire had helped to break down part of their works. Cannonading continued, without any great result, and the English gradually strengthening their batteries and approaches towards the West gate. Wolfe continued at the Light-house battery. On wednesday, 28 June, colonel Messervé and his son both died. Of his company of 108 carpenters, all but 16 were suffering under the small pox. The 16 acted as nurses to their sick comrades. On the 29th, the English were all working on the road they had planned. The French now sunk four vessels in the mouth of the harbor : the Apollon, a two-decker ; the Fidele, of 36 guns ; La Chèvre and La Biche, of 16 guns each, cutting off most of their masts. July 1, (saturday), a French party, who went out to get wood and palissades, were driven in by Wolfe and major Scott's light infantry ; 2nd, the French continued their cannonade, and sent out parties to skirmish ; and on the 3rd, their cannonade was heavy. At this time Wolfe was busy making an advanced work on his right to bear on the citadel bastion. On the 6th, the besieged sent out a sloop with flag of truce to Sir Charles Hardy, with articles for their wounded, who were prisoners. Amherst says : " The many difficulties of landing everything, in almost " " a continual surf—the making of roads—draining and pas- " " sing of bogs, and putting ourselves under cover, render our " " approach to the place much longer than I could wish." On the 8th, colonel Bastide got a contusion by a musket ball in the boot, which laid him up in the gout. On the night of the 9th July, (sunday), five picquets of the French, supported by 600 men, under lieut. colonel Marin, of the regiment of Bourgogne, made a sortie on the part of the English lines where Lawrence commanded. They came from Cap Noir ; and although the party of the besieged were drunk, they surprized a company of the grenadiers of the 17th, Forbes', commanded by lord Dundonald, who were posted in a *flèche* on the right. Major Murray sent a company, who easily drove them back. Lord Dundonald was killed ; lieutenant Tew, wounded and made prisoner ; captain Bontein, engineer, prisoner ; a corps-

ral and 3 men killed, 17 men wounded, and a serjeant and eleven men missing. On the French side, the chevalier de Chauvelin, captain, and 17 men, were killed ; a lieutenant, Jarnacle, and 4 men, wounded and made prisoners ; besides the wounded they carried back to the town, one of whom, a captain, Garseneau, of the colony troops, died immediately. The operations on both sides continued, the French cannonading without much damage to the besiegers, who were more hindered by the weather and the disadvantages of the ground on which their camp was pitched. On 15 July, (saturday), the French frigate *Arethuse* went out, and Sir Charles Hardy's fleet got under sail and to sea, and on that night 100 French came from Miré, where M. Boishébert had a party of 300, and engaged capt. Sutherland's men, but were repulsed.

On sunday, 16th, Wolfe pushed on a corps, and made a lodgment within a quarter of a mile of the West gate. On the 21st, owing to an accidental explosion of powder, three French ships, viz., the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Superbe*, were burnt, leaving them only two, the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*. The forts of the besieged, and the various batteries raised by the besiegers, were daily at work, cannonading. On the 25th July, a party from the fleet, of 600, under captains Laforey and Balfour, went into the harbor—burned the *Prudent*, which was aground, and towed off the *Bienfaisant* to the N. E. harbor.

By this time, Wednesday, 26 July, all the French batteries were in a ruinous state. They had hardly a dozen cannon left in a condition to be used. A practicable breach had been effected in the walls. All their men-of-war were destroyed or captured. Two Spanish ships, bringing succor, had been taken, and there was no appearance or expectation of relief from any quarter. Under these depressing circumstances, the inhabitants of Louisbourg petitioned M. Drucour to surrender, and sent their request to him by the intendant, M. Prevost. Articles of capitulation were then agreed upon, the English troops remaining that night in the trenches as usual. On the 27th, major Farquhar, with three companies of grenadiers, took possession of the West gate, and Amherst sent in brigadier general Whitmore to see the garrison lay down their

arms, and to post the necessary guards in the town on the stores, magazines, &c. The arms were then brought out of the town, together with *eleven colors*, which general Amherst sent to Mr. Pitt, under the care of captain William Amherst. He adds in this despatch, which is published in the London magazine for 1758, pp. 379, 380: "As I have given in orders that I desired every commanding officer of a corps would acquaint the officers and men that I was greatly pleased with the brave and good behaviour of the troops, which has and always must insure success. I am to acquaint you, sir, that I took the liberty to add to it that I would report it to the king."

Boscawen writes from Gabarus bay, 28 July, to Mr. Pitt, giving the account of the capture of the *Bienfaisant* and destruction of the *Prudent* by the boats of the squadron, adding, "I have only further to assure his majesty, that all his troops" "and officers, both sea and land, have supported the fatigue" "of this siege with great firmness and alacrity." It is stated by Pichon, that the evening before the English took possession of the town, the French soldiers were suffered to plunder the magazines, and that the priests spent the whole night in marrying all the girls of that place to the first that would have them, for fear they should fall into the hands of the heretics, (p. 381.) I receive this statement with but a moderate amount of belief in its accuracy, as Pichon was not there himself, and being soured with his own nation, and an open scoffer at the Priesthood, without impugning his veracity, I may believe he was prone to believe any *canards* he heard that tended to disparage French authorities or religious men. It resembles too closely the harsh charges of pillage at Beauséjour, for which we have only his assertion.

Articles of Capitulation between their Excellencies admiral Boscawen and major general Amherst, and his Excellency the chevalier Drucour, governor of the island of Cape Breton, of Louisbourg, the island of St. John, and their appurtenances:—

1. The garrison of Louisbourg shall be prisoners of war, and shall be carried to England in the ships of his Britannick majesty.

2. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, as well as the arms of any kind whatsoever, which are at present in the town of Louisbourg, the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, and their appurtenances, shall be delivered, without the least damage, to such commissaries as shall be appointed to receive them, for the use of his Britannick Majesty.

3. The Governor shall give his orders that the troops which are in the island of St. John, and its appurtenances, shall go on board such ship of war as the Admiral shall send to receive them.

4. The gate, called Porte Dauphin, shall be given up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty by to-morrow, at eight o'clock in the morning ; and the garrison, including all those that carried arms, drawn up at noon, on the Esplanade, where they shall lay down their arms, colours, implements and ornaments of war ; and the garrison shall go on board, in order to be carried to England in a convenient time.

5. The same care shall be taken of the sick and wounded that are in the hospitals, as of those belonging to his Britannick Majesty.

6. The merchants and their clerks that have not carried arms shall be sent to France in such manner as the admiral shall think proper.

Louisbourg, 26 July, 1758.

(Signed)

' LE CHEVALIER DE DRUCOUR.'

In the captured place there were 218 cannon and 18 mortars, 7500 musquets, 600 bbls. powder, 80,000 musquet cartridges, 13 tons musquet ball, 10,746 cannon balls of different kinds, 1053 shells, 12 tons of lead, 6 tons of iron, and a variety of implements. The prisoners of the land forces were 3031

"	"	sea forces,	2606
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Total number of prisoners of war,	5637
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Madame de Drucourt, during the siege, fired three cannons every day to animate the gunners, and after the surrender she interested herself for the unfortunates. She received great tokens of respect from admiral Boscawen.

M. Maillet de Grandville lost 150,000 livres (about £7500, or \$30,000, Halifax currency) by the capture. He had come to Quebec at the age of 17, and made a fortune by industry.

There is a manuscript account of this siege by a French officer, who was at Louisbourg from 1750 to 1758. He says that there cannot be a worse situation for a fortified town than that of Louisbourg. It is commanded all round by heights. About 200 paces from the curtain between the West gate and the king's bastion, a height (*Hauteur de la potence*) overlooks a great part of the town, the parade, the wharves; enfilades the battery of the *Grève*, which defends the harbor, where the cannoneers of this battery, (whose platforms and cannons are entirely discovered from that eminence), may be marked out and killed from it with the musket. Opposite to the South gate, (*porte de la Reine*), there is another eminence, (*Cap Noir*), which is still much higher than the *Hauteur de la potence*, discovers all across the town down to the wharves, and is only betwixt 200 and 300 paces distant from the curtain. *La Batterie Royale*, a fort which faces and defends the entry of the harbor, is also domineered by a very high eminence about 300 fathoms from it, where there is a sentry box for a *vidette*. Such, he says, was the insurmountable defect of the position chosen for a town of such importance; but what is still more astonishing, is the negligence of the French in not repairing the fortifications of Louisbourg, that it might be at least in some state of defence. At the time they built the fortifications probably they had not the experience that sea sand is not fit for mortar, as it does not dry, bind and harden, as with river sand, which may be occasioned from the particles of salt it contains. All the walls of masonry, the embrasures, the counterscarp and the parapets, were tumbled down into the fosse, which was filled up with rubbish, the palissades were all of them rotten; in many parts of the covert way they were crumbled away in a level with the ground, and there was scarce any vestige of glacis which had not been destroyed by the cows grazing there. All the planks of the platform were entirely rotten, as also all the carriages of the cannons. In short, that town had more the look of ancient ruins than of a

modern fortification, since the treaty of Utrecht. He says the visit of English ships of war in 1755 exposed the want of repair, and had a good effect. The palissades, platform and gun carriages were renewed—the fossés cleansed of rubbish, and a double covert way made at the West gate, (*porte Dauphin*.) The glacis was repaired, and a half moon begun between the *porte de la Reine* and *cap Noir*. In 1757 entrenchments were made along the coast for two leagues, to oppose the landing of enemies. In the siege of 1758, as all the mason work of the fortification was crumbled down, the walls were now lined with fascines, trenches made to shelter the garrison from the enemy's fire from the heights, a redoubt built at *cap Noir*, with 5 guns, &c, all hasty and inadequate works. The officers and crews of the men of war were landed, leaving but a small guard in each, M. Goutte, their chief officer living in the town. M. Vauclin, of the *Arethuse*, 36 guns, alone kept his ship in order, and was as brave as a lion, and, after much exertion, left 15 July, with despatches, for France, where he arrived safe. He describes the besiegers' works, viz.: 3 or 4 batteries on the road to *Miré*—5 redoubts, palissaded, to protect their encampment, and several smaller batteries. During the bombardment, the barracks, government house and church were burnt. "Each cannon shot from the English batteries shook and brought down immense pieces of the ruinous walls, so that in a short cannonade the *Bastion du Roi*, the *Bastion Dauphin*, and the courtin of communication between them, were entirely demolished—all the defences ruined—all the cannons dismounted—all the parapets and banquets razed, and as one continued breach to make an assault everywhere."

In the most cursory view of this second siege and capture of *Louisbourg*, there are many ideas that occur. I will first mention this, that the mistake of restoring this fortress to the French king gratuitously, as was done in 1748, could not be repeated while the great William Pitt presided over the destinies of England. Therefore, although the siege may not present as vivid, exciting occurrences as that of 1745, the result was more valuable to the English race. Next, we have to notice the great names of men, celebrated as land and sea

officers, who were employed in the British force on this occasion. Among the soldiers of our nation, Amherst and Wolfe left names as glorious as history can record ; while Boscawen and Rodney are stars of the first magnitude in the naval annals of Great Britain. As to the different operations of the siege, there is not the romantic interest attached to the first capture. On the contrary, we have the slow, persevering motions of a force of regular troops of every arm against a smaller force in a poorly arranged fortress. The chief enemy the English had to combat in 1758 was the bad weather, that made the landing of their stores and artillery a work of weeks instead of hours, and the hard soil, diversified by bogs and swamps, on which they had to build roads, make causeways, and erect batteries. Our arms had been far from successful in America in 1755. Although Beauséjour fell, yet the defeat of Braddock more than counterpoised that advantage. In 1756 and 1757 the English commander-in-chief, lord Loudon, had done no more than to paralyse the exertions which British America was ready to make under the science and patriotism of Shirley, and we are yet to find that Loudon's successor in command, Abercrombie,—(while Boscawen, Amherst and Wolfe were establishing the fame of the British nation),—continued, by his imbecile conduct, to ruin, as far as possible, the English name in America.

The fall of Louisbourg led to the English taking immediate possession, not only of the island of cape Breton, but also of the island of St. John. The inhabitants of the latter, according to Boscawen's official report, were then as follows :

Point le Prince,	700
N. E. River,	2000
St. Peters,	700
North point,	500
West and North River,	200
	<hr/>
	4100

Lieut. colonel lord Rollo writes to the admiral that most of the inhabitants had brought in their arms. The admiral's letter further contains that, by the best accounts he can get,

the island of St. John has been the only supply for Quebec of corn and beef since the war, except what has been brought from Europe, having at present above 10,000 horned cattle ; and many of the inhabitants declare that they grow, each of them, 1200 bushels of corn annually. They have no other market for it but Quebec. It has been an asylum for the French inhabitants from Nova Scotia ; and from this island has been constantly carried on the inhuman practice of killing the English inhabitants of Nova Scotia, for the sake of carrying their scalps to the French, who pay for the same. Several scalps were found in the governor's quarters when lord Rollo took possession. [*See London magazine*, 1758, p. 537.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIII.

(*From Thacher's history of the town of Plymouth. Boston, 1835 ; p. 175.*)

"1745. This year a full company of soldiers, of which Sylvanus Cobb was captain, was raised in Plymouth for the expedition against Louisbourg ; and it was remarked that they were the first for that service who appeared at Boston, whence they embarked and served with credit on that memorable occasion. Captain Cobb continued in public service in Nova Scotia, and in 1758 was selected by general Monckton to conduct general Wolfe to a reconnoitre of the fortress previous to its capture. As they sailed into the harbor, no one was allowed to stand on deck, but Cobb at the helm, and Wolfe in the foresheet making observations, while the shot were flying thick around. General Wolfe observed that they approached as near as he wished for his purpose, but Cobb made yet another tack ; and as they hove about, Wolfe exclaimed with approbation, " Well, " Cobb ! I shall never doubt but you will carry me near enough." Captain Cobb returned to Plymouth, and afterwards removed to Nova Scotia, and was employed on the expedition to Havana in 1762, where he died."

He is called *Sylvester* Cobb in the list of officers at Louisbourg in 1745, and was a captain in Gorham's regiment at that siege. He wintered with his vessel at Chignecto some years, and had a house there, as mentioned by Tyrell, in 1754 and 1755, and had leave to cultivate ground near the English fort Lawrence. He afterwards settled at Liverpool, Nova Scotia, and built a house, which is said to be still subsisting. He had one child, a daughter, who was married to colonel Wm. Freeman, of Liverpool. His brother, Jabez Cobb, also settled at Liverpool, had a large family, and died about 1800.

Sylvanus Cobb died from sickness at the siege of Havanna, and is said to have expressed his regret that he had not met a soldier's death in battle. He commanded the armed sloop York, belonging to the provincial gov'mt. of Nova Scotia.

I am indebted for some of these particulars to Wm. S. More, Esqr., of Halifax, one of the descendants of Jabez Cobb.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON the 5 July, 1758, major general Abercrombie, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, embarked on lake George, to attack fort Carillon, or Ticonderoga. Montcalm commanded this fort, and had a total of 3858 men, of whom 2970 were regulars, 16 Indians, and 472 Canadians and others. Abercrombie had 6367 regulars, and 9024 provincials,—in all 15,391. These were embarked in 900 batteaux and 136 whale boats, the artillery to cover the landing being mounted on rafts. They landed early on the 6th, when an advanced guard of the French retreated ; but the British, pushing on their advance through the woods, got bewildered and confused, and broke their ranks. Lord Howe, at the head of a column, fell in with about 400 French. In the skirmish, *lord Howe was killed* the first man. On the 7th, the English retired to their landing place. On the 8th, the English army attacked the French in their entrenchments, which were strong, and surrounded with felled trees. After several repeated attacks, which lasted upwards of four hours, Abercrombie withdrew his forces. The English had 551 killed, 37 missing, 1356 wounded,—total 1944, (including 34 officers killed and 84 wounded.) On the 9th, the English reached their first encampment. The French at Carillon lost 104 killed and 271 wounded. As this singular affair has little to do with the chief object of my work, I will only remark that the inaction of Loudon did the English less harm than the movements of Abercrombie, and that the details of this affair exhibit a complete contrast to the proceedings of the English at Louisbourg.

Fort Frontenac, garrisoned by 150 men, surrendered to colonel Bradstreet and 3000 provincials on the 27 August; and 25 November, fort du Quesne was approached by large English forces, and then destroyed and left by the French garrison.

To return to the Halifax settlement: On the 2 June, Monckton, the lieutenant governor, consulted the council on the expediency of putting the militia on a better footing in case of hostile attack, as the number of troops left was small, and many of them sick. They advised the raising a company of Rangers, to be 72 men, officers included, to serve for 3 months. The men to be paid 1s. per diem, besides rations, and 2 dollars each bounty. Subsequently they raised the mens' pay to 2s. a day. Captain Charles Procter was ordered to raise this company, but 10 Sept'r. he was ordered to dismiss this business. 21 June, the government entered into a contract with Josiah Marshall, to build a workhouse in Halifax, 50 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 8 feet high in the clear, &c., for £200 sterling. The building long known as the workhouse, near the gaol and poorhouse, has been recently removed. 6 Sept'r., Patrick Sutherland, captain 45th regiment, is sent to command at Lunenburg, to relieve captain Frasch (or Fesch.)

About the end of August, governor Lawrence returned to Halifax, intending to preside over the first meeting of the Representative Assembly of the province in the autumn. He wrote to Mr. Pitt, suggesting that, in order to facilitate the reduction of Quebec, some small armed schooners, under convoy of a frigate, should be sent into the river St. Lawrence in the spring, with able surveyors and pilots, to make a full survey in May and June. — Mr. Handfield, who had long been in command at Annapolis, was now made lieutenant colonel of Hopson's regiment. Colonel Monckton was ordered to command a body of troops sent to take possession of St. John's river.

On the eve of the first meeting of the Assembly, Mr. Lawrence had still much misgiving about their conduct. 26 Sept. he tells the lords of trade that he hopes he shall not find in any of the representatives a disposition to embarrass or obstruct

his majesty's service, or to dispute the Royal prerogative, though he observes that too many of the members chosen are such as have not been the most remarkable for promoting unity or obedience to H. M. government here, or indeed that have the most natural attachments to the province.

On monday, 2 October, 1758, the newly elected members met at the court house in Halifax, pursuant to a summons from the provost marshal. Their names, as present :

Joseph Gerrish,	}	Esquires.
Robert Sanderson.		
Henry Newton,		
William Foye,		
William Nesbitt,		
Joseph Rundel,	}	Gentlemen.
Jonathan Binney,		
Henry Ferguson,		
George Suckling,		
John Burbidge,		
Robert Campbel,		
William Pantree,		
Joseph Fairbanks,		
Philip Hammond,		
John Fillis,		
Lambert Folkers,		
Philip Knaut,		
William Best,		
Alexander Kedie,		

(being nineteen members returned in attendance.)

The members sent Nesbitt, Newton and Rundel to wait on the governor, who then appointed messrs. Green and Morris, two of the council, to swear them in. After this was done, they received a message, requesting them to wait on his Excellency. They accordingly went to his house, where he was sitting in council. He directed them to choose a speaker. They withdrew, and elected Robert Sanderson, esquire, and returned to the governor, who confirmed their choice, and addressed them in a speech. In this he mentions their being convened "in"

“consequence of a plan some time since formed here for that”
 “purpose with the advice and assistance of H. M. council,”
 “and by me transmitted to the Lords Commissioners for”
 “Trade and Plantations, to be laid before his majesty for his”
 “approbation.” He tells the representatives that he hopes
 they will promote “the service of the crown, or in other”
 “words the real welfare and prosperity of the people.” That
 their “regard due to the civil rights and interests of your”
 “constituents,” will lead them to this, as well as gratitude to
 the crown. He reminds them of the fleets and armies from
 time to time sent out for their protection from a merciless
 foe, and the grants of money for support of the colony still
 continued; hints at their self-support by-and-bye; expects he
 has to go away to attend the commander-in-chief on military
 duty; urges their early passing a confirmation of acts of gov-
 ernor and council of a legislative character, and promises on
 his return to concur in all reasonable acts agreed on. The
 House then appoint

Mr. David Lloyd, their clerk;

William Reynolds, doorkeeper;

John Calbeck, messenger.

They resolved also that the members should all serve without
 reward this session. Nesbitt, Newton, Gerrish, Foy and Bur-
 bidge, committee to prepare answer to the governor's speech.
 The answer of the assembly was couched in the most loyal
 and polite language. They at the same time intimated that
 the work before them would necessarily occupy a considerable
 period.

On the 13 October the house of representatives appear to
 have obtained an account of the revenue raised in the province
 by duties on spirituous liquors from June 25, 1751, to Oct. 12,
 1758, viz. :

	£7045	4	6
Of this sum the treasurer had	}	4840	6 7
paid away			

Which left in his hands £2204 17 11

October 19, they resolved to build a light house at Sambro.
 25th, The forms of sending bills from one house to the other

were agreed on, and other forms. Nov'r. 2. The Jew's burying ground to be taken for a workhouse. The governor objects to building a courthouse on the north end of the parade. Nov. 21. John Calbeck, the messenger, is to have 5s. a day, "and that" "he continue to *ring the bell* as usual," (probably to call the members together.) 24 Nov'r. Capt. Rous and others having given their opinion, the isle of Sambro was chosen as the site of the light-house. 27th. £1000 for light-house and £500 for work-house voted, and resolved to ask the governor for these sums, (probably out of the balance in Mr. B. Green, the treasurer's hands, of the spirit duties.) Dec'r. 4. The house ordered different public officers to furnish lists of their fees. Next day, Mr. Collier, the judge of admiralty, returned the scale of fees in the probate court, but declined to furnish a table of fees in the court of admiralty. Wednesday, 6 Dec'r., the clerk of the council brought down the following message, viz. : "Mr. Suckling, one of the members of the house, yesterday, in the presence of the governor and council, charged "Mr. Collier, the judge of vice admiralty and a member of the "council, and the other officers of the court of vice admiralty, "with taking such fees as were grievous and oppressive, and "such as the subject was unable to bear, which was highly "reflecting on said court. The council therefore desire that "the assembly would give leave to Mr. Suckling to waive his "privilege, and attend the council when required, in order to "make good his said charge." Which, being considered, it was voted that, as the words complained of were spoken by Mr. Suckling as a member of the assembly, he was entitled to the protection of the house, and he himself declining to waive his privilege, the following answer was sent to the council : 'What was said by Mr. Suckling yesterday, in council, was as 'a member of the assembly, and it is the opinion of the assembly that he is accountable to them only for what was then 'said.' An address to the governor, suggesting a bill to regulate fees, (including vice admiralty), was then passed. — Thursday, the 7th day of December, 1758. The clerk of the council brought down the bill to exclude the members of the council and assembly from holding any employment or place of profit

under this government. *Not agreed to.* His Excellency was pleased to signify, by a member, that the house might recommend two proper persons to collect the duties of impost and excise, and that he should approve of such persons, &c. ; upon which it was agreed to recommend Mr. John Newton and Mr. Malachy Salter. 5 December., the council asked to appoint two collectors also. The house thinking four too many, proposed to farm the revenues at the upset price of £2500. 11 December. The house represent to the governor "that" "the officers who were collectors of the impost and excise" "duties, are, by the gout and other infirmities of body," "rendered incapable," &c. His Excellency expresses himself highly satisfied not only with "the persons but with the" "impartiality of the assembly in their choice." Thursday, the 14th day of December, 1758. "Mr. Pantree, one of the members of the house, complained that, yesterday, going in a peaceable manner from the house, he was accosted by Mr. Archibald Hinshelwood, in these or the like words : ' Damn you, sir ! what is this you complain against me ? ' Upon Mr. Pantree's denying that he had complained against him, he, in a threatening and haughty tone, said : ' Damn you, you have—your house has ; by God sir, I'll not bear it. Take care for the future. I have but one life to lose, and by God, sir, I'll not be used so,' and much more to the same effect." Hinshelwood being summoned, attended and said, "that his mind had that" "day been greatly disturbed on some other occasion, so that" "he knew not what he said to Mr. Pantree,—that he asked" "his pardon, and pardon of the whole assembly." Hinshelwood was committed to custody of the messenger of the House, with verbal permission to confine Hinshelwood in his own house. The governor was notified, and the next day Hinshelwood, having signed a written apology in terms prescribed by the house, was set at liberty. 21 Dec'r. Thanks of the house to capt. Rous for signing deeds of Sambro island : and his brother, Joseph Rous, to be recommended to have the care of the light house, if agreeable to him. The governor this day adjourned the assembly until 1 Feb'y. next.

On the 12 October, a proclamation was adopted in council,

relative to settling the vacated lands in the province, in conformity with the directions the governor had received from the board of trade. It recited that by the reduction of cape Breton, and the destruction of the French settlements of Gaspé, Miramichi, and St. John's river, the enemy who formerly disturbed and harrassed the province and obstructed its progress, had been compelled to retire to Canada, and thus "a favorable" "opportunity now presents for the peopling and cultivating" "as well the lands vacated by the French as every other part" "of this valuable province." The governor declares his readiness to receive any proposals "for effectually settling" the vacant lands or any other in the province. A description of the lands was ordered to be published pursuant to the foregoing proclamation, which consist of upwards of one hundred thousand acres of intervale plow lands, producing wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, &c. 'These have been cultivated for more than a hundred years past, and never fail of crops, nor need manuring. Also, more than one hundred thousand acres of upland, cleared, and stock'd with English grass, planted with orchards, gardens, &c. These lands, with good husbandry, produce often two loads of hay per acre. The wild and unimproved lands adjoining to the above are well timbered and wooded with beech, black birch, ash, oak, pine, fir, &c. All these lands are so intermixed, that every single farmer may have a proportionate quantity of plow land, grass land and wood land ; and are all scituated about the bay of Fundi, upon rivers navigable for ships of burthen. Proposals will be received by Mr. Hancock, at Boston, and by messrs. Delancie and Watts, at New York, to be transmitted to the governor, or, in his absence, to the lieutenant governor or president of the council, at Halifax.' [*Jno. Duport, sec. conc.*]

14 Nov'r., a proclamation issued at Halifax that soldiers should work for the people at 18d. a day for artificers, and 6d. a day for laborers, by general Amherst's order, in consequence of the excessive rate of wages ; and 20 Nov'r. the assembly addressed the governor, thanking him and general Amhurst for this measure. The officers were to encourage all the men that could be spared, to work for the settlers at these rates.

26 Dec'r. Lawrence wrote to the lords of trade. He tells them that the assembly had met, and passed a number of laws. He hopes to get through the business in time, and with less altercation than, from the seeming disposition of the people, he had been apprehensive of. He explains that there may be more time required in the session than in cases where the course of business has been established, but that not a moment has been lost or misspent. He says the Indians still infest and harrass the promising settlement of Lunenburg; that they had just now destroyed a whole family remarkable for their industry and merit, and that in so bloody and barbarous a manner as to terrify and drive three parts of the people from their country lots into the town for protection. As captain Cotterell had left the province 16 months before, and had not written since, governor Lawrence appointed Mr. Bulkeley secretary of the province. The province sloop *Ulysses*, which attended colonel Monckton upon the expedition to St. John river, in the bay of Fundy, was lost in passing the falls of that river.

In September, of this year, a petition from forty families then at cape Sable, of Acadian French, was sent to governor Thomas Pownall, at Boston, praying to be received under his government; and in Pennsylvania the exiles presented a petition for relief.

In December, the governor and council appropriated £400 of the spirit fund, in the hands of the treasurer, towards finishing the church in Halifax; £100 to dissenting meeting house; and as salaries to the judges of the common pleas, viz't.: to Charles Morris, £60; James Monk, John Duport, Joseph Gerrish and Edmund Crawley, £40 each.

At this time Canada is said to have had about 80,000 population, of which 15,000 were able to bear arms. The English provinces contained above 1,000,000 as far back as 1756, as stated in the Boston almanac of that year.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIV.

(1.)

Messieurs Charles Morris, Joshua Mauger and Charles Procter were appointed to value the land at Gorham's Point, near Halifax, (now included in the Dock-yard.)

(2.)

9 Dec'r., 1758. Peter, marquis de Conti and Gravina, having, in Michaelmas term of the Supreme Court, being convicted of an assault, with intent to commit a rape, on the body of an infant under ten years, " was adjudged by the court to " " walk in custody of the sheriff and constables, between the hours of 11 and 12 " " this day, from the North to the South side of the Parade, and from thence to " " the Gaol, having a paper fixed on his breast with his crime thereon inscribed, " " and also to be close confined thereafter for three months, and fined in thirty " " pounds, and to remain in gaol till the same be paid." Governor Lawrence, in mercy, respites the execution of the first part of his sentence.

CHAPTER XXV.

1759. The year now opening was destined, by divine Providence, to be one of most decisive success to British valor, and to be marked to posterity by the fall of Quebec, and the premature death of the hero Wolfe, and that of his noble adversary Montcalm.

Shirley, to whom the British colonies owe a debt of gratitude for his exercise of the powers of a great mind in the protection and aggrandizement of English influence in these regions, had been removed from Massachusetts and sent as governor to the Bahamas. Thomas Pownall, a gentleman of literary taste and classical style, whose brother, John Pownall, was secretary to the lords of trade and plantations, was sent to succeed Shirley as governor at Boston. He wrote to Lawrence, dated Boston, Jan. 2, "with the compliments and every good of the season." He says he has imprisoned one Haskall, for trading with the 'neutrals;' that "Desenclaves, the priest, and the other neutrals, now prisoners with you, may possibly be evidence" "against him. The fact was committed in your province." "If you think you could convict the man, and think of bringing him to a trial, he may be sent to you." He then mentions the petition from the people at cape Sable. "As for" "the case of the poor people at cape Sables, it seems very" "distressful, and worthy of any relief can be afforded them." "If policy could acquiesce in any measure for their relief," "humanity loudly calls for it. I send you a copy of their" "petition; and in the copy of the journal of council, which I" "also inclose, you will see that general Amherst was willing"

“to relieve them, could it have been done here ; but by the ”
 “same you will see that the council could by no means ”
 “advise me to receive them.” The English news was to the
 18 Oct’r., and in his next letter of 15 Jan., only to the 7 Nov’r.
 previous. In this last he says : “ The bad weather has inter- ”
 “rupted our posts between this and New York, so have not ”
 “heard from thence this fortnight. I had a letter for you.”
 “By the direction and seal, it is from our Jack,” (John Pownal,
 secretary of the board of trade.) “ I had not time to write ”
 “myself to you when I received it, so gave it to Mr. Hancock ”
 “to forward.” “ As to the ship in which I sail & am at ye ”
 “Helm we go yet before ye wind with a flowing sail. Sed ”
 “non semper arcum tendit Apollo. The more & more I see ”
 “of ye world of business the more my disgust to it encreases.”
 “I find myself unfitt for it, & I find it very unfitt for ye turn ”
 “of my temper. I will hold out while ye warr lasts, & will ”
 “then ask leave to retire to home with a groom & a couple ”
 “of hunters & my books.” “I find I am gott into a vein of ”
 “thought that ill suits with rising fortune, so permit so cir- ”
 “cumscribe every good wish for you in wishing you all your ”
 “great merit deserves, & to assure how proud I shall alway ”
 “be to find myself one of your best friends & to be esteemed.”
 “yr faithfull & obd’t. servant,”

“ T. POWNALL.”

“ His Excellency

“ Brig. Gen^l. Lawrence,

“ Gov. &c. of N. Scotia.”

In consequence of the proclamation in October, 1758, respecting the desired settlement of the vacant lands in Nova Scotia, Thomas Hancock, who was agent for the province at Boston, was applied to by different persons, who wished to know—What terms of encouragement would be offered ? How much land each person would get ? What quit rent and taxes were to be exacted ? What constitution of government prevailed ? and what freedom in religion ? Accordingly, at a council held thursday, 11 January, a second proclamation was approved. By this the governor states that he is empowered to make grants. Townships are to consist of 100,000 acres,

or about 12 miles square. They are to include the best land, and the rivers of the vicinity, to front on the sea, &c. 100 acres of wild wood land will be given to each head of a family of settlers, and 50 acres added for every person in the family, young or old, male or female, white or black, subject to a quit rent of 1s. per 50 acres, to begin ten years after the date of the grant. The grantees to cultivate or inclose one third of the land in 10 years—one third more in 20 years, and the residue in 30 years. No quantity beyond 1000 acres to be granted to any one person. On fulfilment of the terms of a first grant, the party will be entitled to another, on similar conditions. The lands on the bay of Fundi are to be distributed with proportions of interval plow land, mowing land and pasture, which plow lands, &c., produce wheat, rye, barley, oats, hemp, flax, &c., for more than 100 years past, never failing of crops, nor needing to be manured. That the government of Nova Scotia is constituted like that of the neighboring colonies, the legislature consisting of governor, council and assembly; and every township, as soon as it shall consist of fifty families, will be entitled to send two representatives to the general assembly. The courts of justice are also constituted in like manner with those in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the other Northern colonies. That as to the article of religion, full liberty of conscience, both by H. M. instructions and a late act of assembly, is secured to persons of all persuasions, (papists excepted.) No taxes have been imposed and no fees charged on grants of land. The governor is not authorized to offer any bounty of provisions to settlers. He is ready to grant lands on these conditions, and to send to England any proposals for settlement on other conditions. Forts garrisoned with Royal troops are established in the neighbourhood of the lands proposed to be settled.

On thursday, 1 Feb'y., 1759, the general assembly of the province met agreeably to the adjournment. On 10 February the journal of the house was ordered to be corrected for the press; and on the 5 March, the printer was ordered to suspend printing the votes, and to get on with the acts. Great excitement appeared in the assembly against the admiralty

court fees, on which the governor promised to enquire into the amount demanded in other colonies, and if those in Nova Scotia were excessive in comparison, to do all he could to remedy the complaint. 6 April. Archibald Hinshelwood took his seat as member, elected at Lunenburg, for the province at large ; and on 9 April he was unseated on petition of Richard Bowers. The house voted for its expences : £100 to the clerk ; £32 10s. od. to the doorkeeper ; £32 10s. od. to the messenger ; £50 to Mr. Walter Manning, for hire of room, fuel, &c., and £38 for other charges and contingencies,—in all, £250. On the 11 April, 1759, a joint committee of the council and assembly chose the town officers for Halifax, viz. : four overseers of the poor, two clerks of market, four surveyors of highways, two fence viewers and two hogreaves. On the 17 April, the assembly was prorogued until the 1 August, ensuing. They had previously passed 36 acts, among which the most remarkable were : acts to establish a general registry of deeds ; an act which established the church of England, but with free liberty of conscience to protestant dissenters, banishing *popish priests*, under penalty of imprisonment, &c., any one harboring or concealing one to pay £50—be set in the pillory, and find securities for good behaviour ; militia, with felonies, divorce, &c., were regulated, and some of the ordinances of the governor and council were re-enacted. This, the first assembly, met in its second session 1 August, 1759. William Nesbitt was chosen speaker. The governor opened the session with a speech. The assembly resolved to meet at the court house. On the 2d August they answered his excellency's speech. They passed seven acts—one to establish a house of correction or work house—one for maintaining Sambro light house, and one to the effect that any action to recover lands grounded on a French title should be dismissed ; and on the 13 August, 1759, this, the first assembly, was dissolved.

At this time, Mr. Joseph Gerrish was employed as store-keeper of the Navy yard, at Halifax, with £100 a-year salary, and a clerk at £40. At Annapolis, T. Williams was store-keeper to the board of ordnance—Rumsey clerk of the cheque,

and LaMont extra clerk. At Halifax, J. Jefferys was commissary of stores, and David Lloyd clerk of stores.

Lawrence represents the assembly as entertaining idle jealousies of the council about particular rights and privileges, and says he has endeavored to reconcile and accommodate them. Having long acted with the council, he, no doubt, had more confidence in their disinterested patriotism and loyalty than he could be expected to have in the popular branch, who are to be commended nevertheless for a jealous and vigilant care of their privileges. He also found at this time that the people in NewEngland were eager to adventure in the settlement of the vacant lands in Nova Scotia.

A singular misconception arose between governor Lawrence and his brother governor, Pownall, of Massachusetts. It seems that a letter to Lawrence from secretary Pownall had passed through the hands of his brother, the governor, in referring to which, Lawrence said : " You guess'd right about the letter " " seal'd with your seal." Pownall understood this to imply he had tampered with the letter, and being, as he says, shocked and uneasy at this suspicion, hopes Lawrence has kept the seal, saying, " Upon a second view, you will find my brother's " " wife's arms, together with the lion of the Pownall's ; but " " in my seal, you see the lion alone—a poor lonely bachelor, " " like his master."

General Amherst was at New York in February and March, whence he wrote to Lawrence, directing the preparations for the ensuing campaign. In his letter of 16 March, he says he has received his majesty's orders to send a number of his forces in North America to rendezvous at cape Breton, about the 20 April, intended to form an expedition against Quebec, under the direction of brigadier general Wolfe, who is named major general for that service only. Wolfe was a fine, active young man, the son of a soldier, and full of earnestness and enthusiasm. He was a perfect contrast to the Loudons and Abercrombies, who had been previously sent to command. Wolfe was delicate in health, and suffered much from sea sickness, but nothing could diminish or break down his zeal and fervor. There are many anecdotes, of different degrees of

credibility, all tending to shew the impression this young hero made on those under his command. At the siege of Louisbourg, in 1758, he had ordered all the men in the boats to lie flat as they neared the shore, to offer less mark for the enemy's bullets. One of the old soldiers of a New England corps, partially disobeying orders, lifted his head to look about him, being in the same boat with Wolfe. He saw the general in his full uniform standing calm and erect, evidently setting at nought the danger he courted. On this, he made a remark to his comrades, to the effect that they had now got the right kind of leader to ensure success. (I can remember lord Keane's visit to Halifax, and was struck with his active, heroic and soldierly aspect, and can imagine Wolfe to have had something of his restless vivacity of appearance.) It is said that, at a trying moment at Quebec, he stated to a brother officer that he would exchange almost any military fame for the poetical genius of Gray, as shewn in his celebrated 'elegy in a country church yard.' Though Wolfe died young, he lived long in the affections of the British Americans, as I can well remember seeing his likeness (an engraving) in many of the quiet and happy homes of my native town of Halifax, which had been preserved among the penates of the colonial hearths for half a century. I can recal the engraving well: the cocked hat, of antique pattern—the military garb—the bright, young face, and the inscription of 'General James Wolfe;' ætatis 33. I fancy this was the workmanship of a Mr. Hurd, of Boston, brother of Jacob Hurd, of Halifax, from whom Hurd's lane derives its name.

It seems that although Lawrence had partaken of the glories of the capture of Louisbourg in 1758, he was shut out from participating in the campaign of 1759; and Amherst remarks, that if he had the disposition of the services, he certainly would not do anything but what would be perfectly agreeable to Lawrence, and that he imagined he was left at present in Nova Scotia as a province of the utmost importance, and which from the distance the army would be at, must require the care of an experienced and good officer.

On 26 March, lieut. general Edward Wolfe, colonel of the

8th Foot, died. He was, I believe, the father of general James Wolfe.

M. Vaudreuil, in April, did not believe the English would attack Quebec, but in any event would leave garrisons at Carillon and fort Frederick to protect lake George. He thinks the farmers must be protected, as without their aid "succors" "from France, however liberal they may be, could not provide for the subsistence of about 90,000 souls who are in" "this colony." In April, Montcalm writes to the *maréchal* de Belleisle. He says: "Canada will be taken this campaign," "and assuredly during the next, if there be not some unforeseen good luck,—a powerful diversion by sea against the" "English colonies, or some gross blunders on the part of the" "enemy." He speaks of Vaudreuil as inactive and incapable,—of the intendant Bigot, as occupied in making a fortune for himself, his adherents and sycophants. Charges peculation, on a great scale, on the officials in Canada. The king will have to pay 36 millions this year, as expended on the Indians, not a fourth of which is given them. "The enemy can come" "to Quebec if we have not a fleet, and Quebec once taken," "the colony is lost. Yet there is no precaution." He calculates the effective troops for defence at eight battalions, making 3200 men and 1500 colonials, and deems it insufficient. Bigot stated that he had to pay on certificates of commanders of forts, &c., which he had no means of correcting.

In April, of this year, agents from a number of persons in Connecticut and Rhode island, who designed to become settlers on the vacant lands in the bay of Fundi, came to Halifax. They were, major Dennison, messrs. Jonathan Harris, Joseph Otis and James Fuller, from Connecticut; and Mr. John Hicks, from Rhode island. On 18 April, (wednesday), a council met at the governor's house in Halifax, governor Lawrence, and messrs. Belcher, Green, Collier and Morris, were present; and the New England agents attended. The latter put several questions to the board, as to the terms of the proposed grants. As they were the first applicants, they were promised some aid from government to the poorer families. The vessels belonging to the province were to be at the service of the settlers

to bring them with their stock and furniture to Nova Scotia. Arms for a small number were to be given them, and protection for the troops. The government also engaged that the settlers should not be subjected to impressment. The five agents expressed their satisfaction with the results of this conference, and were sent in the armed snow, Halifax, to visit the places in the bay of Fundi, proposed for settlement. Mr. Morris, member of council and chief land surveyor, accompanied them, to give them information, and, if necessary, to lay out townships. An officer of artillery and eight soldiers of the Royal Americans were in the vessel.

In May, the agents having viewed the vacated lands and returned to Halifax, the four gentlemen from Connecticut who represented 330 signers, proposed to settle a township at Mines, "joining on the river Gaspereaux, and including the" "great marshes, so called : which township to consist of" "100,000 acres, to 200 families," the grants to be in fee simple, subject to the proposed quit rent. The block-houses were to be built and garrisoned for their defence. 50 families of the number were to have from government an allowance of corn of one bushel to each person per month, or an equivalent in other grain, for one year, and arms and ammunition for defence. The people, with their moveables, stock, &c., to be transported at expence of the government. The township of Canard, 100,000 acres, to be settled by 150 families, on the same terms, with protection of one block-house, &c. All these propositions were agreed to by the governor and council, on thursday, 17 May, 1759, and the forms of grants were ordered to be prepared accordingly. May 21, the grants of the townships of Horton and Cornwallis being completed and approved of by the agents from Connecticut, were ordered to pass the seal of the province. Mr. John Hicks, (from Rhode island), and Mr. Amos Fuller, desired the governor and council to reserve lands for them and their constituents at Piziquid, for a township, on the North side of the river, they engaging to settle 50 families in 1759 and 50 more in 1760, on the same terms as accorded for Horton and Cornwallis ; and this was also agreed to. In June, a committee on behalf of intending

settlers, attended before the governor and council, who offered to send them in a provincial vessel to view the ground. One committee, who were well acquainted with the place, proposed to settle the North side of Annapolis river without going there. On 27 June, the draft of a grant of Granville township was approved. In council, 29th June, 1759 : *This grant, dated the 27th inst., of part of the lands in the township of Granville and Annapolis, to Mr. Crocker and Mr. Grant, and others, to the number of 138*, signed by his excellency, was delivered to them, with a promise that they should have liberty to fill up the vacant shares to the number of forty. In July, a party of committee men were landed by captain Cobb, at or near cape Sable, to view the lands in order to settlement, and were fired upon by 100 neutral French and Indians. A party of French and Indians, about the same number, appeared about this time before the fort at Pisiquid, and continued there some days. Three fishing vessels had been recently taken off Canso, by the Acadian French. Five persons had also been murdered on the East side of Halifax harbor, opposite Cornwallis (McNab's) island ; and the enemy had again of late frequently appeared in the environs of Lunenburg and fort Sackville. Under these circumstances the governor and council determined to postpone the new settlements of Horton and Cornwallis until the next spring.— 19 July. Messrs. Liss Willoughby, Benjamin Kimball, Edward Mott, and Samuel Star, junr., a committee of agents from Connecticut, proposing to settle a township at Chignecto, were allowed a vessel to convey them to view the place, and promised a grant on their return. Tuesday, 24 July, Mr. Knowlton, on behalf of 52 others, applied for a tract of land at Cobequid. It was resolved to make a township there, to be called Onslow, with 102 shares. It was also resolved that a grant of a tract of land in the township of Annapolis should pass the seal of the province to messrs. Felch, Evans and Bent, and others, to the number of 112. In September, Mr. Edward Mott, and others, returned from Chignecto, proposed some alterations in the terms of their grant, which were acceded to.

General Amherst wrote to governor Lawrence from New

York, April 14th, 1759. He urges the completion of the works at fort Cumberland, (Beauséjour.) He is greatly pleased with the resolution for building Sambro light-house. He says "This and the yard for the navy tell me that Halifax will "flourish, the thoughts of which are very agreeable to me." Amherst says he received a letter from Wolfe, of 6 March, and that Wolfe "*is sea-sick as usual*," but hopes to be early at Louisbourg.

Governor Lawrence, in his letter to the lords of trade, dated Halifax, 20 April, 1759, tells them that the Indians have again opened the spring with fresh murders amongst the settlers at Lunenburg. "Five soldiers have been likewise killed and "scalped near Fort Cumberland ; and a provision vessel, "boarded by French and Indians in conjunction, was taken "very lately in the bay of Fundy, and carried up the river "Petitcoudiac."

Admiral Saunders, with his squadron, arrived 21 April, off Louisbourg, but on account of the ice blockading the harbor was obliged to bear away on the 26th for Halifax, where he arrived on the 1 May. Lawrence, in his letter of May 8 to Mr. Pitt, says : "I was particularly happy in the satisfaction "major general Wolfe expressed, on his arrival, in the prepa- "rations made here for the expedition under his command." On the 3 May, admiral Durell was despatched with eight ships of the line and some troops as far as the isle *aux coudres*, (island of hazel trees), to prevent supplies getting to Quebec. On 14 May, admiral Saunders again reached Louisbourg, the harbor of which had been but a few days open. He sent two other ships to join Durell. Whitmore then commanded at Louisbourg. The land forces under Wolfe did not exceed 7000 men. Amherst, writing to Lawrence, from Albany, 29 May, says : "The distress I am in for want of money has "forced me to march all the regiments, leaving the ration "and baggage money unpaid. Three days since Mr. Mortier "is come up from New York, with the very small remains of "what was sent over from England, as my first care has "been to supply Mr. Wolfe, who writes me word he has not "a dollar, and this moment I have not a shilling, but that "

"shall not by any means hinder H. M. service, as far as I" "can carry it on." One cannot but admire the noble generosity of this loyal and brave officer.

In general Amherst we recognize the brave soldier, the skilful officer, the patriotic citizen. The project of the campaign was, that he should attack the French in all their strong posts at once ; to fall, as nearly as possible, at the same time upon Crown point, Niagara, and the forts to the South of Lake Erie,—whilst a great naval armament, with a body of land forces, should attempt Quebec. Amherst had, of regulars and provincials, about 12,000 men, with which force he was to capture the French forts at Ticonderoga and Crown point, and then to enter the province of Canada, while Wolfe and Sanders took possession of Quebec. Niagara was, meanwhile, to be attempted by brigadier general Prideaux, aided by Sir William Johnson and the Indians of the Five nations, in the English interest. Ticonderoga and Crown point were rapidly abandoned by the French, and Niagara capitulated to Sir William Johnson on the 25 July, after a severe and sanguinary conflict. (Prideaux was killed on 20 July.)

I will now give a very brief sketch of the conquest of Quebec. On the 26 June, the expedition under admiral Sanders and general Wolfe arrived at the isle of Orleans, a few leagues below Quebec. The next day a violent storm occurred. On 27 and 28, the English troops landed on this island. At this time succours of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec. Five battalions of regular troops, a large number of Canadians, and a body of Indians, had encamped along the shore of Beauport, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, where they had entrenched themselves. Monckton, with four battalions, on the night of 29 June, crossed the river and took post near the enemy. The English also established batteries on the isle of Orleans and at Point Levi, opposite the town. 10 July, captain Danks' rangers were defeated by the Indians near Montmorency. 31 July, an attack was made by water on the enemy's entrenched forts, the grenadiers and other troops landing in boats from the fort ; but it proved unsuccessful, owing, in some measure, to the over eagerness of the English

soldiers. The English loss was 182 killed, 650 wounded, and 15 missing. Wolfe became very sick, and despondency prevailed among the besiegers ; but on the night of the 12-13 September, he led his men up the woody precipice to the heights of Abraham, where he formed his line, consisting of the Louisbourg grenadiers, Otway's, Bragg's, Kennedy's, Lascelles, the Highlanders, and Anstruther's regiments. The right was commanded by Monckton—the left by Murray, and the rear and left protected by colonel Howe's light infantry. Montcalm advanced with all his force from the Beauport side, intending to flank the left of the English. General Townshend was ordered thither, with Amherst's battalion. Two battalions of the Royal Americans joined him, and Webb's was drawn up as a reserve. The French lined the bushes in their front with 1500 Indians and Canadians, who kept up a galling fire. They had the regiments of La Sarre, Languedoc, Bearne and Guyenne, Roussillon, besides Canadians and Indians. They had two small pieces of artillery, while the English had but one. The English reserved their fire until they were within forty yards of their opponents. It was then that Wolfe fell at the head of Bragg's and the Louisbourg grenadiers, advancing with their bayonets. About the same time Monckton was wounded at the head of Lascelles'. In the front of the opposite battalion fell Montcalm. The English pushed on with the bayonet, and drove the French, part into the town and part to the bridge on the St. Charles. By the English official returns, they lost 57 killed, and had 594 wounded, and 3 missing, in this battle. They took 250 prisoners. On 18 Sept'r, M. de Ramezay surrendered Quebec, by capitulation, to admiral Sanders and general Townshend. The French forces engaged appear to have been about 3000 in number. Wolfe was only 32 years of age, "the parent of the soldier, and" "quite the humane and humble man." He was born in 1727—entered the army a boy of 13 in 1740, and was going with his father that year to the siege of Carthagera, but being taken ill, was sent ashore at Plymouth. He distinguished himself at Rochefort and at Louisbourg. At this last battle of Abraham's plains, he first was wounded in the wrist—received a

second shot in the belly—after that the fatal ball in his breast, when he fell backwards, and shortly after, enquiring and finding the French were repulsed, declared that he died content. The city of Quebec had been cannonaded for more than two months—180 houses had been burnt by fire pots, and all the others riddled by shot and shell. Walls six feet thick had not resisted—vaults, in which private persons had placed their effects, had been burnt, shattered and pillaged during and after the siege, and the cathedral was entirely consumed. It is stated of Wolfe while before Quebec: “He asks no” “one’s opinion and wants no advice, and therefore as he con-” “ducts without an assistant, the honor or —— will be in” “proportion to his success.” Jealousy against this hero prevailed in his camp. With this and delicate health, in so arduous an undertaking, we can imagine his sufferings. The news of the great victory was received at Louisbourg by general Whitmore, then in command, on the 1st October, and by him was transmitted to governor Lawrence, at Halifax. The whole of this campaign, including the operations of general Amherst by land on the Canadian frontier, as well as the achievements of the fleet and army against Quebec, and the defensive measures of the French of that province, are highly interesting. In my research for Acadian history, I have collected much material on this subject, but as it would occupy a large space, I do not feel justified to introduce it here. The fall of Quebec, however, was a turning point in the history of all North America. It led to peace, and produced security for the British colonists. Nova Scotia now obtained a new and valuable accession of loyal and industrious settlers; and however gradual, her progress has ever since been onward.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXV.

(1.)

Some gentlemen in the parish of Westerham, in Kent, have erected a plain monument to the late General Wolfe. “The table is of statuary marble, beau-

tifully executed by Mr. Lovel, near Cavendish square." (Is in white marble letters, inlaid in a ground of black marble.)

JAMES,
son of Col. Edward Wolfe, and Henrietta, his wife,
was born in this parish, January the 2d,
MDCCXXVII,
and died in America, September the 13th,
MDCCLIX.

Whilst George in sorrow bows his laurel'd head,
And bids the artist grace the soldier dead ;
We raise no sculptur'd trophy to thy name,
Brave youth ! the fairest in the list of fame,
Proud of thy birth, we boast th' auspicious year,
Struck with thy fall, we shed a general tear ;
With humble grief inscribe one artless stone ;
And from thy matchless honours date our own.

I decus I nostrum.

[*Annual Register for 1760, p. 99, and in the Gentlemen's Magazine for 1760, p. 201.*]

Thomas Paine (afterwards remarkable for his republican and sceptical doctrines) wrote a song on the death of Wolfe, very popular then and long after. It began thus :

"In a mouldering cave, a wretched retreat,"
"Britannia sat, wasted by care,"
"And she mourned for her Wolfe, and exclaimed against fate,"
"And gave herself up to despair."

I write from memory, having no copy of the verses.

(2.)

(*From Dr. O'Callaghan's Note, to N. Y. Doc's., p. 1027.*)

Lt. Col. Isaac Barré, born in Dublin, 1726, of French parents, entered the army in 1747—lieut. 32d foot 1 Oct'r. 1755—was at Louisbourg in 1758, and appointed major of brigade by Wolfe, 12 May, 1758, and 4 May, 1759, adjutant general of the army at Quebec—lieutenant colonel 19 Jan'y. 1761, (wounded at the siege 13 Sept.) Afterwards lord Shelburne got him a seat in Parl't. and the Gov't. of Stirling Castle, £ 6 ros. per diem. In 1766 he got a pension of £3200 in lieu of it. He sided with the Americans in the debates. He died in 1802, having been totally blind for some time before.

(3.)

Robert Stobo was born at Glasgow in 1727. About 1747 he emigrated to Virginia. In 1754 he was a captain of militia, under major Washington ; and on 3 July, 1754, when Washington surrendered to M. de Villiers, at fort Necessity, Stobo and another militia officer named Van Braam, were placed as hostages in the hands of the French for the return of Jumonville's party. Stobo being kept

at fort *du Quesne* in a light kind of captivity, drew plans of the fort and its environs, and sent them in a letter by an Indian to the English commanders at Wills' creek. After this he was sent to Quebec, where he enjoyed almost perfect freedom. In 1755, his letters and plans fell into the hands of the French when they captured general Braddock's baggage. Stobo was thereupon placed in close arrest at Quebec, and he and Van Braam were tried there for high treason in 1755. Stobo was convicted and Van Braam was acquitted. By a previous order of the French king, the execution of his sentence was suspended. In May, 1759, he made his escape, (his third escape), and this time got off safely in a canoe to Louisbourg. He was at the siege of Quebec, in that year when his local knowledge proved of great use to general Wolfe. The assembly of Virginia voted him £300 in 1756, and in 1759 their special thanks; and returning there, they voted him £1000, besides all arrears of pay while he was prisoner. In 1760 he visited England—was made captain in the 15th regt. of foot, 5 June, 1760. In 1762, he served in the West Indies. In 1767 he again went to England, and left the army in 1770, and is supposed to have died in that year. [10 vol. *New York Doc's.*, pp. 499, 970, 1023.]

(4.)

I saw and conversed with an Indian, (Micmac), who had been at the fall of Quebec. His name was captain Penall. He said he was born at St. Margaret's Bay, Nova Scotia, and that he went a boy of about 14 years with the English expedition to the capture of Quebec. He was taken great care of by his people, and nicely dressed with clean linen and blue cloth dress. He said the dead lay close together in the battle, holding up his fingers to express how close and thick the bodies lay there. I was told that in his manhood he was affluent—had built a brick dwelling house in the bay, and used to get his wine by the pipe or hogshead from Halifax. This may have been somewhat exaggerated, as I never saw any traces in the place of brick or stone building. The fur and fish trade in those days was extensive, and Penall may have also had some gratuities from the government. Some of the Indians of Nova Scotia have built framed or log houses, but at the same time have preferred, at least in summer, to live in their bark wigwams. I saw an instance of this, a few years since, at Gold river, in the county of Lunenburg.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE lords of trade had received a petition from Mary Magdalen How, the widow of Edward How, who had been killed at Chignecto by treachery, while engaged on the public service. She claims that £1180 18s. 6d. was due to him by the province, and states her unhappy position, without means of support for herself and her three children. The board sent this claim to the governor and council, stating that, from the information of the former governor, Cornwallis, they have reason to think the demand may be just. This claim was considered in council, 26 June, 1759. They had Mrs. How before them, and after hearing her statements, they ordered the sum of £948 s. 6d. to be paid her, reserving the payment of the difference for further enquiry. This sum they were authorized to charge to the contingent account of the settlement.

29 June. The province vessels had returned from cape Sable with the remaining French inhabitants, who had concealed themselves from the party sent thither in the autumn of 1758, and the governor and council then determined that they should be landed on George's island, and victualled there, until they could be sent as prisoners to England; and on the 5 July, the thanks of the council were expressed to major Erasmus Philips, for conducting a detachment from Annapolis to cape Sable, and taking these persons.—On thursday, 16 August, 1759, the places of William Cotterell, Robert Grant, and Montague Willmott, in council, becoming vacant by their absence, the governor appointed Richard Bulkeley, Thos. Saul and Joseph Gerrish, in their stead, who were sworn in, and took their seats accordingly.—Next day, the governor, and messrs. Belcher, Green, Collier, Morris, Bulkeley, Saul and Gerrish, attending

in council, the province was divided into five counties — Annapolis, King's, Cumberland, Lunenburg and Halifax. The boundaries of Annapolis county, beginning at a mile north of the harbor commonly called and known by the name of Cape Forchu harbor ; thence to run E. 34° N. on the true meridian lines, and to measure 77 miles ; and thence N. 34° W. to the bay of Fundy. King's, bounded westerly by the county of Annapolis, and of the same width, and from the southeasterly corner of said county to run E. 24° N. to the lake commonly called Long lake, emptying into Pisiquid river, and thence continuing near the same course to the river Chibenaccadie, opposite to the mouth of the river Stewiack ; thence up said river ten miles, and thence northerly to Tatmaguash, and from Tatmaguash, westerly, to the river Solier, where it discharges into the channel of Chignecto. Cumberland to consist of all the lands in the province of Nova Scotia lying north of King's county. Lunenburg, beginning at a brook at the bottom of Mahone bay, and on the easterly head thereof, and thence to run northerly till it meets the lake called Long lake, and to be bounded easterly by the said lake, and northwesterly by the county of Annapolis and King's county — southwestly by the river Rosignol and Port Senior, and southeasterly by the sea shore to the first limits, comprising all the islands southward of the same. That the county of Halifax comprise all the main land and islands lying easterly of the county of Lunenburg, and southerly and easterly of King's county ; and all the other lands and islands within the province of Nova Scotia, &c.

August 22. The council, in consequence of the dissolution of the late assembly, which, as already stated, took place on 13 August, and the time approaching for calling a new one, resolved that there should be elected 22 members, viz't. :

For the township of Halifax,	4
“ the towns of Lunenburg, Annapolis, Horton and Cumberland, 2 each,	8
“ counties of Halifax, Lunenburg, Annapolis, Kings and Cumberland, 2 each,	10
	<hr/> 22

Eleven besides the speaker to be necessary to do business. Voters to have 40s. freehold in the town or county for which they vote. Popish recusants and minors under 21 not to vote. The returning officer not to be eligible. State oaths, test and qualification oaths, were prescribed. The provost marshal to appoint deputies to hold the elections. Freeholders of King's county not yet settled, may vote at Halifax. Several other regulations were added, and the writs were to be made returnable on 20 November next.

It was a great stretch of power in the governor and council to alter and re-arrange the constitution of the representative body of their own authority, but it seems to have been done with the best design for the public good, and being unobjected to, may be considered as sanctioned by the crown and the people. 26 October. A township, to be called Wolfe, on the river Chibenacadie, was resolved on, and the two large grants, each of 50,000 acres, in 1736, one at Chignecto and the other at Pisiquid, were ordered to be rescinded by a suit on behalf of the crown, in order to make room for settlers. Both grants were accordingly escheated 21 April, 1760. [*See this work, vol. 1., pp. 519, 520.*] Early in November, governor Lawrence sent to England 151 French Acadians from cape Sable, who had been kept on George's island from the end of June. They had surrendered voluntarily.

A return of the number of French prisoners taken at cape Sable, in the province of Nova Scotia, and shipped off on board the ship "Mary the Fourth," William Daverson, master, at Halifax, 9th November, 1759 :

<i>Men.</i>	<i>Women.</i>	<i>Children.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
56	46	49	151

The masonry of the light house on Sambro island was finished, and the lanthorn was in progress of erection. Lawrence had a chart of the harbor of Halifax and its entrance, with directions for piloting in ships safely, prepared in duplicate, and sent to the board of trade and the admiralty.

On the night of the 3-4 November, 1759, Saturday night and Sunday morning, the most violent gale of wind occurred at Halifax that had ever been known. Vast damage was done

to wharves, and the salt and sugars in the stores on and near the beach were almost wholly ruined. Two schooners were driven ashore. Thousands of trees were blown down, and in some places the roads were rendered impassable. Several thousand pounds loss was computed to have been sustained. The tide was supposed to have been raised 6 feet perpendicular above its ordinary level. [*Gentleman's magazine*, 1760, p. 45.] The storm broke down the dykes on the bay of Fundy everywhere, and the marsh lands now deserted were overflowed and deteriorated. At fort Frederick, on St. John river, a considerable part of the fort was washed away; and at fort Cumberland, 700 cords of firewood was swept off by the tide, in a body, from the woodyard although situated at least ten feet higher than the tops of the dykes.—16 November, 1759. Alexandre Brussard, Simon Martin, Jean Bass and Joseph Brussard, came with a flag of truce to fort Cumberland, (Beauséjour), as deputies for about 190 French Acadians—men, women and children, residing at Petitcoudiac and Memramcook. They stated to colonel Frye, the commandant, their wish to surrender to the English government. They also said they had not provisions enough to keep them alive until spring. Frye told them to send 63 of their number to his fort, to be maintained there. They testified gratitude for this relief, and went off next day, 17 Nov'r., leaving Alexandre Broussard as a hostage for their good behaviour. 17 Nov'r. Pierre Suretz, Jean Burk and Michel Burk, arrived at the fort Cumberland, under flag of truce, as deputies for 700 persons resident at Miramichi, Richibucto and Buctouche. Their story was to the same effect as that of the previous party, Frye offered to receive 230 of their people to winter at Beauséjour. They stated to him that they had captured, near Canso, in the past summer, twelve vessels,—they promised to bring in these vessels if the great storm had not destroyed them; and on the 20th Nov'r. this deputation left the fort. Shortly after this, 51 persons arrived at Beauséjour, under this agreement; and on 4 Dec'r. four men came there from Richibucto. The more distant inhabitants were expected to come in December and January. Colonel Frye, writing to governor Lawrence from

Fort Cumberland, Chignecto, Dec'r. 10, 1759, states his expectation that early in the spring there would be at that place and at the baie Verte, about 900 souls, to be disposed of as his excellency should see fit. (On saturday, 12 January, 1760, the governor and council decided to accept the submission of those Acadians, and assist them with provisions. Nov'r. 11, sunday, general Sir W. Shirley, governor of the Bahama islands, arrived passenger in H. M. ship Mermaid, at Charleston, South Carolina.) 19 Nov'r. The returns for 12 members of the new assembly had been received, but those from Annapolis Royal and Chignecto had not come in. Eleven of the members returned were in Halifax, not enough to form a quorum. It was thereupon resolved in council to postpone the meeting of the assembly until 4 December, and a proclamation accordingly issued.

After the reduction of Quebec, about 200 inhabitants of the river St. John, under the guidance of the jesuit père Germain and père Coquarte, came down the river, and exhibited to colonel Arbuthnot, who then commanded at fort Frederick, certificates from captain Cramahé, deputy judge advocate at Quebec, that they had taken the oath of allegiance to the king of England. They had got leave from general Monckton to return to their habitations. Arbuthnot told them they must come down to the fort and remain there till he obtained orders from governor Lawrence as to what should be done with them. They accordingly came, and he wrote to Lawrence. Governor Lawrence stated to the council, 30 November, that Cramahé had given them the certificates on the supposition that they belonged to some river or place in Canada, called St. John, and not to the river St. John, in Nova Scotia; and that Monckton had not given permission for their return hither. Amherst, in his letter of New York, 5 Feb'y., 1760, confirms Lawrence's view on this subject, and approves his treating those French as prisoners at discretion. The people were in a starving condition; but as the French always pretended that the river St. John was their territory as a depepdance of Canada, and it would not be proper they should re-settle there, the council advised the governor to hire vessels—bring them to Halifax

as prisoners of war until they could be sent to England, and that the two priests be likewise removed out of the province.

Some of the chiefs of the St. John Indians had also gone to Fort Frederick and taken the oath of allegiance, and it was resolved that Arbuthnot should encourage them to come on to Halifax, to confirm there their views of peace and traffic. At this time, exchange of prisoners took place, and Vaudreuil sent 16 officers and over 200 men, (English), to be balanced by a similar number from general Amherst.

The lords of trade became dissatisfied with the measures taken by Lawrence and his council for settling the vacant lands in Nova Scotia, and directed him not to proceed with further grants until H. M. pleasure therein should be signified.

On tuesday, 4 Dec'r., 1759, the first session of the second assembly of Nova Scotia began. The following members were returned, as elected, by the provost marshal :

William Nesbit, Esqr.,	Sebastian Zouberbuhler, Esq'r.
Henry Newton, Esq'r.,	Mr. Philip Knaut,
Malachy Salter, Esq'r.,	Colonel Jonathan Hoar,
Mr. Jonathan Binney,	Mr. Isaac Deschamps,
Mr. John Burbidge,	Erasmus James Philips, Esq'r.,
Mr. Benjamin Gerrish,	John Newton, Esq'r.,
Joseph Scot, Esq'r.,	Winckworth Tonge, Esq'r.,
Captain Charles Procter,	Captain Simon Slocomb,
Mr. Michael Franklin,	Colonel Joseph Fry.
Mr. Archibald Hinshelwood,	John Huston, Esq'r.

(in all 20 members.) William Nesbit, esquire, was chosen speaker. The governor's speech congratulated the house and council on the fall of Quebec, "that barbarous metropolis" "from whence his good subjects of this province and the king's" "other American dominions, have groaned under such continual and unpardonable wrongs." The oath of allegiance was taken, and the declaration subscribed by the members of the house. Mr. John Duport acted as secretary to the council. "Resolved, that the office of clerk to the assembly be executed by a member or members of the house." "Voted, that Mr. Hinshelwood and Mr. Deschamps be joint clerks to the house." "Voted, that John Calbeck be messenger and doorkeeper to

the house." Nesbit, Hinshelwood, Newton, Salter and Franklin, were appointed a committee to answer governor's speech. 5 December, 1759. In the answer of the House, they call "Cannada the mother and nurse of the most cruel, savage" "enemies to these his majesty's American colonies." They express the "grateful sense we have of your Excellency's" "paternal care in the wise and prudent steps taken to engage" "such great numbers of substantial and respectable protestant" "families from the neighboring colonies to settle on the vacated and other lands of this province." Saturday, Dec'r. 8th, 1759. "The question being put, whether any money should be voted to the members of the House for their service during the present session, unanimously resolved in the negative, and that they will not put their constituents to any charge for their attendance." 11 Dec'r. Resolved, that the minutes of this house be printed weekly. 17 Dec'r. Rev'd. Mr. Wood appointed chaplain to read prayers every morning, at 3s. a day—to be paid by the members of the house. Wednesday, Dec. 19. His excellency sent to the house, accounts of duties collected, and of the disposal of them. [*See appendix to this chapter.*] Dec'r. 27. Petition from German settlers at Lunenburg, for a minister, German or English, and for an English school-master. 31 Dec'r. Several bills received the governor's assent.

Governor Lawrence wrote at some length (10 Dec'r.) to the board of trade, replying to their despatch of 1 August, 1759. to excuse or vindicate the course he and his council had pursued in granting lands to the New England settlers. He quotes to them from their letter of 8 July, 1736, March, 10, 1757, and 7 Feb'y., 1758, in all of which they trace out the course he had pursued. He admits that in the last they mention the transmission of proposals of settlement for H. M. approval, but he did not understand it as an injunction against granting lands, or importing an intention to dispose of them otherwise than among H. M. subjects of the neighboring colonies. The frontier lands, including river St. John, Petitcoudiac, Memramcook, Chipodie, Shediac, Tatamagouche, Miramichi, Baie Verte, and part of Chignecto, equal to any in

fertility and convenience, are not granted or engaged ; and if it is decided to make grants at the peace to officers and soldiers, will afford ample scope. He also says the late violent storm has done great damage. The dykes have been destroyed, and the marsh lands on the bay of Fundy have been all overflowed.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVI.

(I .)

Wednesday, December 19, 1759.

His Excellency the Governor sent the house the following accounts, viz't. :
An abstract of the state of the accounts of the new duty and bounty monies paid,
viz't.

Expences of the late General Assembly,	£282	0	9
To the Overseers of the Poor,	100	0	0
For bounties on hay, roots and stone walls,	69	6	3
	£451	7	0
Balance in hands of the Treasurer,	1109	17	0
	£1561	4	0
Received from Mr. Newton,	£747	9	8
Ditto from Mr. Salter,	813	14	4
	£1561	4	0

Halifax, Dec'r. 10th, 1759.

[Errors excepted.]

Signed

BENJAMIN GREEN.

Abstract of the expence incurred by the Commissioners appointed for erecting a
Light House and House of Correction, and carrying on other public
works, viz't. :

Expended, as per vouchers in the hands of the treasurer, for the Beacon Light-house, House of Correction, Church, Meeting house and Gaol, £3820 14 11
N. B.—Appropriated out of the old duty money, viz't. :

For the Light-house,	£1000	0	0
For the Work-house,	500	0	0
For the Church,	400	0	0
For the Meeting house,	100	0	0
	£2000	0	0
Surplus in the Treasury of the said } duty money,	1535	3	8
	3535	3	8
Exceeding already made,	285	11	3
	£3820	14	11

There will be wanted to replace the exceedings already made, and to defray the expence yet unpaid, a sum not less by computation than £1500.

(Signed)	BENJAMIN GREEN	}	Commissioners.
	JOHN COLLIER,		
	CHARLES MORRIS,		
	JOSEPH GERRISH,		
	HENRY NEWTON,		
	MALACHY SALTER,		

(2.)

In the Marriage Licenses this year I find—

26 July. Jonathan Binney, widower, and Hannah Newton, spinster.

8 Sept. George Suckling, widower, and Frances Duport, spinster.

11 Oct. Jonathan Prescott, widower, and Ann Blagdon, spinster.

I notice these as names connected with old families in the province.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1760. After the siege and fall of Quebec, the missionaries Menach and Maillard were disposed to induce their followers, both Acadians and Indians, to submit themselves to the English as a conquering nation. Boishébert, who had been left on the frontier of Nova Scotia to guard and promote French interests, was very angry with these priests, because they advised their people to submission. [*Memoires sur le Canada*, pp. 174, 175.]

In the assembly, on the 3 January, accounts were rendered, shewing the expenditure of £3820 14s. 11d. on the light-house and other public works. Of this sum, £987 5s. 5d. was for materials for the light-house—£452 10s. 10d. and £635 6s. 8d. on account of same establishment—£545 6s. 0d. for the work-house, and smaller sums spent on the church, meeting house, gaol, &c. Besides the £3820 14s. 11d., it was estimated that £1500 more would be required to complete these buildings; and on 5 Jan'y. both houses united in an address to the governor to expend £1000 towards their completion. In consequence of sickness of members, there could not be a quorum, and the governor, on 21 January, adjourned the assembly until the 4 February, when he again adjourned it for the same cause to 18 February. On monday, 18 February, the governor sent a message to the house by hon. Mr. Bulkeley, the provincial secretary, respecting a treaty he was concluding with the Indians of St. John river and Passamaquoddie, and overtures of submission made by the Micmacs. He pointed out the necessity of preventing private trade with the Indians—build-

ing truck-houses, and making them public presents. The building a market-house by lottery was also proposed. 23 Feb. there was no quorum, owing to relapse of sick members. This went on until 26th, when the governor adjourned the assembly to 10 March. On 10 March the house addressed the governor in congratulation on the victory of Sir Edward Hawke, 20 Nov. previous. On the 29 March the governor postponed the sitting of the assembly until 1 May.

On the 9 January, Roger Morris, an Indian, and four of his friends, presented themselves to the governor and council with overtures of peace, stating that a large number of the Micmacs were assembled on the coast not far from Halifax, with like intentions. They were sent back to their people, with assurances of friendship and readiness to make a peace.

M. Massé St. Maurice sent a memoir to M. Berryer, dated Versailles, 3 January, 1760. He says that general Murray, at Quebec, has 5000 men in garrison, and he proposes that the French should land troops at Manawagoniche, (near St. John, N. B.) to go overland to Quebec. He says fort Latour, or St. John, is on the left bank of the river St. John, (now Carleton), and that it has a garrison of 150 English since its reduction. As 500 men would have to march 160 leagues or more through the woods to reach the Canada settlements, he suggests the use of nutritive powder, which had been prepared for a descent upon England. (The pemmican of the Indians is very like the supposed nutritive powder.) 10 March, Lawrence received letters from general Amherst, who was then at New York. He sends him a Gazette, containing the great and glorious success of "H. M. fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, over the so long boasted one of mons^r. de Conflans," in November, 1759. The news came by the Earl of Leicester, packet, which arrived at New York 13 February. "Private letters by her add that three French men-of-war were bilged in the riviere Villaine, and two other capital ones run on ground flying into the river at Rochfort." (Hawke had 23 ships of the line, from 100 guns to 60; and 10 smaller vessels, from 50 guns to 32. The French had 21 ships of the line, from 80 to 64 guns; and 5 smaller vessels.) On tuesday,

the 11 February, colonel Arbuthnot, the officer who commanded at Fort Frederick, on the St. John river, came to Halifax, bringing with him two Indian chiefs of the Passamaquoddy tribe, to make peace on the basis of the old Indian treaty of 1725. They appeared before the governor and council with an interpreter, and it was agreed that the treaty should be prepared in English and French—that they should be sent back in a vessel to St. John, and that Arbuthnot should accompany them, taking the treaty with him to be ratified. On the 13th, the draft of the treaty was read in council, and approved. Mr. Benjamin Gerrish proposed to act as agent to buy goods, and sell them to the Indians for furs—to receive 5 per cent. on goods purchased, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. on furs sold. Less than 20 p. c. on the prime cost charged to the Indian purchasers would cover all expences, per centages, &c., and the Indians could obtain the articles at least 50 per cent cheaper than hitherto. This proposal was accepted, and 16 Feb'y. the governor and council settled with the Indian chiefs a table of prices for furs. [*See appendix.*] These Indians stated their numbers at 500, men, women and children. The council decided to send a sufficient supply of provisions with them for their present wants, and that Mr. Gerrish should purchase such different sorts of merchandize as they had immediate occasion for. While the council were sitting on the 13th February, Roger Morris, (Micmac), and Claude René, chief of the Chibenacadie Indians, came in,—so did three Frenchmen, lately arrived from Pictou. The Indians had left about 70 of their people at Jedore, who had no resource but killing moose, and said the men would come up to make peace if they had provisions to leave for the women and children. It was then resolved to give them a row boat, with a barrel of flour, a barrel of pork, and two barrels of bread, to subsist the families on during their absence. Friday, 22 February. The Indian chiefs (from Passamaquoddy) attended the governor and council, and were presented with laced blankets, laced hats, &c. They were informed that similar presents would be sent to the chief of the St. John Indians—that the treaty of peace would be ready to be signed to-morrow, and that they should embark on sun-

day if the wind was favorable. On 23 Feb'y., Michel Neptune, chief, (Passamaquoddy), and Ballomy Glode, chief of St. John Indians, made a treaty, based on those of 1725 and 1749, adding an engagement not to aid the enemies of the English—to confine their traffic to the truck-houses at Fort Frederick or elsewhere, and to leave three of each tribe resident there as hostages to ensure performance of the articles. Saturday, 23 Feb'y., the treaties of peace with the Indian chiefs of the tribes of St. John's river and Passamaquoddy, were signed by the governor and the chiefs. Friday, 29 Feb'y. Paul Laurent, chief of Lahéve, and Michel Augustine, chief of Richibucto, came in with a letter from colonel Frye, the commanding officer at fort Cumberland, to make peace. As it appeared that all the Micmacs were willing to make treaties on the terms already granted to the St. John and Passamaquoddy tribes, it was resolved to make peace with each chief who came in, and afterwards to have a general treaty signed at Chignecto; and that truck-houses should be established. 10 March, monday, treaties of peace were signed in council with

Paul Laurent, chief of Lehave,

Michel Augustine, Richibucto,

Claude René, Chibenacadie and Muscadoboit,

and they received the usual presents.

On the same day, governor Lawrence informed the council that a complaint had been made to him by the justices of the Inferior court against Mr. Monk, one of their number, for neglect of attendance, &c.; that Monk had told him if he was removed from office, he would print the affair, and that £1000 would be subscribed to enable him to appeal it to the king in council. The council held Monk guilty of high indignity and contempt, and referred to some alleged ill conduct of his in 1753, and advised his removal from his offices of judge of the Inferior court and of justice of the peace. [Mr. Monk was the father of Sir James Monk, chief justice of Canada, and of George Henry Monk, one of the judges of the Supreme court of Nova Scotia. The family were of high origin, their head being duke of Albemarle, the restorer of the monarchy. The branch that resided in Nova Scotia, were all remarkable for

learning and refinement. The writer remembers, with great pleasure, the family of judge George Henry Monk, frequently called major Monk, having been an officer in the army. The late bishop Monk was a near connection.] Judge G. H. Monk was married to miss Gould. He lived in Halifax, opposite to the site of the present Halifax hotel.

The English parliament had voted 12 February—
 “Upon account for supporting and maintain-”

“ing the settlement of H. M. colony in”

“Nova Scotia, for 1760,”

£11,785 6 10

For the same in 1758, not provided for, 5,851 4 5

Amherst writes to governor Lawrence, from New York, 4 March. He expresses anxiety that lord Colville may use the English naval force to prevent succors and cut off intercourse between Canada and France. He states that 6000 Canadians had taken the oaths of allegiance to England, and seemed pleased with the change of masters. On 5 April he writes again, regretting he can not send additional troops to Nova Scotia, having been obliged to send troops to Carolina ‘to punish the perfidiousness of the Cherokee Indians.’ He adds: “I must not omit my most grateful acknowledgments” “for your very kind and civil invitation of me to your house,” “in case I should go up the river St. Lawrence. If I do, and” “I am obliged to call in at Halifax, I shall, notwithstanding” “the inconvenience it may put you to, accept of your polite” “and friendly offer.” In the spring of this year, the chevalier de Levis, who, after the death of Montcalm, had become the chief military officer of the French, with about 3500 regulars, about the same number of militia, and a few hundred Indians, with 6 frigates who came down the river with the baggage, ammunition, &c., came down to Quebec, and the French army got to the heights of Abraham, near Quebec, about the end of April. General Murray came out from Quebec to meet them, with 3000 men, but after a sanguinary conflict, in which near 1000 of the English were killed and wounded, Murray had to retire into the fortress of Quebec. The English lost about 250 killed, and over 700 wounded; among the killed was major Hussey, of Lascelle’s regiment. The besiegers had

little or no cannon, and the arrival of English frigates (lord Colville having left Halifax 16 April with his squadron) caused the French to raise the siege in the middle of April with great precipitation. The English garrison suffered severely by scurvy, attributed to want of fresh meat and vegetable food, and a cold climate, 1000 dying of this disease.

Mr. Pitt, 9 Feb'y., ordered that the fortress of Louisbourg should be demolished, and the harbor to be made as impracticable as may be, the garrison, artillery, stores, &c., to be sent to Halifax. The lords of trade, meanwhile, had approved of governor Lawrence's proceedings in the settlement of the province, which, he says, relieved him from great anxiety. They had desired that lands should be reserved as a reward and provision 'for such officers and soldiers as might be disban-' 'ded in America upon a peace.' He therefore had desisted from making any further grants of the cleared lands. As to the Atlantic coast of the province, 'which is altogether un-' 'cleared,' he proposes to settle it with fishermen and farmers as fast as possible. He had sent Mr. Morris, the surveyor, in one of the province vessels, along the coast to the Westward, to lay out and adjust the limits of the townships for fishery, at one of which (Liverpool) fifty families and six fishing schooners had already arrived. Morris was thence to proceed to Annapolis, Mines and Pisiquid. Forty families had arrived to settle in that direction, and transports, &c., were expected with more from Connecticut. In January, he had sent for 300 French inhabitants of St. John's river, whom he had now (11 May) in Halifax, as prisoners, until he could send them to England. He states to the lords of trade the treaties he had made with the Indians—the exclusion of private trade with them—the establishing of truck-houses and Benjamin Gerrish as commissary, and had induced the assembly to pass a law, with severe penalties, against private trading with the Indians. He mentions the two grants of 1736, each of 50,000 acres. Not more than one or two of the grantees remained in the province. There was no prospect of improvement by the grantees. The conditions were all unperformed, and above £8000 quit rent on them was due to the crown,—none had

ever been paid. He had appointed a commissioner, who had, with a jury, tried the question, and they found the conditions had not been fulfilled. The proceedings would be returned into chancery, and he could then regrant these lands to industrious settlers. He says: "According to my ideas of the military, which I offer with all possible deference and submission, they are the least qualified, from their occupation as soldiers, of any men living to establish new countries, where they must encounter difficulties with which they are altogether unacquainted; and I am the rather convinced of it, as every soldier that has come into this province since the establishment of Halifax, has either quitted it or become a dramseller." During this spring, many of the New England soldiers at Chignecto and St. John's river left, notwithstanding all persuasion, (their time of enlistment being probably expired.) From Fort Frederick, on the St. John, 70 of them went off openly in one schooner, and 80 in another.

A severe fire had occurred at Boston, 20 March, in which near 400 buildings were destroyed, and property consumed above £100,000 sterling in value. Pownal wrote circulars to the governors on the continent; and 25 May, he writes to Lawrence, thanking him and the people of Nova Scotia for their contributions in aid of the sufferers. Same date he states that he is about to leave directly for England. 31 May, general Whitmore received an order, under the king's sign manual, for demolition of the fortress of Louisbourg, where he commanded, and he at once set his men to work to carry out his instructions.

Early in June, the settlers at Liverpool (port Rossignol) amounted to 70 heads of families, with a considerable number of live stock, and 13 fishing schooners, which were then on the banks. Those on shore were putting up houses. They had erected three saw mills. Mr. Morris reported favorably of the families that had come to Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth. In May, forty settlers arrived at Annapolis, and a committee for Granville to lay out lots. Mr. Morris left Annapolis 30 May, and arrived 31st at Pisiquid, (Windsor.) On 1 June, there came up to that place captain Rogers, with six

transports, bringing inhabitants principally for the township of Mines, (Horton.) They had been out 21 days, and suffered much for want of sufficient provender and hay for their stock. Their cattle were landed at Pisiquid, to be afterwards driven to Mines. Many families were left at New London, with their cattle, not finding room in the transports.

In May, six French ships of war had left Bourdeaux, having troops and horses on board, intended for the garrison of Montreal. Three of them were taken in the channel, and three others arrived in the gulf of St. Lawrence, with the view of going up the river past Quebec. They captured some English craft, and ascertained that lord Colville's squadron were at sea, on which they made for the bay of Chaleur—landed troops at Ristigouche, and built a battery, sending overland to notify Vaudreuil. They were not long there when commodore Byron, of the *Fame*, 74, followed shortly after by four other English men-of-war, came to the place, from Louisbourg, where they had been sent to protect the garrison in demolishing the fortifications. Byron got to Ristigouche 24 June. The French batteries were manned by 250 soldiers, 700 Acadians, and 800 Indians. The larger English vessels could not get up high enough for some days; but on 8 July, the French were overcome. The loss to the English was 12 killed, and as many wounded. The French had 30 altogether killed and wounded. They took 3 French vessels, the *Machault*, 32, *Bien-faisant*, 22, *Marquis Marloze*, 18, and 19 small vessels, most of them English traders which the French had taken; their batteries, were all destroyed, and the settlement totally ruined. Lord Colville, in his letter to Mr. Pitt, says 200 houses were destroyed, but it would seem that they were not on the Ristigouche, as we find that, although there was a town begun there, with fortifications, called *Petite Rochelle*, near the mouth of the river, the place was probably small at that time,—while at *Beaubair's* point, on the *Miramichi*, there was a town of 200 houses, and a chapel, which Byron destroyed in 1760. On *Beaubair's* island, (since owned by messrs. Fraser), there was a battery that commanded the river, and at *French fort cove* the fortifications mounted sixteen guns. At *Fawcett's* point,

the French had a ship-yard, an armory, and valuable stores, (storehouses.) The island and point were named after Pierre Beaubair, who superintended the colony. He died in 1757. [*Annual Register for 1760, p. 134. Cooney's N. Brunswick, 30. Gesner's N. B., 43.*]

11 July. Abbé Ménac, (called also Manach and Miniac), missionary of the bay *des Ouines*, or Miramichi, transferred himself, with 15 Acadian families and some Indians, to the interest of the English. He abandoned a rich chapel, enjoining openly on the Acadians to act in favor of the English. [10 *N. York Doc's.*, 1133.] Whitmore recommends Maillard to governor Lawrence as a useful instrument in promoting peace with the Indians. Fort Frederick, at St. John river, was in need of great alteration to make it defensible, as lieut. Tonge reported. The campaign in Canada was, in August, making progress, Amherst taking with him from Crown point about 5000 men. Monckton was to join him at Oswego, from Fort Pittsburgh; and colonel Haviland, with 2500 regulars, and brigadier Ruggles, with 3000 provincials, were to advance at the same time.

The removal of Mr. Robt. Grant from council, on the ground of his absence, was complained of by him to the lords of trade; and there is a letter of Lawrence to them on the subject, of 1 Sept., which shews that personal ill feelings existed between the governor and this gentleman. Whether either or both were to blame, can be of little import now.—The committees of the townships of Truro and Onslow, at Cobequid, requested aid in cutting roads between the several lakes that lie between Fort Sackville and their townships, and the council (5 August) advised that provisions be allowed them while actually employed in the work. Three or four hundred Acadians, assembled at this time at fort Cumberland, submitted themselves to be disposed of at the pleasure of the government; and colonel Frye, who commanded there, expected to receive similar proposals from 700 more who were at Ristigouche. The council advised that vessels be hired to bring round such of them as could not travel by land to Halifax. £100 was voted by the council to William Nesbitt, esq., for his extraordinary services

as attorney general for the current year, out of the provincial funds. This vote passed saturday, 27 Sept'r., 1760—present, his excellency the governor, and messrs. Belcher, Green, Collier, Bulkeley and Gerrish, councillors, being the last meeting of council that Lawrence attended.

Paul Mascarene died this year, he who so long commanded at Annapolis Royal, as president, and had gradually obtained higher military rank, being made major general in November, 1760. Those readers who have given attention to our former pages, need not be reminded of the eminent qualities of this gentleman and soldier. In his portrait, still extant, where he is shewn in armor, there is much to admire. In his moral qualities, patience, and strict perseverance in loyalty and duty. His just influence with the French and Indians, acquired by his talents and accomplished behavior, and in his great honesty of character, he has left a pattern that all may appreciate, though few will undertake to copy. Without interest or favor, his services were undervalued and unrewarded, but at all times he went on in the straight path of honor. His career illustrates the passage in Butler :

“ But loyalty is still the same,”

“ Whether it win or lose the game ;”

“ True as the dial to the sun,”

“ Which turns, altho' not shone upon.”

In this year also captain John Rous died. In 1744 he was master of a Boston privateer, and in the end of July he arrived at St. John's harbor, in Newfoundland, from the great Banks, bringing in eight French vessels, with 90,000 mud fish. In August, the British man-of-war stationed at Newfoundland fitted out a ship, commanded by captain Cleves, with some small craft, and 50 marines. Rous, in his vessel, accompanied them, and they sailed in quest of the French ships that cured codfish in the Northern harbors of Newfoundland. On the 18 August, at Fishot, they took five good French ships, some dried fish but not well cured, and 70 tuns of liver oil. Thence they proceeded to the harbors of St. Julian and Carrous. In 1745, he commanded the Shirley, galley, at the first siege of Louisbourg, and was sent by Pepperell with dispatches of the

victory to England, and made a captain in the Royal navy 24th Sept'r., 1745. He continued in employment on the Nova Scotia station, where, in 1755, he commanded the naval forces at Chignecto; and after Beauséjour fell, was ordered to the river St. John. In 1756 he commanded the *Success*, 22; and in 1757, the frigate *Winchelsea*, 20; in 1758, the *Sutherland*, 50, at the second siege of Louisbourg; and in 1759, at the siege of Quebec. It was from this ship Wolfe issued his last order before ascending the heights of Abraham. On all occasions he was active, skilful, and fully relied on. In 1754 he was made a member of H. M. council for Nova Scotia.

In September, Amherst completed the conquest of Canada. On the 7 Sept'r., (sunday), the town of Montreal was invested by three armies, whose total exceeded 32,000 men. The principal one came by lake Ontario, under Amherst himself; the second by lake Champlain, under colonel Haviland, and the third from Quebec, in ships, under general Murray. As the English advanced, the inhabitants gave way to the superior force of the invaders. The domiciliated Indians left the French standard, and either acted as guides to the English, or in some cases took an active part against their old friends. The French troops amounted only to about 4000 men, (including 650 colonial.) On the 8th, Vaudreuil capitulated. The honors of war were accorded to the garrison who engaged not to serve against England during the present war. The free exercise of religion was secured to the Canadians, and the church and religious orders were to retain all their property. On returning to France, Vaudreuil was sent to the Bastille—was finally acquitted in December, 1763, and died in 1764. François Bigot, the intendant, was also imprisoned in the Bastille. More than fifty persons, accused or suspected of malversation and fraud in the receipt and disbursements of the French government in Canada previous to the conquest, were tried by a royal commission, appointed in December, 1762. In 1765, they freed M. Vaudreuil of all blame—sentenced Bigot to restore to the king four and a half millions of livres, and to be banished for life, and other officers of the colony to restore various sums, and to banishment for certain periods. The sums ad-

judged to be made good amounted in all to 12,695,000 livres. Bigot was sent to Bourdeaux, where he is said to have lived in ease and comfort. His character belongs to Canadian history, and is very remarkable, combining some generous qualities with remarkable profligacy; and one can hardly doubt that his conduct tended to the fall of the province, as he not only wasted the public resources, but permitted, if he did not encourage, his subordinates to follow his example.

On the very day that Vaudreuil surrendered Montreal and all Canada to Amherst, monday, 8 Sept'r., Lawrence, who had not been permitted to participate in the campaigns of this or the year before, opened the second session of the second general assembly of Nova Scotia, at Halifax. Nesbit was speaker, and Isaac Deschamps clerk, of the representative body. The governor, in his speech, mentions a recent tour he had made through the province—commends the settlement of Liverpool and the new townships in the bay of Fundy, and anticipates that by their aid Halifax will prosper as a commercial port.—The house again voted that they would not put their constituents to any charge for their attendance. The council refused to pass a private divorce bill, as no decree of divorce was offered to support it; and twenty acts in all were passed, the most important one being a law for commissioners of sewers, then essential to the repair and extension of the dykes in the marsh lands on the bay of Fundy. Accounts were exhibited for £6832 17s. 7d. expended on public buildings—light-house, work-house, church, meeting-house and gaol; and it was supposed £1000 more was due on this account. The light duties collected in 1760 came to £262 14s. 4d., and the expences for oil, keeper, &c., paid, were £256 6s. 6d. The economy of public money of those days is highly praiseworthy; and the gentlemanly feeling that prevailed, inducing the members to serve wholly at their own expense, is pleasing to observe. Nor ought we to forget the gratuitous services of the members of council from 1720 down to the middle of the present century. The governor closed this session on saturday, 27 September. The whole business was thus despatched in less than three

weeks. It is not impossible that part even of this short term may have been employed in social and kindly meetings.

While building was the chief concern in Halifax, pulling down and levelling held the upper hand at Louisbourg. The fortifications were mined and blown up—the stones lay in heaps—every glacis was levelled, and the ditches filled up. The citadel, west gate and curtain, were the last destroyed. All the guns, mortars, shot and implements of war, as well as the picquets, Portland stone, &c., were carried to Halifax. Part of the barracks were repaired, so as to offer accommodations for 300 men when requisite, and the hospital and private buildings were left standing.

The Cherokees were this year subdued by colonel Montgomery, and 1200 men, sent by Amherst to help the Southern colonies.

Governor Lawrence was taken ill on saturday, 11 October, of a fever and inflammation of the lungs, attributed by tradition to a draught of cold water, taken when he was heated by dancing at a ball ;—of which he died on sunday, the 19th, of the same month. He was, it is said, in the prime of life, and he certainly stood high in the estimation of all the colonists. During the eleven years he had spent in Nova Scotia, he occupied either the chief or a prominent position in all its affairs, both civil and military, and won the respect and confidence as well of the authorities in England as of the settlers in this country. He was actively engaged at Chignecto and at Lunenburg in laying the foundations of towns and villages, and after the expulsion of the Acadians was the chief mover in bringing hither the New Englanders as emigrants to re-people our Western districts. In the expulsion itself he was deeply engaged, and the praise or blame of it—perhaps both—belong largely to him. He was a man inflexible in his purposes, and held control in no feeble hands. Earnest and resolute he pursued the object of establishing and confirming British authority here with marked success ; and the obedience and loyalty he wished to predominate have ever since been governing principles with the general body of our population.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVII.

(1.)

16 February, 1760, the governor and council and the Indian chiefs settled a table of prices.

THE TABLE.

That a pound of the best spring beaver be valued at five shillings, and that two pounds of spring beaver be equal to three pounds of fall beaver.

That a loutre or otter skin be esteemed equal to a pound of spring beaver.

That three martre, sable, or martin skins, be esteemed equal to a pound of spring beaver.

That a pequan or fisher's skin be equal to a pound of spring beaver.

That six foins or vizons, or minks skins, be equal to a pound of spring beaver.

That an ours or bear skin, large and in good season, be equal to a pound and one-third of spring beaver, and others in proportion.

That a Renard rouge, red fox skin, be equal to half a pound of spring beaver.

That a renard noir, black fox skin, be equal to two pounds of spring beaver.

That a renard argenté, silver'd fox skin, be equal to two pounds and a half of spring beaver.

That ten rats musqué, musquash skins, be equal to a pound of spring beaver.

That loup marins, seal skins, from three feet and a half long to twelve feet long, be valued from eight pence to three shillings and four pence each.

That a large orignal (original) or moose skin, be equal to a pound and a half of spring beaver. and in proportion for smaller.

That a large loup servié, (loup cervier), cat's skin, be equal to two pounds of spring beaver, and in proportion for smaller.

That five pounds of deer, cerf, Chrevreux, (chevreaux, kids) deer skin, be equal to a pound of spring beaver.

That ten blette, (*an herb, hermine, ermine*), blettes, ermin skins, be equal to a pound of spring beaver.

That six pounds of plumes, feathers, be equal to a pound of spring beaver.

That a large blanket be sold for two pounds of spring beaver.

That two gallons of rum be sold for one pound of spring beaver.

That two gallons and a half of molasses be sold for one pound of spring beaver.

That thirty pounds of flour be sold for one pound of spring beaver.

That fourteen pounds of pork be sold for one pound of spring beaver.

That two yards of stroud be sold for three pounds of spring beaver.

And that the prices of all other kinds of merchandize, not mentioned herein, be regulated according to the rates of the foregoing articles.

(2.)

31 March, 1760. The House of Commons voted £200,000 to compensate the North American provinces for expences of levying, cloathing, and pay of troops raised by them. The king to apportion it. [*Universal Magazine for 1760, v. 27, p. 143. From Gentlemens' Magazine for 1769, p. 297.*]

March 15. (Married.) Governor Wentworth, of New Hampshire, to miss Hilton.

(3.)

Extract of a letter from colonel Frye to the governor of New England, dated Fort Cumberland, Chignecto, March 7, 1760 :

"I informed your excellency in my last, of the 10th of December, of the submission of the French peasants residing at Merimichi, Rishebucta, Bouctox, Pircondiack and Mamerancook, made by their deputies sent here for that purpose. On the 30th of January last, Mr. Manach, a French priest, who had the charge of the people at Merimichi, Rishebucta and Bouctox, with a number of principal men of those places, arrived here, when they renewed their submission in a formal manner, by subscribing to articles, (drawn suitable to the case), whereby, among other things, they have obliged themselves and the people they represent, to come to Bay Verte, with all their effects and shipping, as early in the spring as possible, in order to be disposed of as governor Lawrence shall direct. With the French priest came two Indian chiefs, viz., Paul Lawrence and Augustine Michael. Lawrence tells me he was a prisoner in Boston, and lived with Mr. Henshaw, a blacksmith ; he is chief of a tribe that before the war lived at Laheve ; Augustine is chief of a tribe at Rishebucta. I have received their submission for themselves and tribes, to his Britannic majesty, and sent them to Halifax for the terms by governor Lawrence. I have likewise received the submissions of two other chiefs, whom I dealt with as those before mentioned, and was in hopes (which I mentioned to Mr. Manach) I had no more treaties to make with savages ; but he told me I was mistaken, for there would be a great many more here upon the same business as soon as the spring hunting was over ; and upon my enquiring how many, he gave me a list of fourteen chiefs, including those already mentioned, most of whom he said would come. I was surprised to hear of such a number of Indian chiefs in this part of America ; and Mr. Manach further told me that they were all of one nation, and known by the name of Mickmacks ; that they were very numerous, amounting to near 3000 souls ; that he had learned their language since he had been amongst them, and found so much excellence in it, that he was well persuaded that if the beauties of it were known in Europe, there would be seminaries erected for the propagation of it. How that might be, is better known to him than to those who know nothing of the language ; but I think I may venture to say, that if there be so many Indians as he says there are, I know this province, as it abounds very plentifully with furs, may reap a vast advantage by them, provided Canada returns not into the hands of the French." [Annual Register, 1760, p. 98. Lond. Mag., 1760, p. 377.]

(4.)

New York, September 25.

On Saturday morning, about nine o'clock, arrived here major McLean, from general Amherst, at Montreal, which he left the Saturday night before, with expresses, containing a full confirmation and account of the surrender of the French army, the town of Montreal, and all Canada.

Sept. 8. At break of day the capitulation was signed. The grenadiers and light infantry then marched into the town, commanded by colonel Haldimand, in the following order of procession, viz. :

I. A 12-pounder, with a flag ; and a detachment of royal artillery.

II. The grenadiers of the line, commanded by colonel Massey.

III. The light infantry of the line, commanded by colonel Amherst,

Each with a band of music before them ; and the eldest ensign in gen. Amherst's army to take possession of the colors of the 8 French regiments.

Sept. 9. The colours of Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, lost at Oswego in 1756, were marched out of Montreal by a detachment of grenadiers and a band of music, and carried down the right of our line to the head quarters, where they were lodged.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Camp before Montreal,

Sept. 9, 1760.

Parole. King George, and Canada.

The General sees with infinite pleasure the success that has crowned the indefatigable efforts of his majesty's troops and faithful subjects in America. The marquis de Vaudreuil has capitulated ; the troops of France in Canada have laid down their arms, and are not to serve during the war ; the whole country submits to the dominion of Great Britain ; the three armies are entitled to the General's thanks on this occasion ; and he assures them that he will take the opportunity of acquainting his majesty with the zeal and bravery which has always been exerted by the officers and soldiers of the regulars and provincial troops, and also by his faithful Indian allies.

The General is confident, when the troops are informed that this country is the king's, they will not disgrace themselves by the least appearance of inhumanity, or by unsoldier-like behaviour in taking any plunder, more especially as the Canadians become now British subjects, and will feel the good effect of his majesty's protection. [*Annual Register for 1760, p. 149.*]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ON the death of Lawrence occurring, the council assembled. (sunday, 19 October.) Present : the hon. Jonathan Belcher, esquire, the president ; Benjamin Green, John Collier, Richard Bulkeley and Joseph Gerrish, councillors. A proclamation was agreed on, to be signed by Mr. Belcher, to notify the public that he assumed the command of the province, its government devolving on him by the death of Mr. Lawrence, and requiring all officers to continue, &c. It was also resolved that the expence of the funeral should be defrayed out of the province money.

At this time it appears that the new settlements were aided by grants of provision from this government.

King George the second died at Kensington palace on the 25 October. He was in his 77th year. His end was sudden, owing to a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart. He was born in 1683. He fought under Marlborough, at Oudenarde, in 1708 ; and on his father's accession to the crown in 1714, was made prince of Wales, by patent, and became king on his father's death, 11 June, 1727.

In council, 23 December. A table of fees was passed, for clerk of peace, clerk of inferior court, attorney's fees, provost marshal's fees. 30 Dec'r., fees of secretary of province, and chief surveyor of lands on grants of lands, were adopted.

1761. 10 January, the hon. Edward Boscawen, admiral of the blue, general of marines, and one of the lords of admiralty, died. He is said, by tradition, to have been a small man, with

his head set somewhat awry, but his courage and conduct as a sea officer were conspicuous. 12 January, the council voted "out of the old duty money," salaries to the justices of the 'Inferior Court of Common Pleas,' for the year 1760: to Charles Morris, £75; and to John Duport, Joseph Scott and Joseph Gerrish, each £50; and to Edmund Crawley, £25; to the clerk of the supreme court, £20, and to Joseph Gerrish, for former services at supreme court, £30. Malachy Salter was appointed to collect the light duties, and furnish supplies to the light-house. On the 20 January, 1761, the sum of £10,595 12s. 9d. was voted by parliament for supporting and maintaining the settlement of Nova Scotia for 1761.

On the 11 February, 1761, wednesday, the proclamation of the new king, George the third, took place, in consequence of despatches from the lords of trade, dated 31 October, 1760. President Belcher, messieurs Collier, Morris, Bulkeley and Gerrish, (councillors), lord Colville, naval commander in North America, and colonel Forster, commanding the troops of his majesty in this province, together with the principal inhabitants of the town of Halifax, and a number of officers of the army and navy, assembled at the court-house. The order of the privy council, declaring the king's demise, and directing George the third should be proclaimed king, was read, and the proclamation to that effect was signed by the president and council—by lord Colville—by officers, civil and military—the clergy, and the principal inhabitants. They proceeded from the court-house in the following order, viz.:

1. A company of grenadiers.
2. Constables.
3. The magistrates.
4. Civil officers.
5. Constables.
6. The provost marshal, with two deputies, on horseback.
7. A band of music.
8. Constables.
9. The commander-in-chief of the province, with lord Colville and colonel Forster, and the members of his majesty's council.

10. The speaker and members of the house of assembly, followed by the principal inhabitants.

And his most sacred majesty king George the third was proclaimed, amidst the acclamations of the people, at the five following places, viz. :

At the court-house door.

At the north gate of the town.

Before the governor's house.

At the south gate of the town.

' And lastly upon the parade, where the whole of the troops ' off duty (who made a very good appearance) were drawn up ' under arms ; after which was read H. M. proclamation for ' continuing the officers in the plantations till H. M. pleasure ' shall be further signified. Upon his majesty's being pro- ' claimed a fifth time, a Royal salute of twenty-one guns was ' fired from the batteries, which was answered with three ' vollies by the troops under arms ; and during the procession ' the commodore lord Colvill's ship, the Northumberland, ' (70 guns, with the Royal standard and Union flag hoisted), ' fired the Royal salute, which was followed by each of H. M. ' ships in the harbour, separately, according to the seniority ' of their respective commanders. At 3 o'clock the company ' waited on the commander-in-chief at the "*Governor Law- ' rence's Head Tavern*," where a very elegant entertainment ' was provided for them, and after dinner his majesty's health ' was drank under a Royal salute of cannon from the bat- ' teries,—and thereafter those of the princess dowager of ' Wales, and all the Royal family, and many other loyal toasts ; ' and the evening concluded with great rejoicings and most ' beautiful illuminations, bonfires, and artificial fireworks ' played off by the Royal artillery, the best designed and the ' best executed of anything of the kind that has been hitherto ' seen in North America, and in short the whole was conduc- ' ted with the highest elegance, and the greatest regularity ' and decorum.'

On tuesday, 17 Feb'y., the president, council, officers of the army, and chief inhabitants, went in mourning dress in procession from the government house to St. Paul's church, at

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